Pennsylvania Germans

AN INTERPRETIVE ENCYCLOPEDIA

Edited by Simon J. Bronner and Joshua R. Brown

VISIT…

Pennsylvania Germans

Young Center Books in Anabaptist and Pietist Studies

DONALD B. KRAYBILL, Series Editor

Pennsylvania Germans

AN INTERPRETIVE ENCYCLOPEDIA

Edited by
Simon J. Bronner and
Joshua R. Brown

Johns Hopkins
University Press
Baltimore

© 2017 Johns Hopkins University Press
All rights reserved. Published 2017
Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper
9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Johns Hopkins University Press
2715 North Charles Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21218-4363
www.press.jhu.edu

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Bronner, Simon J., author.
Title: Pennsylvania Germans : an interpretive encyclopedia / edited by Simon J. Bronner and Joshua R. Brown.
Description: Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017. | Series: Young center books in Anabaptist and Pietist studies | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016013183| ISBN 9781421421384 (hardcover : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781421421391 (electronic) | ISBN 1421421380 (hardcover : alk. paper) | ISBN 1421421399 (electronic)
Subjects: LCSH: German Americans—Pennsylvania—Encyclopedias. | Pennsylvania Dutch Country (Pa.)—Encyclopedias.
Classification: LCC F160.G3 P48 2017 | DDC 920.0092/310748—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016013183

A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Special discounts are available for bulk purchases of this book. For more information, please contact Special Sales at 410-516-6936 or specialsales@press.jhu.edu.

Johns Hopkins University Press uses environmentally friendly book materials, including recycled text paper that is composed of at least 30 percent post-consumer waste, whenever possible.

Den Gelehrten C. Richard Beam und Don Yoder gewidmet,
Mir sin dankbaar fer was mir hen

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Preface ix

Acknowledgments xv

INTRODUCTION • Pennsylvania German Studies 1
Simon J. Bronner and Joshua R. Brown

PART 1 • HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

1. The Old World Background 21
   Mark Häberlein
2. To the New World: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries 36
   John B. Frantz
3. Communities and Identities: Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Centuries 53
   Diane Wenger and Simon J. Bronner

PART 2 • CULTURE AND SOCIETY

4. The Pennsylvania German Language 79
   Mark L. Louden
5. Language Use among Anabaptist Groups 108
   Donald B. Kraybill, Steven M. Nolt, and Edsel Burdge Jr.
6. Religion 131
   John B. Frantz
7. The Amish 148
   Karen M. Johnson-Weiner and Joshua R. Brown

8. Literature 164
Sheila Rohrer

9. Agriculture and Industries 184
R. Troy Boyer

10. Architecture and Cultural Landscapes 205
Gabrielle Lanier

11. Furniture and Decorative Arts 228
Lisa Minardi

12. Fraktur and Visual Culture 264
Lisa Minardi

13. Textiles 281
Candace Kintzer Perry

14. Food and Cooking 311
Yvonne J. Milspaw

15. Medicine 341
David W. Kriebel

16. Folklore and Folklife 361
Simon J. Bronner

17. Education 390
William W. Donner

18. Heritage and Tourism 411
William W. Donner

19. Popular Culture and Media 441
Simon J. Bronner

References 469

Contributors 531

Index 535

Color plates follow page 222

Preface

This volume assesses Pennsylvania German history, society, and culture on the basis of the "new Pennsylvania German studies." As an intellectual movement, the new Pennsylvania German studies parallels other transdisciplinary, transnational, and comparative efforts that view issues of identity, expression, and representation of diasporic groups. Typically subaltern or stigmatized, these groups have exerted significant cultural, if not political, influence. As a guide to a major American identity visible materially across the landscape, and viable psychologically and socially as a heritage with attendant values for millions of people, this volume suggests the centrality of Pennsylvania German experiences in the formation of ideas in an American context about the practice of ethnic-linguistic difference.

The present volume shows the ways that history, society, and culture integrate into Pennsylvania German studies with far-reaching intellectual consequences. As a relatively recently conceived rubric, Pennsylvania German studies deserves definition with reference to each of its linguistic components. By *Pennsylvania* we mean the predominant point of entry for immigrants mainly from the Rhineland area in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the location for formation of a hybridized New World culture that was distinct from later immigrant waves coming from other parts of Germany. Because descendants of these German-speaking immigrants reside in locales across North America, research on this group is not limited to the state of Pennsylvania. Still, diasporized descendants of the Palatine settlers continue to identify with a historic Pennsylvania ethnic "homeland," even if they have never set foot in the state. Thus, it is a cultural marker, not a geographic one. Although we recognize the label might suggest a narrowing of the field, we retain this Pennsylvania modifier in a broad sense.

German can cause confusion, too, especially because from the 1680s to the early nineteenth century what we know today as Germany was the Holy Roman Empire, an area that comprised many small divided territories. A sizable portion of the immigrants in fact hailed from Switzerland and Alsace-Lorraine on the western bank of the Rhine in France. All these immigrants were German-dialect speakers, and many used High German for

Lutheran and Mennonite religious services. Yet one does not have to speak German in contemporary life to qualify as a subject for Pennsylvania German studies. As the term *Pennsylvania* refers historically to the main point of entry, so, too, *German* refers to linguistic and cultural origins in northwestern and central Europe. In this regard, Pennsylvania German is intrinsically a transnational subject. Some scholars (coeditor Brown included), however, prefer the use of *Pennsylvania Dutch* because descendants of the early immigrants refer to themselves by this moniker. Another argument for this use is that the English word at the time of immigration for anything or anyone connected to the folkways in central Europe was *Dutch*. Yet Pennsylvania Dutch causes problems in modern-day parlance because of the confusion with the modern use of Netherlands Dutch as a language and term for national ancestry. We use Pennsylvania German for the group as well as the field, although we have retained references to Dutch by contributors to the volume in the context of a folk term for the group. For Pennsylvania German terms in the text, we have used the Buffington-Barba-Beam orthography (Beam et al. 2004-11), unless the term is more readily recognized by another spelling.

Studies might be the trickiest concept of all. In the plural it suggests multiple approaches or forms of evidence that come together to give an overview of the subject. As Pennsylvania German studies has evolved, it has usually integrated history, society, and culture, but there have been important studies of Pennsylvania German life that have combined science, politics, and religion, and the interweaving of language, lore, and literature is common. Studies, therefore, can be both integrative as a holistic study and multilayered as a demonstration of different approaches and content. We can note a general pattern, however, of studies representing an effort to bridge humanities and social science with a concentration on a group or expressive genres relating to Pennsylvania Germans.

The "old" Pennsylvania German studies reaches back to the late nineteenth century when, buttressed by the formation of the Pennsylvania German Society, members of a professional class who were descendants of the original settlers sought to counter sensationalized journalistic accounts of the group's supposed backwardness and undertook studies to identify and validate the group's history, language, and culture. Much of their effort presumed a disappearing ethnic society rooted in a few remaining enclaves and thus emphasized a descriptive historical reconstruction of the group's preindustrial past. The essays of *Pennsylvania Germans: An Interpretive Encyclopedia* follow this trend by answering questions of continuity and change in Pennsylvania German society and culture from Europe in the seventeenth century into the expanse of the North American continent in the twenty-first century. The new Pennsylvania German studies emerging in the late twentieth century sought an interpretative perspective taking into account the modern, diasporic experience of Pennsylvania Germans. In addition, contributors in an interpretative mode ask questions about ties of "Dutchiness"

beyond a description of the "Dutch." Concerned about exposing the dynamics of cultural exchange and hybridity as Pennsylvania Germans moved over the landscape, contributors frequently join this inquiry to that of other ethnic groups to bring Dutchiness into multicultural and transnational relief.

This interpretative encyclopedia representing the various fields and perspectives of the new Pennsylvania German studies that have been built on the scholarship of the past has the following goals:

1. To broaden geographic and social coverage from the state of Pennsylvania to the Pennsylvania German diaspora, including settlements in Canada and the West. The volume also considers interrelations of the group of Palatine settlers considered at the core of Pennsylvania German studies to other ethnic groups, including related German American immigrant populations. Overall, the volume is more comparative than previous volumes that have been produced on Pennsylvania German culture.

2. To broaden historical coverage to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Previous volumes in the field have concentrated almost exclusively on the eighteenth-century legacy. This book, therefore, deals more with migrations and cultural variations than the image of colonial-era uniformity that has dominated previous surveys.

3. To broaden cultural coverage usually restricted to language and literature, to areas such as architecture, food, medicine, and folklore, which have been significant threads of Pennsylvania German scholarly discourse.

4. To include separate interpretive discussions of popular culture, particularly the tourism, creative, and heritage industries revolving around Pennsylvania Germans. The volume therefore takes up images and representations of the Pennsylvania Germans and reasons for their propagation.

Each contributor summarizes the knowledge on different aspects of Pennsylvania German history, society, and culture and then raises the issues, problems, goals, and theories operative in the subject area. In short, we want to be able to show what we know and how we think about Pennsylvania Germans.

The volume is divided into two major components. The first part is devoted to the background of history and geography. Beginning in Europe, Mark Häberlein presents the preimmigration history of the groups later identified as Pennsylvania German. John Frantz's chapter picks up the thread covering their arrival to the New World. Diane Wenger and Simon Bronner conclude the explicit historical analysis by tracing the identities that formed in the nineteenth century and carried through to the twenty-first century.

The second part covers areas of culture, society, and the arts. A strong marker of Pennsylvania German identity has been language, as the Pennsylvania Germans have continued their language behaviors while other groups have shifted such behavior over time. Linguist Mark Louden opens this sec-

tion with a survey of nonsectarian language use, which is followed by a chapter on evolving sectarian practice, by Anabaptist scholars Donald Kraybill, Steven Nolt, and Edsel Burdge Jr. Although Pennsylvania German remains a largely unwritten language among the sectarians, notable contributions to literature by the Pennsylvania Germans in both English and Pennsylvania German exist. American studies scholar Sheila Rohrer unveils an often neglected legacy of Pennsylvania German literature and literary criticism.

Another foundational aspect of the Pennsylvania Germans is the array of religions among them. Historian John Frantz traces the patterns of religion among the Pennsylvania Germans largely drawn from Protestant Reformation roots. Anthropologist and Amish scholar Karen Johnson-Weiner along with coeditor Joshua Brown focuses on the Amish—arguably the most visible Pennsylvania Germans today—as a diverse religious community that has attracted research and theory on the relationships of it as a society that is part of and yet apart from the world. Anthropologist William Donner, building on the legacy of Kutztown educator Abraham Horne, traces the history and impact of education among the Pennsylvania Germans. Moving into the realm of work and the environmental context material of Pennsylvania Germans, folklorist R. Troy Boyer surveys the association of the group with agriculture and evaluates its underappreciated and understudied records of craft and industry. Unlike many assessments of the Pennsylvania German past that dwell on the preindustrial era, his takes the story up to the present day with the group's engagement with modern industries and products that are labeled Pennsylvania German.

Boyer is naturally concerned with the material culture imprint of the Pennsylvania Germans, and Gabrielle Lanier follows his chapter with one focusing on domestic and agricultural architecture, tying them into studies on Pennsylvania German cultural landscape. Material and visual culture specialist Lisa Minardi goes inside the house to examine the meanings that scholars and the public have placed on the furniture, craft, and decorative arts of the Pennsylvania Germans. She also contributes a chapter on graphic arts and visual culture, moving beyond the most famous fraktur creations of the Pennsylvania Germans. Candace Perry follows with an essay on the distinctive Pennsylvania German legacy of textile arts and especially focuses on controversies over the meaning of Amish designs in quilts.

Folklorist Yvonne Milspaw shifts discussion to the culinary traditions of the Pennsylvania Germans, with special attention to the fusion cookery of the early period. Anthropologist David Kriebel provides a chapter on folk medicine among the Pennsylvania Germans based on his ethnographic research among powwow practitioners that works to move beyond the often judgmental literature with loaded terms such as *witchcraft* and *superstition*. Getting further away from the view of belief as a product of an isolated colonial group, Kriebel explains the twenty-first-century resurgence of folk medicine in the Dutch country and contemporary powwow practitioners as part of the integration of Pennsylvania Germans with modernity.

Recognizing that medicine, fraktur, and food are often placed under the heading of folklore and folklife, Simon Bronner interprets folklore and folklife as constructed or adapted cultural categories among the Pennsylvania Germans, particularly those categories propagated by members of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society. He gives special attention to the roles assigned to song, story, and belief in the theorizing of Pennsylvania German identity and culture. Related to this discussion is anthropologist William Donner's chapter on the way that tourism and public heritage programming affect and are affected by Pennsylvania German traditions and their claim to authenticity. Bronner closes the volume with a chapter on popular culture and media. In particular, he is concerned with theories of representations of, and productions by, Pennsylvania Germans in media.

Although we could have made the volume more comprehensive with an A–Z coverage of Pennsylvania German topics, we chose as more appropriate to the needs of the field interpretive essays on those areas that compose the major dimensions of Pennsylvania German studies and could be explored in depth by a modern cohort of scholars. Thus, in addition to representing a reference to things Pennsylvania German, this work is an assessment of diasporic Pennsylvania German scholarship. All told, we present this encyclopedia to trigger larger conversations on the cultural impact of the Pennsylvania German diaspora and its integration in ethnic studies, regional studies, German studies, transnational American studies, and cultural studies.

This page intentionally left blank

Acknowledgments

The organizational work could not have been achieved without the efforts of devoted graduate assistants in the American Studies Program at Penn State Harrisburg: Caitlin Black, Susan Ortmann, Andrea Glass, and Cory Hutcheson. Johns Hopkins University Press editor Greg Britton deserves a special shout-out for his great patience as well as encouragement. We dedicate this volume to doyens of the Pennsylvania German field C. Richard Beam and the late Don Yoder. A *gross Dank* to them for their mentorship and vision.

This page intentionally left blank

Pennsylvania Germans

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction Pennsylvania German Studies

SIMON J. BRONNER AND JOSHUA R. BROWN

The Pennsylvania Germans claim ancestry to immigrant waves from the Rhineland and Palatinate regions of central Europe that washed over Middle Atlantic shores in the eighteenth century (Strassburger 1934; D. Yoder 1984). It was their English neighbors back in the Pennsylvania colony who attributed a common identity to the Germans by the midway point of the eighteenth century. German writers in early America appeared not to be self-reflective about their social identity, although they commented frequently on religious conflicts in the German Protestant tradition of schism and reformulation (Robacker 1943; Wellenreuther 2013). In the Pennsylvania colony German writers focused on religious tracts and the production of calendars for their ilk, but even a hundred years after the arrival of the first German immigrants in 1683 the American German press did not produce a history of the group's immigration or an inventory of its inland settlements and customs that suggested a separate identity from the Old World (Arndt and Eck 1989, 1–213; D. Yoder 1985).

Speaking for the colonists of British background, the worldly Benjamin Franklin in 1751 saw something different, and scary, in the German settlers of Pennsylvania. More than twenty years after he arrived in Philadelphia from Boston, Franklin (1755, 10) put in print a view of "the Palatine Boors . . . herding together [to] establish their languages and manners to the exclusion of ours [English]." Convinced of the inassimilable character and alarming clannishness of the German "swarm," Franklin caustically asked "Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of Aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our language or customs, any more than they can acquire our complexion?" In addition to characterizing the settlers as a singular cultural group, Franklin racialized them as "swarthy" in contrast to the English, who "make the principal body of white people on the face of the earth." Settlers of German descent to whom Franklin referred concentrated in southeastern Pennsylvania and numbered by the mid-eighteenth century between 60,000 and 100,000, a population amounting to one-third to three-fifths of the colony's 200,000 to 300,000 inhabitants (Frantz 1998,

21). By 1775 one out of every three Pennsylvanians spoke German or a German dialect. Franklin suggested that the Germans should assimilate and accept the primacy of English, the language of the founding colonial group. He also worried about the loyalty of the Germans in colonial conflicts with the French in the Seven Years' War (1754–63).

Historian Alan Houston (2008, 138–39) found a pattern of cultural resistance and a neutral political stance by the Germans in Pennsylvania and produced evidence that they not only supported "German printing houses, patronized German stores, and taught their children in German" but also sidestepped calls for loyalty oaths to the Crown. To be sure, the ruling English Quakers of Franklin's time brought some collaborative, well-heeled *Einwohner* (well-settled Germans), mostly from the first group settling in Germantown, into their circle, and this upwardly aspiring contingent expressed disdain for the more separatist *Neukommer* (the newly arrived). Still, the perception arose among the English settlers and new Scots-Irish immigrants that the Pennsylvania Germans as a lot were obstinate, disloyal, alien, and civically untrustworthy.

In answer to aspersions cast by Franklin, a German-born printer in Philadelphia, Christopher Sauer (1695–1758) called for political support of Quaker efforts to maintain the tolerance of the "Holy Experiment" but also urged cultural avoidance of the English to preserve German identity. His repeated message in the *Philadelphische Zeitung* in the mid-eighteenth century was to "avoid . . . involvement with English-speakers that might endanger our language, our families and customs, and our faith" (Roeber 1991, 252). Despite Sauer's reference to a collective identity, the social unity of the Germans, who had significant religious, linguistic, and cultural differences upon arrival, was still at the time debatable. By 1783, however, the German language and customs of the Pennsylvanians as they settled into homogeneous communities inland took an unfamiliar shape, according to contemporary observers. Among them was Johann David Schöpf (1752–1800), who arrived in America in 1777 to serve as chief surgeon for Hessian troops. In his travelogue *Reise durch einige der mittlern und südlichen Vereinigten Nordamerikanischen Staaten, nach Ost-Florida und den Bahama Inseln unternommen in den Jahren 1783 und 1784* (Journey through some middle and southern North American states, from East Florida to the Bahamas taken in the years 1783 and 1784) (1788), Schöpf (1911, 107) referred caustically to the Pennsylvania German "jargon" he heard: "The language our German people make use of is a miserable, broken, fustian salmagundi of English and German with respect both to the words and their syntaxis."

Language and Cultural Identity

Linguistic recognition of the "jargon" as a legitimate language would wait until 1872 when Samuel Stehman Haldeman (1812–80), a professor of comparative philology at the University of Pennsylvania who was born in Bainbridge,

in central Pennsylvania, wrote *Pennsylvania Dutch: A Dialect of South German with an Infusion of English* (1872). He respected the speech of the Pennsylvania Germans as a dialect more than Schöpf. In his sixty-nine-page linguistic study, he referred to the new hybrid language as *Pennsylvanisch Deitsch*, or "Dutch" in English, and suggested rather than constituting a bastardized "jargon," the New World tongue represented an evolution of dialects of folk groups from southern Germany along the Upper Rhine. In his experience living among the Pennsylvania Germans, speakers gained a distinct New World identity by communicating in this amalgamated language drawn from a variety of backgrounds: "Rhenish Bavaria, Baden, Alsace (Alsatia), Würtemberg, German Swisserland, and Darmstadt" (Haldeman 1872, 1). The period in which Haldeman was writing was probably the peak of everyday *Deitsch* usage, and it also marked the emergence of a written language and literature. Estimates run around 600,000 Pennsylvanians speaking *Deitsch* after the Civil War (Kazal 2004, 21). This sizable cohort did not develop social or political capital, however, in urbanizing, industrializing America despite some of the first attempts to mobilize Pennsylvania Germans into ethnic organizations (Eggert 1992; Eshleman 1911, 7–10; Shade 1972). They were religiously divided and rurally isolated, and they lost control of education with the passage of laws beginning in the 1830s to establish compulsory education in English-speaking "common" or public schools (P. Klein and Hoogenboom 1980, 241–43; Shade 1972).

The relative isolation of the group in agrarian settlements confined to a German regional core within south-central and eastern Pennsylvania preserved the language, according to Haldeman's groundbreaking, sympathetic analysis. The implication, however, was that with industrialization of the late nineteenth century and the shift of power and population to urban factory centers in western Pennsylvania, the group's cohesion and its distinctive speech were doomed (Licht 2002, 219–38). Haldeman also presumed that the Pennsylvania Germans populated a self-contained, stagnant cultural island rather than taking on the character of an evolving, diasporic group whose cultures diffused in various directions. Travelogues referred to towns containing populations with percentages of 90 percent and higher for *Deitsch*-speaking residents as German "enclaves," and later observers described a "German crescent" or "Dutch country" west and north from Philadelphia in an arc including counties of Northampton and Lehigh to the east and Lancaster, York, and Dauphin in the central part of the state (Kazal 2004, 20; see also Kuhns 1901). Geographers noticed that the distinctive barns and houses the Germans built formed a cultural landscape, and they drew boundaries reaching from central Pennsylvania into Virginia, Maryland, and West Virginia along the Appalachian Mountains (Ensminger 1992; J. Glass 1986; Zelinsky 1992).

The suggestion of a distinctive German regional group formation in Pennsylvania is often traced to *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (1789) by English Quaker Benjamin Rush (1745–1813),

surgeon general of the Continental army and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. As one of the leaders of the new nation, Rush wrote the twenty-five-page tract to convince Americans, mostly of English background, that they could learn from the Pennsylvania Germans' values of industry and economy because these traits would be essential in the New Republic. The topic of the relation to central European settlers, who had a reputation of living in ethnic isolation, to national affairs was especially relevant to Pennsylvania because the national capital was in Philadelphia, and some Germans were elected to congressional seats. A different context of industrialization and post–Civil War sectionalism spurred a professor of German background, I. Daniel Rupp (1803–77), to add notes in 1875 to Rush's work. Rupp characterized his countrymen as progressive amid charges of their being educationally and technologically backward, politically conservative, and stubbornly rural and unkempt or even unhealthily dirty in appearance. Although Rupp mentioned prominent Pennsylvania Germans involved in civic leadership, he presaged much of the later scholarship on the group that primarily saw Germans through the lens of social and cultural participation, often at the everyday level, rather than the biographies of distinguished leaders and political histories of empowered governments that were pervasive on the bookshelves of those interested in the British legacy in America.

The alignment of the Pennsylvania Germans as an American German ethnic group came into question in the late nineteenth century because of the influx of more than 4 million Germans into the United States, mostly in the Northeast and Midwest between 1850 and 1900. The peak decades were the 1850s after the failed revolutions of 1848 when almost 1 million immigrants from Germany came (34.7 percent of all immigration) and the 1880s when close to 1.5 million Germans arrived (27.5 percent of all immigration in the ten-year span). The nineteenth-century immigrants did not appear to be kinsmen to the Pennsylvania Germans, however, because many of the new arrivals had industrial backgrounds and were more politically engaged, came from Catholic urban areas in eastern and northern Germany, looked down their noses at the rough-hewn and vernacular speaking Pennsylvanians, and invoked German high culture, rather than folk or rural culture, in their expressions of community. In contrast to the German-born newcomers, Pennsylvania Germans viewed themselves as "old-line Americans" of colonial stock and referred to the mid-nineteenth-century arrivals as *Deitschlenner* (people from Germany), according to historian Russell A. Kazal (2004, 22). Kazal also quotes a Reformed church journal in 1895 to make the case for the estrangement: "The Pennsylvanians now do not readily associate with the European German, and where not sufficiently numerous to form societies of their own, they prefer the society of Americans of English descent to that of their German cousins." As much as worries by English Quakers about the German "aliens" galvanized the Palatines in the colonial period, the lack of kindred feeling by the American-born Germans in Pennsylvania apparently

crystallized their identity as Pennsylvania "Dutch" associated with an American region rather than a migratory transnational character (D. Yoder 1980b; D. Yoder 1984).

To most Americans in the Gilded Age, the late nineteenth-century wave of German immigrants appeared more visible politically, economically, and culturally than the Pennsylvania Germans, particularly in urban areas. This wave raised questions about the relative insularity of the Rhineland and Palatine descendants in areas considered the hinterland, usually with the commentary that they were intellectually and culturally backward, at least in comparison to the new German arrivals. The promotion of German high culture and academic studies by the new arrivals led to the relatively late addition of German as a modern language and literature in American universities (Hohendahl 2003, 6; McCarthy 2003, 27–34). Pennsylvania German as a nonstandard language used by a group that was deemed isolated from the mainstream struggled for recognition even among Germanicists.

A breakthrough in academic legitimacy for Pennsylvania German research, amid primary attention to Old World high culture, was the appointment of Germany-born Oswald Seidensticker (1825–94) in 1867 to a professorship of German language and literature at the University of Pennsylvania (the first professor of German at Penn, the Reverend Charles C. Schaeffer [1807–79], had been hired only ten years earlier primarily to teach language to undergraduates) (McCarthy 2003, 32–34). Penn lured Seidensticker to back its claim of being in the vanguard of universities advancing modern languages and literatures in an academic landscape still devoted to a classical curriculum. Seidensticker built his scholarly career on the history of German immigration to, and settlement in, America, including the landmark bibliographic reference *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728–1830*, published in 1893. Unlike his predecessors, he brought historical and cultural context to the fore of German-language study and showed an interest in the Pennsylvania German experience. His influence would have been greater among an English-reading audience had his magnum opus on the history of German settlement in Pennsylvania, *Geschichte der deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien, 1764–1917* (1917), not been in German. Even so, he laid the foundation for studying the Germans of Pennsylvania as an academic topic and also encouraged local studies as part of the work of the German Society of Pennsylvania (established in 1764).

Expressions of Cultural Personality and Value

According to historian of Germanics John A. McCarthy (2003, 32), Seidensticker succeeded in "advancing the view that German and American culture could interact productively." Further, Seidensticker suggested the importance of the Pennsylvania German experience beyond the Mid-Atlantic region, because of the cultural exchange that occurred in the formation of American culture. Moving beyond the image of America based upon New En-

gland Puritans and southern frontiersmen spreading the English language and English mores west, Seidensticker considered the impact of Pennsylvania German customs and practices, if not diplomats, on the development of an American identity. In approaching German language and literature, Seidensticker "connoted a broadly humanistic interest," McCarthy reflects, that included political history, customs, art, architecture, and mythology, along with language and literature proper. McCarthy (2003, 32) summarizes the effect of this approach as the reading of multiple texts, whether in visual or verbal forms, "as a semiotic sign of the distinctive national quality" that disclosed "the soul of a people through the expressions of its culture and civilization."

Henry Chapman Mercer (1856–1930), born in Doylestown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, lacked an academic chair to dispense influence, but with ample financial resources and curatorial credentials he similarly promoted the revised characterization of the Pennsylvania Germans as contributing a collective poetic soul, and an earthy one at that, to modern America because of the richness of their artistic and architectural gifts. Gathering more than 15,000 often-discarded illuminated manuscripts, implements, and furniture in his Bucks County environment, he spurred the collection and interpretation of Pennsylvania German folk arts even though he was not Pennsylvania German himself (Fellows 2004, 58). Appointed curator of American and prehistoric archaeology at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Mercer at first joined his colleagues in Native American anthropology and archaeology but then turned to what was an unconventional subject at the time—the study of old tools, pottery, stoves, furniture, buildings, and illuminated manuscripts belonging to his neighbors of central European background (Conn 1992, 329–30; Dunbar 1961).

Mercer became fascinated with German artistry and especially "so beautiful an art as that of the old Penna. German potter" in his local environs of Bucks County; in 1898 he established the industrial venture of the Moravian Pottery and Tile Works (Mercer 1900; 1914b; C. Reed 1996). In "The Survival of the Mediaeval Art of Illuminative Writing among Pennsylvania Germans" (1897) and *The Bible in Iron: The Pictured Stoves and Stove Plates of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1914a), he drew public attention to ancient arts of the Pennsylvania Germans that also served to present the Germans as a regionally situated, unified group—an interest that culminated in his construction of the Mercer Museum in 1916. Mercer had a preservationist urge born of the belief that industrialism had displaced traditional Pennsylvania German crafts, and his example incited other collectors to scour country sales for the old artifacts (Fellows 2004, 57–58). This view of Pennsylvania Germans as old-stock Americans affected the perception in this period of Pennsylvania German research as a historical study of a disappearing culture.

By espousing the theory that the colonial-era Germans introduced horizontal log construction in the Middle Atlantic region, Mercer heated up the debate about the contribution of Pennsylvania Germans to American cul-

ture. In this view, Scots-Irish and English settlers aped the work of skilled German housebuilders and developed the iconic American log cabin with its hardy pioneer symbolism (Mercer 1924). Prevailing at the time, however, was the hypothesis that, although small in number, the Swedish colony in the Delaware Valley was responsible for log-building techniques that the English and Germans did not have (Jordan 1983; Kimball 1922; Weslager 1969). The defense of a German origin for American log construction was hardly a pedantic stand; it lent credence to the cultural significance of the Pennsylvania Germans in American life along with later credit given to them for the customs of American Christmas, Groundhog Day, and Easter celebrations (Shoemaker 1959; 1960; D. Yoder 2003). Although much of Pennsylvania German architecture appeared to have English façades, suggesting the assimilation of the Germans, researchers began referring to a New World hybrid of the Mid-Atlantic house and Pennsylvania barn from German precedents (Ensminger 1992; Falk 2008; Glassie 1968b; McMurry and Van Dolsen 2011; Swank 1983). The taxonomy of a "continental" or "central chimney" interior floor plan symbolized for these scholars a regionally situated cultural difference among the Pennsylvania Germans (Bucher 1962; Glassie 1968a; Weaver 1986). Famed architect G. Edwin Brumbaugh (1890–1983) in 1933 underscored the relationship of the Germans' distinctive cultural personality with their architecture: "These simple German peasants had a background of their own, which found expression in plain almost austere architecture of great solidity and pleasing detail" (1933, 8). Concerned that the Germans lacked architectural monuments in the self-declared civilization of America, Brumbaugh made a career of restoring landmarks for the group, including the Ephrata Cloister (a religious community east of Lancaster led by Conrad Beissel), the Daniel Boone Homestead (Boone was of British background, but the homestead in the predominantly German Oley Valley had the imprint of Pennsylvania German farmer John de Turk), and Grumblethorpe (home of the Wister family in Germantown) (E. Wolf 2008).

While Brumbaugh and Mercer looked to the past for relics of the Pennsylvania German presence, one author who suggested observations of Pennsylvania German living traditions was Phebe Earle Gibbons (1821–93), also from outside the culture. Her *"Pennsylvania Dutch" and Other Essays* (1872) was notable for showing the diversity of this group with Amish, Mennonite, Moravian, Schwenkfelder, Ephrata, and Brethren "Plain" religious communities in addition to the German "Church people" of Lutheran and Reformed churches. Folklorist Don Yoder (2001c, iii) claimed that she related to these Anabaptist and Pietist groups because, "with her plain Quaker costume and plain language, and her immense sympathy and understanding for the human condition wherever she found it, Phebe developed a strong rapport with her plain neighbors. She visited them frequently, quilted with them, and attended their snitzing parties and applebutter boiling." Later folklorists and sociologists pointed to Gibbons as an important precursor of ethnographic fieldwork in the Pennsylvania German field by observing performances of

small groups in religious services, weddings, funerals, barn raisings, harvest festivals, and food preparation. Don Yoder (2001c, iii) compared the effect of her observational research techniques on workers in the Pennsylvania field to the groundbreaking approaches in anthropology of Margaret Mead in the South Pacific.

Another comparison to anthropological-styled "expeditions" at the turn of the century when intellectuals wanted to salvage what was left of native cultures before they disappeared was Marion Dexter Learned's "Conestoga Expedition" from the University of Pennsylvania in cosmopolitan Philadelphia to the metaphoric "wilds" of Lancaster County in 1902. Unlike Gibbons, Learned (1911, 2) explicitly sought in a systematic, social-scientific style what he called "ethnographical information," by which he especially meant, in his words, "current traditions and beliefs" and "peculiarities of dialect." Prior to the field expedition, Learned had issued "ethnographical" questionnaires in volumes of *Americana Germanica* (1897; 1898). He asked readers for a broad range of information including customs, beliefs, narratives, and crafts in addition to dialectal vocabulary.

Learned, a professor of German, went well beyond linguistic information to ask about the expressiveness of Germans in foods, buildings, holiday observances, and names. Seeking to uncover apparent intragroup conflicts, he inquired about attitudes of the *Deitsch*-speaking Germans to the recent immigrants. Crediting the "Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom" for inspiration (see Brabrook 1893; Urry 1984), Learned (1911, 2) asked questions about the physiognomy of the Pennsylvania inhabitants that suggested the classification, or perception, of the Pennsylvania Germans as a racial type. When the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, a newspaper-format publication, was issued by the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center at Franklin and Marshall College, it revived the use of questionnaires to gather ethnographic information, especially on crafts, foodways, and customs, on Pennsylvania Germans as a "regional folk culture" but dropped inquiries into their physiognomy (D. Yoder 1972, 336–37; 2001a, 34–36). According to editor Don Yoder (2001a, 50–51), in the old questionnaires "questions and answers were directed not at the reality of today, the social facts as they exist, but an ideal picture, a projection of the vanished past."

Seeking to observe "social facts," Learned longed for a more systematic record of everyday life collected in situ than the questionnaires could provide. He appealed to the Philadelphia-based American Philosophical Society, which had funded anthropological expeditions to Native American tribes in the West. Learned (1911, 3) argued that the Pennsylvania Germans were also a traditional group whose culture would similarly disappear as modernization accelerated and called his plan "ethnographical" to distinguish it from the "ethnological" expeditions to the Native American areas of the West. He received funds from the German American Historical Society and the German American Alliance, which allowed his team to set out in the summer of 1902. The significance of this foray was its stature as the first systematic field

survey undertaken by a team of scholars on the culture of a European settler group. In the township of Strasburg, team members visited every house in the area and collected material on "German industries, particularly the various kinds of mills," "German occupations and trades before 1830," "German agriculture and rural architecture," "Old German domestic life," "the literary life of the Germans in Colonial Pennsylvania," "Religious, social, and political life of the Germans in their contact with the Scotch Irish, the English Quakers, the Welsh and other nationalities," "Speech conditions," and "Old colonial roads."

Pennsylvania German Leaders, Institutions, and Organizations

As professor of German languages and literatures stepping into Seidensticker's chair at the University of Pennsylvania, Learned (1857–1917) encouraged an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the German language. He established, for example, the monograph series *Americana Germanica* in 1897 that promoted comparative studies combining historical, literary, linguistic, and ethnological material on Germans in America. In addition to writing *The Pennsylvania German Dialect* (1889) to provide a more analytical accounting than Haldeman of the language, he also penned a biography of Francis Daniel Pastorius (1908), Pennsylvania German poet, land agent, and civic leader (he was founder of Germantown, Pennsylvania). Learned also mentored many students such as Edwin Miller Fogel (1874–1949), who went on to build Pennsylvania German studies in the Pennsylvania German Society and Pennsylvania German Folklore Society (D. Yoder 1982, 18). For these reasons, many historiographers bestow on Learned the title of the father of Pennsylvania German studies, but one can discern a number of key figures representing other paths leading to the crossroads of Pennsylvania German studies.

One pivotal location for work on Pennsylvania German language, history, and culture was the Pennsylvania German Society, but Marion Learned was an outsider to it because he came from English and Welsh stock. The society at its founding in 1891 restricted membership to descendants of German settlers and had a decided genealogical purpose (Lord 2008). The professionals who gathered in Lancaster on April 15 of that year included president William Egle, a physician by trade, who also served as state librarian of Pennsylvania; Julius Sachse, a lawyer, who became an authority on the Ephrata community; L. L. Grumbine, another physician, who collected the folk medicine and beliefs of his rural Lebanon County neighbors; Abraham Horne, who served as both pastor to churches and an administrator of Kutztown Normal School (later Kutztown University); Edward H. Rauch, who wrote a manual for learning Pennsylvania German and was a newspaper editor in Mauch Chunk (now Jim Thorpe, Pennsylvania); and the Reverend John S. Stahr, president of Franklin and Marshall College. The august group included one past and one future governor: James A. Beaver (1887–91) and Samuel W.

Pennypacker (1903–7). The group stated its intention to be both a social and a learned society in its constitution. On the one hand, the organization declared in rhetoric reminiscent of a fraternal organization that it would "perpetuate the memory and foster the principles and virtues of the German ancestors of its members" and "promote social intercourse among the latter"; on the other, it promised to serve educational purposes by sponsoring "papers, essays, etc., on questions in the history or genealogy of the Pennsylvania Germans" (Constitution 1891, 84).

The Pennsylvania German Society's constituents of middle-class professionals faced a quandary. They embraced the modernization, prosperity, and nationalism of the late nineteenth century but realized that their ethnic identity, indeed their sense of belonging to a distinct linguistic-regional community, suffered. They felt liminal—neither fully "Dutch" nor fully "American." Their participation in a modern society of professionals who were joined by regionally limited genealogy worked to reconcile their past and present through "studies" in Pennsylvania. The "papers, essays, etc." they sponsored focused on Pennsylvania Germans as history, a preindustrial past. To be sure, they celebrated that past, often involving the arts and everyday life of their people, rather than major events and great national figures. These arts and everyday life, centered in isolated rural hamlets, were connections to bygone days and offered a contrast to the progress they enjoyed in the present, even as they provided them with a sense of belonging. But the early explorations of material culture, folklore, literature, and regional life distinguished their studies from the kinds of diplomatic history and abstract sociology found in emerging national journals and books. Their organizations to promote their studies and primary audience remained in Pennsylvania and appeared parochial to academics working with folk and immigrant cultures. National anti-German feeling during and after World War I fed into their desire to remain apart (W. Werner 1938).

Pennsylvania German scholars remained isolated from national academic trends until the 1930s when, in the decade known as the "Era of the Common Man," the earthy and colorful ethnic-regional culture of the Pennsylvania Germans drew wider notice. With economic depression after the stock market crash of 1929 came a new context of interpreting ordinary Americans with poignant accounts of persistent crafts and folkways that reflected the laudable grit and tradition of ordinary folks, culturally and occupationally rooted in regions, not letting conditions set them back socially even if they suffered economically. Pennsylvania German expressiveness in the form of fraktur, pottery, textiles, furniture, and metalwork drew attention in national projects such as the Index of American Design and major folk art exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art and Newark Museum. One of the splashier displays was of the interior of a single eighteenth-century house of a prosperous miller in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, installed at the Pennsylvania Museum of Art (now the Philadelphia Museum of Art) in 1929. It appeared to be an answer to the New England centered "American

wing" primarily filled with New England furniture and arts installed in 1924 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The "House of the Miller at Millbach" featured the first folk-art period rooms installed in an American museum, curator Joseph Downs (1895–1954) stated. Its purpose, Downs (1929, iii) proclaimed, was to create "a perfect picture of these domestic arts which are an important contribution to American life." Instead of being belittled as the work of backwoods folk, preindustrial crafts of the Pennsylvania Germans were hailed as showing "versatility of artistic expression," which the museum presented as the proud inheritance of the whole country.

A regionally conscious generation of scholars, many in universities, found it acceptable, indeed desirable, to study their own people in their American "homelands." Prominent members of this generation such as Preston Barba, Albert Buffington, Edwin Fogel, and John Joseph Stoudt held teaching posts, often in German departments, and sought a wider audience for Pennsylvania German studies that emphasized cultural history. They formed a breakaway organization from the Pennsylvania German Society called the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society in 1936 that did not require proof of Pennsylvania German genealogy to join and promoted more of an academic bent toward cultural history. The outward perspective of the group is evident from topics in the society's first three volumes: an interpretation of the symbolism of Pennsylvania German folk art, the use of ornamental iron in the Conestoga wagon of frontier fame, and the contributions of Pennsylvania German tradition to American Christmas celebrations. Part of the strategy of adding "folklore" to the title of their organization was to emphasize the transmission and diffusion of their traditions, rather than to treat the Pennsylvania Germans as an insular, relic society.

A renewal of anti-German sentiment during World War II sidetracked the participation of Pennsylvania Germans in the New Deal "cultural democracy" initiative of the Federal Writers' Project that also invoked the rhetoric of folklore to represent an often overlooked ethnic-regional group (Hirsch 2003). Scholars tried to assure the public that the Pennsylvania Germans were loyal Americans who shared pioneer roots. Writing a survey of Pennsylvania Germans during the war, Ralph Wood (1942, viii) underscored the group as "a staunch old American stock" and claimed that they "have less connection with modern Germany than New England has with England." Evoking the wholesomeness of common folk close to the land, Wood (1942, vii, viii) referred to a Pennsylvania German "character . . . moulded by the fact that the Pennsylvania Germans were farmers practically and spiritually." He went on to distance them politically from both fascism and communism: "A group like the Pennsylvania Germans, who in the nineteenth century were anything but in complete accord with the growing power of the state over the individual and the community, would hardly be in sympathy with any system where the state is in control of all things. If America should ever go Fascist or Communist, the stubborn Pennsylvania Germans would be the last to fall in line."

After the war, with a megalopolis forming from New York City to Washington, DC, urban tourists began flocking to central Pennsylvania to view the tradition-centered Amish and Pennsylvania German cultural landscape as part of American pastoral ancestry. Promotional literature touted the Pennsylvania "Dutch" as freedom-loving, earthy people of faith wedded to the land much as the early American pioneers had been. Pamphlets and brochures invited out-of-towners to witness the lush farmlands still tended by plows and observe people who remained faithful to the idea of community. Bridging the gap between the tourist literature and scholarly monograph was the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center at Franklin and Marshall College, established in 1947 under the leadership of Alfred Shoemaker, Don Yoder, and J. William Frey, who all grew up in Pennsylvania German–speaking households. They intentionally chose the colloquial "Dutch" over what they called the "bookish" German label to signal their populist intentions. They produced correctives to the popular narratives in glossy publications that were appealing to the tourists coming to the region from afar, while also raising challenging questions to scholars closer to home about the ethnic-regional identities and traditions of the many groups that composed the Pennsylvania "Dutch."

Shoemaker, Yoder, and Frey worked their studies of Pennsylvania Germans into higher degrees from midwestern institutions (Shoemaker and Frey from the University of Illinois and Yoder from the University of Chicago) in general fields of German and theology. They advocated for training opportunities for students and teachers closer to home in Pennsylvania German studies and an emphasis on vernacular culture, in reaction to the elitist academic tendency to narrow research to the upper crust of society and its monuments of civilization. Central to their plan was the launching of the "Seminars on the Folk Culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch" in 1952, bringing together the leaders of Pennsylvania German scholarship. In 1958 the trio established the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, yet another breakaway society in the Pennsylvania German field, that emphasized public outreach in festivals and pamphlets. With their removal of "German" from the title of the society, Shoemaker, Yoder, and Frey indicated a broader vision of multiethnic and comparative studies, even if the Pennsylvania Germans were at the center of their work (D. Yoder 1982, 18–19; 1983a). In contrast to the historic, even archaeological emphasis on Pennsylvania German culture characteristic of the studies by Seidensticker and Mercer, they wanted to show Pennsylvania Germans engaging in living, evolving traditions rather than anachronistic activities. They pointed to Pennsylvania German traditions not "surviving" in preindustrial isolation but as part of the fabric of modern American culture (S. Bronner 1998, 266–312; D. Yoder 1982, 18–19). They added—and, in so doing, shaped—ethnographic, sociological, and folkloristic techniques to their methodological toolkit to emphasize the observation of present-day behavior, and they stressed the diversity of the label "Pennsylvania German" with attention to religious and regional differences.

With the move of Don Yoder to the University of Pennsylvania in 1956, a cadre of his students in religious studies, folklore and folklife, and American civilization ventured out to the Pennsylvania countryside, conducting fieldwork and producing interdisciplinary dissertations, articles, and books on Pennsylvania German culture (D. Yoder 2001a, 18–19). They were joined by others at Penn State University, Temple University, Kutztown University, Ursinus College, Millersville University, Lebanon Valley College, and Shippensburg University, where instructors encouraged work on Pennsylvania Germans as an immigrant group in the 1960s during a time of heightened ethnic consciousness. The Pennsylvania Germans provided case studies of ethnic persistence and communitarianism in answer to the sociological presumptions of inevitable homogenization with modernization. In the midst of national awareness of migrations changing the American landscape, the scope of Pennsylvania German studies expanded from earlier research in the Pennsylvania German "core" with transfer of ethnographic, sociolinguistic, folkloristic, historical, and sociological approaches to communities in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Ontario, Iowa, Kansas, Montana, and Wisconsin. Although related to the core, these areas developed traditions and dialects of their own that undergirded Pennsylvania German studies as multifaceted, diasporic research.

The Emergence of Pennsylvania German Studies

The use of "studies" among Pennsylvania German scholars was significant to refer, on the one hand, to the multiple expressions besides language and literature being examined and, on the other, to the totality of experience, much in keeping with the rise of American studies since the 1930s (Dorson 1976; D. Yoder 2001a, 34). By the 1970s, German language and literature scholars embraced a broad vision of German studies within an American educational context (Lohnes and Nollendorfs 1976, 3–4). The heading of German studies, distinguished from *Germanistik* within German-speaking countries, allowed students of German to take a more inclusive, or some might say general, culturally situated approach, to German heritage within the United States. As Walter F. W. Lohnes and Valters Nollendorfs (1976, 3) announced in their manifesto *German Studies in the United States*, "specialization is possible to a much greater extent among our colleagues in German-speaking countries than it is in the United States. Our specific situation demands that most of us should be generalists."

Within the generalist move there was room for the holistic approach to regional-ethnic cultures including the foodways, customs, folklore, architecture, crafts, and living traditions that Pennsylvania German scholars especially embraced. It also allowed for dialect studies linked to culture and acceptance of *Deitsch* as part of a diverse background in German. It joined other developments in the social sciences and humanities to treat area studies as ethnic cultural studies. Louis F. Helbig (1976, 47) at Indiana University

described the emphasis in the German studies model on social and cultural history and ethnography as "a decidedly contemporary, interdisciplinary view." As German studies evolved, and German American studies toward the end of the twentieth century became a notable hybridization of American studies and German studies, more transnational research was indeed encouraged. The separatist implications of the original German studies manifesto gave way to comparative and diasporic studies across national borders and oceanic divides.

An outpouring of exhibitions and publications in 1983 for the tricentennial of German arrival in Philadelphia, shortly following the bicentennial celebration of the United States, epitomized the German studies approach. Several of the exhibitions and publications emphasized Pennsylvania German arts in addition to language and literature (see Garvan 1982; R. M. Miller 1984; Swank 1983). Viewers could discern a revised interpretation of Pennsylvania Germans as a major colonial group of settlers who fanned out north, south, and west from their original cultural "hearth" in Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley. Despite predictions of the doom during the 1960s of Pennsylvania Germans as a sustainable culture in the wake of modernization, by the 1980s scholars pointed out that into the late twentieth century descendants of the settlers maintained language use, foodways, holiday customs, and crafts and that this phenomenon merited broader investigation (S. Bronner 2004b; Glassie 1968b).

One could also detect after the 1960s more awareness of religious diversity within Pennsylvania German communities. The first book-length studies of the Amish as an American "folk society" appeared, led by *Amish Society* by former Amishman turned college professor John Hostetler in 1963. It caused an academic sensation for rationalizing the role of the Amish in American society as a "redemptive community" rather than as an anomaly (see Kraybill 1989; D. Weaver-Zercher 2005b). It also came into play in the highly publicized Supreme Court case of *Wisconsin v. Yoder* (1972) verifying the right of the Amish to limit school attendance to elementary or primary school (through the eighth grade) (Meyers 2003, 100–106). The court cited Hostetler's view that imposing compulsory high school attendance would "result in the destruction of the Old Order Amish church community as it exists in the United States today" (*Wisconsin v. Yoder* 1972). Hostetler's work raised the question of the relationship of the Amish and other Anabaptist and Pietist groups rooted in the Pennsylvania German diaspora to Pennsylvania German studies (S. Bronner 2005).

Hostetler's publications undoubtedly informed a group of scholars focused specifically on the Amish and influenced a division between studies of religious and secular culture in the academic community. Often this split treated the Pennsylvania Germans as a historical subject and the Amish as a sociological one. Looking to revive the interdisciplinary, inclusive goals of German studies, Simon Bronner in "Whither Pennsylvania-German Studies?" presented at a historic joint meeting of the Pennsylvania German

Society and the Society for German American Studies at the start of the twenty-first century called for integration of past and present, secular and religious, around the problems of acculturation, diversification, and diffusion. This approach would include considerations of urban environments, interchange between Plain and non-Plain communities with popular culture, and analyses of Pennsylvania German cultural influence (with a homeland consciousness and identity formation concept) across national and regional borders (S. Bronner 2004b).

Production of scholarship on Pennsylvania German studies hardly ceased after the German American tricentennial, but arguably many writers and scholars returned to their disciplinary homes rather than joining in a transdisciplinary community, or a learned society devoted to Pennsylvania German studies that involved border-crossing inquiry. With their own centers and book series, Anabaptist and Pietist studies drew recognition, for example, as a separate field in religious studies and sociology. Historians provided in-depth studies of the German colonial experience from the Old World to the New (Frantz and Roeber 2001a; 2001b). Linguists worked on comprehensive reference works for the language, including the landmark *Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary* in twelve volumes (Beam et al. 2004–11). Of significance to recognition of "Pennsylvania German studies," the dictionary was a project of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies at Millersville University (started in 1986). The center also produced a publication, *Journal of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies*, that suggested Pennsylvania German studies as a bona fide scholarly rubric. Meanwhile, folklorists and anthropologists worked on archival and field projects concentrating on architectural, craft, food, and narrative traditions in the journal *Pennsylvania Folklife*, edited and published at Ursinus College. Geographers produced maps of Pennsylvania German migration and landscapes for the oversized *Atlas of Pennsylvania* (Cuff, Young, and Muller 1989).

The renewal of a transdisciplinary and even transnational Pennsylvania German studies in the early twenty-first century was buoyed by the establishment of the Pennsylvania German History and Culture Series by Penn State Press that featured titles aimed at crossing disciplinary, religious, and temporal boundaries. Under the editorship of Simon Bronner, the scholarship aimed to combine history and culture into a holistic study. In 2005 Kutztown University, also home to the Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center since 1992, established a minor in Pennsylvania German Studies, thus giving credence to the transdisciplinary scholarly rubric. Students took a course with its own prefix of PAG for an introduction to Pennsylvania German studies. Other courses with the prefix were on Pennsylvania German language and literature and readings in Pennsylvania German life. Supporting courses could be found scattered among departments of anthropology, English, geography, German, and history.

More opportunities for connecting scholars into discourse on Pennsylvania German studies came in *Festschriften* for, and reissues of, the work of the

pioneering scholars of the postwar period, many of whom worked in isolation (Beam 1995; Shoemaker 2000; 2009; D. Yoder 2001a; D. Weaver-Zercher 2005a). They served not only to honor their efforts and vision of holistic, transregional, and transnational studies but also to spur new integrative work. For example, *Preserving Heritage* prepared for C. Richard Beam, founder of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, was published as a supplement to the *Yearbook of German American Studies* (2006) and edited by Joshua R. Brown and Leroy T. Hopkins Jr., representing a new generation of German scholars who sought social as well as interdisciplinary connections. Studies included interpretative essays on folk medical practice of powwowing by anthropologist David W. Kriebel, Pennsylvania German language patterns by linguist Achim Kopp, psychoanalytic aspects of Pennsylvania German folktales by folklorist Simon Bronner, and educational history of Pennsylvania German instruction in Old Order schools by anthropologist Karen M. Johnson-Weiner. Four years later, another groundbreaking scholar of the postwar generation, Earl Haag, who taught from 1958 to 1999 in the heart of Dutch country at the Schuylkill campus of the Pennsylvania State University, was honored with a *Festschrift* by the German American studies organization (Keel and Beam 2010). This recognition of Pennsylvania German studies within German American studies with contributions from German and Hungarian scholars in addition to Americans was a sign of broader academic respectability for the field outside of Pennsylvania. Trained as a German teacher, Haag was praised for bringing into the frame of his language studies song, literature, and drama.

Standing on the shoulders of these earlier giants, the "new" Pennsylvania German studies looked more outward than inward within communities. More diaspora-minded, more transnational, more intercultural, more contemporary, and more analytical, even critical (with theories drawn from other interdisciplinary formations such as performance studies, ethnic studies, cultural studies, and gender studies), the new Pennsylvania German studies took a cue from twenty-first-century intellectual movements to analyze the representation of culture as well as lived experience. Characteristic was anthropologist David W. Kriebel's statement emphasizing "practice" in the introduction to *Powwowing among the Pennsylvania Dutch* published in the Pennsylvania German History and Culture Series (2007, x): "It demonstrates that powwowing is not a dead relic but a living and changing practice that is still important to a number of people. Having said that, I explain why it persists and why many believe it does not—or should not. I look at powwowing not only as a healing practice and a magico-religious ritual but also as custom and symbol. It is especially significant and contentious in concerns for the survival of Pennsylvania Dutch identity in the twenty-first century in the face of mass culture and assimilation. In other words, what is 'Dutchiness,' and how is it expressed?" The question of "Dutchiness" marked a move to the social psychology of identity perception—even if one does not speak the language, eat scrapple, or dress "plain"—while maintaining a

historical-geographic interest in the diverse settlements on the Pennsylvania German cultural landscape.

In the chapters that follow, the new Pennsylvania German studies inform interpretations of how and why events, practices, and movements involving Pennsylvania Germans affect their self-identity and the way that others view them. Contributors update the story of the Pennsylvania Germans beyond the nineteenth century and show the often complicated ways that they maintained and adapted their Dutchiness to new circumstances and, in many instances, created traditions they could call Dutchy. Contributors also look beyond the borders of Pennsylvania to ask about the formation of regional, religious, linguistic, and social characteristics in what we call the Pennsylvania German diaspora. They equally scrutinize the diversity of communities under the Pennsylvania German rubric, including controversies of groups such as the Moravians and Neukommers considered on the edges of the culture. They have to consider intercultural relationships and the ways that Pennsylvania Germans integrate within, and separate from, national societies of which they are a part. In the sequence of chapters, contributors strive to cover the full span of scholarship on their subjects while entering into conversation with one another on the meaning of being Pennsylvania German in the past, present, and future.

This page intentionally left blank

Part 1 History and Geography

This page intentionally left blank

1 The Old World Background

MARK HÄBERLEIN

In an article published in the *William and Mary Quarterly* in 1987, A. G. Roeber argued that few areas of early American history were as understudied as the history of Germans in the colonies. Roeber identified the underlying causes of this neglect—including the preoccupation of colonial American historians with the New England and Chesapeake colonies and the concentration of German social historians on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. After the 1990s, the situation considerably improved: monographs and collections of essays on German migration to eighteenth-century America appeared on both sides of the Atlantic, and American historians began integrating Germans into narratives of colonial history (Butler 2000, 29–32, 103, 136, 162–63, 189, 199, 234; A. Taylor 2001, 255, 267, 271–72, 303, 317–22, 342). The many reasons for this surge of scholarship on the topic include a renewed interest of German early modern historians in migration history (Beer and Dahlmann 2004; Heerwart and Schnurmann 2007; Lehmann, Wellenreuther, and Wilson 2000), increasing attention of colonial American historians to developments in the "middle colonies" of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania (Bodle 1994), the rapid development of Atlantic history as a perspective on intercontinental exchange in the early modern period (Bailyn 1996; 2005; Games 2006), and cooperation between German and American scholars. Moreover, the work of genealogists who have compiled lists of transatlantic migrants from church records and official documents has provided social and migration historians with valuable data sets (Burgert 1983; 1985; 1992; Hacker 1980; 1983).

With the goal of assessing this movement and identifying research issues in the field, my focus here is on the Old World background of German-speaking migrants to eighteenth-century Pennsylvania as well as on patterns of transatlantic exchange. After addressing issues of definition (as early modern Germany, unlike England or France, was not a unitary state), I then outline conditions in the migrants' regions of origins, basic patterns of the migration process, and forms of transatlantic communication between Germany and Pennsylvania.

Identifying the Emigrants' Country of Origin

English writers and colonial authorities who commented on central European immigration to Pennsylvania usually identified the migrants as either "Germans" or "Palatines." In 1717 Governor William Keith informed his council about the "great numbers of foreigners from Germany, strangers to our Language and Constitutions," while the arrival of shiploads of "Palatines" a decade later caused Keith's successor Patrick Gordon to consider measures "to prevent an English Plantation from being turned into a Colony of Aliens." By early 1728 the Pennsylvania Assembly also voiced concern that "the great Importation of Foreigners into this Province . . . who are Subjects of a foreign Prince, and who keep up amongst themselves a different Language, may, in time, prove of dangerous Consequence to the Peace" of the colony (Schwartz 1987, 86, 90–91).

These statements suggest that English colonists conceived of "Germans" as people who were unfamiliar with the English language and legal system. However, the assembly's statement that the immigrants were subjects of a foreign prince does not capture the complex constitutional realities of the Holy Roman Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In fact, the references to Germany did not imply a precise delineation of the geographic origins of these migrants. More often than not, "Germans" in Pennsylvania also included Swiss migrants, who shared the Germans' unfamiliarity with English law and language but who did not consider the Holy Roman emperor as their ruler, as the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War in 1648, had formally severed the ties between the Swiss Confederacy and the empire. "Palatines" was hardly more precise. Although a significant segment of German migrants to eighteenth-century Pennsylvania originated from the Electoral Palatinate and neighboring territories, the majority came from other principalities. The identification of German migrants as "Palatines" can be traced back to the mass exodus of southwest Germans to London in 1709, when the largest group indeed came from the Palatinate and when English politicians and writers like Jonathan Swift and Daniel Defoe were discussing what to do with the poor and distressed "Palatines" (Hippel 1984, 41).

While the history of the Holy Roman Empire between the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and the empire's dissolution in 1806 has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention in recent years, historians still disagree on its precise character. The Peace of Westphalia was both a European peace settlement and a fundamental constitutional document for the Holy Roman Empire, settling the long-standing conflict between the emperor and the princes over power and authority decisively in favor of the latter. More particularly, the princes were granted *Landeshoheit*—authority within their respective territories—and they obtained the right to make treaties and conclude alliances, as long as these were not directed against the empire itself (G. Schmidt 1999,

180–86; Stollberg-Rilinger 2006, 84–87). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, larger territorial states such as the Duchy of Württemberg, the Margravate of Baden, and the Electoral Palatinate built up fairly effective administrative and judicial apparatuses, passed legislation that regulated most areas of their subjects' public and private lives, maintained standing armies, and integrated the churches into the structure of their territories. In matters of taxation, jurisdiction, and administration, therefore, an inhabitant of the Duchy of Württemberg would consider himself a subject of the duke in Stuttgart, not of the emperor in Vienna (Holenstein 2003; Landwehr 2000; Vann 1984).

To be sure, the Holy Roman Empire retained important functions after 1648: the two imperial courts, the Imperial Aulic Court in Vienna and the Imperial Chamber Court in Speyer (which moved to Wetzlar in the 1680s), served as appellate courts for jurisdictional conflicts and important civil suits. Subjects who felt that their lord had violated their rights could also appeal there. The Imperial Diet in Regensburg, which established itself as a permanent forum after 1653, also became an important arbiter of territorial and religious conflicts. Moreover, the empire was divided into ten Imperial Circles, regional associations of princes and imperial cities that organized the military defense of the respective circle and coordinated the territories' economic and fiscal policies. Finally, the emperor remained a prestigious figure invested with high symbolic significance. According to the German historian Georg Schmidt, the Holy Roman Empire can be seen as a "complementary state" in which power was shared by the emperor, the imperial institutions, and the territorial states. Other scholars have criticized this view and emphasize that the empire lacked essential features of the modern states that emerged in western, northern, and southern Europe. It had neither a single center of monarchical power nor clearly defined boundaries and a unified population (Reinhard 2002; Schilling 2001; G. Schmidt 2001). Joachim Whaley's work (2012) provides a masterful synthesis of these issues.

The complex, multilayered structure of the Holy Roman Empire affected long-distance migration, including movement to colonial Pennsylvania, in various ways. Migrants traveling by boat from Mannheim or Karlsruhe down the Rhine River to Rotterdam, the major port of embarkation for German-speaking overseas migrants, had to pass numerous toll stations, while recruitment agents and transatlantic business travelers (the so-called newlanders) frequently crossed territorial boundaries (fig. 1.1). Moreover, empire-wide attempts to regulate migration flows, including a total ban on emigration to those foreign lands which had no connection with the empire, issued by Emperor Joseph II in 1768, were largely ineffective because of the territorial princes' divergent interests (Heinz 1989, 122–23, 144–45; Hippel 1984, 88, 102–4). As in most other areas of public policy, the territorial states largely devised their own legislation on migration.

Fig. 1.1. Map of the Rhineland showing major areas of migration to the American colonies.
Courtesy Marianne S. Wokeck; redrawn by Robert Cronan, Lucidity Information Design

Patterns of Migration and Transatlantic Communication

German migration to the American colonies has left numerous traces in public records on both sides of the Atlantic—records of manumissions (releases from serfdom) compiled by territorial authorities upon the departure of their subjects, freight contracts in Dutch notary archives, lists of immigrants who took oaths of allegiance upon their arrival in the port of Philadelphia, and advertisements in colonial newspapers. By mining these records, historians have been able to establish the numbers and the general outline of this transatlantic migration in considerable detail. For the period from 1683 to 1775, Marianne S. Wokeck has established a total number of 111,000 German immigrants to the American colonies, of whom 81,000 entered the colonies through the port of Philadelphia. Others have arrived at slightly different figures: Aaron Fogleman calculated the number of German migrants to the American colonies between 1700 and 1775 at 84,500, of whom 66,700 entered the colonies through the port of Philadelphia. Georg Fertig estimates that 130,000 German migrants came to North America between 1683 and 1800, of whom roughly 98,000 arrived before 1776 (Fertig 2000, 78; Fogleman 1992; Grubb 2011, 17–21; Wokeck 1999, 40–46).

Between 1683, when a group of Mennonite and Quaker artisans from Krefeld led by the Franconian jurist Francis Daniel Pastorius established the settlement of Germantown near Philadelphia, and the mid-1720s, the number of German-speaking immigrants to Pennsylvania remained rather small. Roughly 13,000 people left the Palatinate and neighboring territories after the extremely harsh winter of 1708–9, but due to poor organization and a lack of shipping capacities only about 3,000 of them eventually made it to the American colonies, mostly to New York and North Carolina. Still, this early phase of immigration is notable for the significant presence of Mennonites and radical Pietists among the migrants (Deppermann 1984; E. Fisher 1985; MacMaster 1985, 31–32, 35–65) and for the arrival of several persons who later held positions of leadership within the Pennsylvania German community. These included the printer and newspaper publisher Christopher Sauer, a native of Ladenburg on the Neckar who left the Westphalian county of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg for Pennsylvania in 1724, and the merchant and glass manufacturer Caspar Wistar, a native of the Palatinate who came to Philadelphia in 1717 (Beiler 2009; Durnbaugh 1958).

The migration flow took on larger dimensions in the late 1720s, increased during the 1730s and 40s, and reached a peak during the period from 1749 to 1754, when a total of 128 ships carrying almost 35,000 German-speaking immigrants reached the port of Philadelphia. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War abruptly ended this mass migration, and between the conclusion of the Peace of Paris in 1763 and the outbreak of the War for American Independence in 1775 the migratory flow continued on a smaller scale, as other settlement projects, particularly in eastern and southeastern Europe, com-

peted for migrants and offered attractive alternatives to overseas migration (Beiler 2005; Hippel 1984, 31–33; Wokeck 1999, 45–46).

Several studies have shown that the majority of German-speaking migrants to colonial Pennsylvania came from the southwestern part of the Holy Roman Empire, especially from the Rhine, Main, and Neckar Valleys and adjacent areas. Most were from Protestant territories like the Duchy of Württemberg, the Electoral Palatinate, the Duchy of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, the Margravate of Baden-Durlach, and a number of smaller Hessian, Franconian, and Palatine territories. An especially large number of people left the northern Kraichgau, a territorially fragmented cluster of villages and small towns surrounding the imperial city of Heilbronn. In economic terms, the German Southwest was dominated by mixed farming and household craft production, but climate and soil conditions accounted for significant regional differences. Whereas viticulture and specialized crop production thrived in the river valleys, soils in hilly regions such as the Swabian Alb and the Black Forest were often marginal, and livestock breeding and proto-industrial crafts played a larger role there. The German-speaking cantons of Switzerland and the Alsace—which came under French political control in the later seventeenth century but retained strong economic and cultural ties to adjacent German lands—also contributed significant numbers to central European migration to colonial British America (Fertig 2000, 138–40; Fogleman 1996, 39–42; Roeber 1993, 31–40; Wokeck 1999, 2–4).

Migrants from other parts of the Holy Roman Empire added an element of diversity to the transatlantic migration flow: Thus the 219 Schwenkfelders who emigrated to Pennsylvania between 1731 and 1737 hailed from Silesia and had temporarily resided in Saxony before crossing the Atlantic. Some early Mennonite immigrants to Pennsylvania were north Germans, and the 830 Moravians known to have migrated to the American colonies came from a wide range of German-speaking regions; their communal centers Herrnhut and Herrnhaag were located in Upper Lusatia, Saxony, and the Wetteravia region of Hesse (Fogleman 1996, 107–17; MacMaster 1985, 46–49; Weigelt 1987, 5–24; 2007, 180–203). During the peak period of transatlantic migration in the early 1750s, recruiting agents also attracted migrants from the Electorate of Hannover, including a group of unemployed miners from the Harz Mountains. On the whole, however, people from southwest Germany and neighboring regions dominated overseas migration in the eighteenth century (Brinck 1993, 115–25).

The importance of this area for German emigration to colonial Pennsylvania can partly be explained by its proximity to the Rhine River, the major waterway to the Dutch ports of embarkation (Hippel 1984, 40). Apart from the existence of an easily accessible transportation route, scholars have pointed out that demographic, economic, and social conditions in southwest Germany were conducive to emigration. The region was densely populated by the beginning of the seventeenth century, and while the Thirty Years' War caused dramatic demographic losses (many towns and rural districts lost more than

half of their population), postwar immigration as well as high birth rates led to significant population growth during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to most estimates, prewar population levels were attained once more in the first half of the eighteenth century, and the population continued to increase thereafter (Heinz 1989, 20–21, 24–25). Wolfgang von Hippel found that the Duchy of Württemberg's population grew at an annual rate of 0.7 percent throughout the eighteenth century, from 284,100 in 1697 to 659,200 in 1807. Emigration absorbed no more than 20 percent of the surplus of births over deaths (Hippel 1984, 29). The population of the Electoral Palatinate grew at an even faster rate of 1.1 percent in the late eighteenth century, from 287,000 inhabitants in 1772 to 328,300 in 1791 (Heinz 1989, 21). Between 1746 and 1785, the Margravate of Baden-Durlach experienced a population increase from about 82,000 to 109,000 (Fogleman 1996, 16).

The wars of the seventeenth century also contributed to high geographic mobility in central Europe. While large areas of southern Germany were devastated by the Thirty Years' War, neighboring Switzerland and Austria were little affected by warfare but were densely populated and seething with religious and social tension. The Habsburg rulers' Counter-Reformation politics put heavy pressure on Austria's Protestant population and drove thousands into exile, while authorities in the Swiss cantons of Berne and Zurich repeatedly persecuted and expelled the Mennonite minority (MacMaster 1985, 26–28, 33–34, 52–56; Schnabel 1992). Meanwhile, German princes eager to repopulate their territories after 1648 encouraged the settlement of foreigners by granting them tax incentives, economic privileges, exemptions from serfdom and military service, and limited religious toleration. Apart from Swiss, Austrians, and Tyrolians, groups of Huguenots and French-speaking Valdensians settled in southwest Germany in the later seventeenth century. A variety of reasons—renewed warfare in the era of Louis XIV of France, changes in the religious policies of southwest German rulers, and the continuing search for better opportunities—caused many immigrants to remain on the move. Some of these migrants, including many Swiss Mennonites who had temporarily settled in the Palatinate, eventually crossed the ocean to North America (Fogleman 1996, 21–22; Heinz 1989, 30–32, 93–97; Klingebeil 1999; Pfister 1987; Wokeck 1999, 5–7).

The migration of southwest Germans to colonial Pennsylvania was primarily a movement of families, typically headed by men aged twenty-five to forty-four years. The men recorded on the passenger lists in Philadelphia tended to be younger during the peak period of German immigration at midcentury, and the proportion of single young men rose during the final phase of colonial immigration between 1764 and 1775. Groups of neighbors and relatives often left their native villages together and made the ocean crossing on the same ships. According to Aaron Fogleman (1996, 63), "these extended-family migrations provided the framework within which . . . connections needed for successful settlement in the colonies were established" (see also Häberlein 1993, 20–33; Hippel 1984, 46–50; Wokeck 1999, 47–52).

In social terms, few transatlantic migrants from German-speaking lands were large property holders; most were small to middling farmers and rural artisans. In eighteenth-century southwest Germany, there was no clear distinction between these two categories. While farm families often engaged in rural craft production during the winter months or to increase the family income, rural artisans typically farmed small plots to make ends meet. Artisans engaged in "mass crafts" like tailors, weavers, and shoemakers often found it difficult to support their families from their craft alone. The higher ranks of German society, which contemporaries conceived of as a hierarchically ordered society of estates, were rarely part of the migratory stream to North America. Noblemen, public officials, and the elites of southwest German villages and towns—pastors, traders, land-rich peasants, and wealthy craftsmen, who were often members of local councils and courts—obviously saw little reason to emigrate. The poorest members of society, by contrast—the day laborers, cottagers, indigent widows, and vagrants—were simply too destitute to afford the journey (Brinck 1993, 125–34; Häberlein 1993, 44–49; Hippel 1984, 50–58; Wokeck 1999, 16).

Even the middling and lower ranks of rural society, from which the majority of the migrants to Pennsylvania came, were mostly literate. Analysis of passenger lists compiled in the port of Philadelphia has revealed that about 60 percent of the male passengers arriving in the 1730s and 40s and more than 70 percent of those arriving at midcentury could sign their name (Grubb 1987a; 2011, 106–43; Wokeck 1999, 50). Since the sixteenth century, Protestant territorial princes had promoted elementary schooling, and eighteenth-century estate inventories reveal that many villagers in Württemberg owned at least a few books—usually religious works like the Bible, hymnals, catechisms, sermon books, and devotional tracts. The reading of these works in family homes and neighborly circles established a tradition of domestic piety, which German migrants transferred to Pennsylvania (Medick 1996, 447–560; Roeber 1993, 88–94; Wellenreuther 2001, 469–75).

Explanations of German-speaking migrants' reasons for leaving their home country have focused on social and economic factors. Several scholars have emphasized that population growth put increasing pressure on rural communities with scarce natural resources. The practice of partible inheritance led to increasing fragmentation of real estate and may have encouraged further population growth by enabling villagers to marry at a young age. Moreover, German princes imposed heavy taxes and feudal labor dues on their subjects in order to finance the building of palaces, an extravagant court life, standing armies, and an expanding bureaucracy. Warfare affected southwest Germany either directly, as in the War of the Palatine Succession (1688–97), when French armies ravaged large parts of the Palatinate and the upper Rhine Valley, or indirectly through troop movements, additional taxes, the quartering of soldiers, and army requisitions. In addition, villagers in southwest Germany were plagued by repeated harvest failures and subsistence crises, underemployment, widespread indebtedness, local conflicts

over the use of meadows and forests, and intrusive local officials. Petitions for manumission to emigrate usually emphasized hard economic times and the lack of "nourishment" (*Nahrung*) in the petitioners' home communities. Significantly, emigration figures rose steeply after disastrous harvest failures (as in 1708–10, 1737–38, and 1740–41) and after the end of major wars (as in 1749 and 1764) (Brinck 1993, 134–44; Fogleman 1996, 23–28, 42–60; Häberlein 1993, 49–61, 69–73; Heinz 1989, 21–23, 33–47; Hippel 1984, 58–67; Roeber 1993, 101–13; Wokeck 1999, 1–2, 5–18).

As to religious factors, scholarly consensus is that religious persecution and intolerance did not play a major role in the decisions of a majority of Lutheran and Reformed migrants, since the Lutheran and Reformed churches had been officially recognized in the empire in the Peace of Westphalia and were the established churches in the territories from which the Pennsylvania Germans came. Moreover, principalities like the Electoral Palatinate, the Duchy of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, and the Margravate of Baden-Durlach had adopted a policy of limited toleration toward Mennonites and other religious minorities (Häberlein 2005; Häberlein and Schmölz-Häberlein 2001; Konersmann 2001). According to Richard K. MacMaster (1985, 52–61), economic considerations may have influenced Mennonites' decision to cross the Atlantic as much as restrictions on the practice of their faith. For smaller groups like the Schwenkfelders, the Moravians, and the radical Pietists, by contrast, religious intolerance was a real issue (Heinz 1989, 27–30). Catholics constituted only a small minority among the German overseas migrants because settlement projects in the Habsburg lands in eastern and southeastern Europe offered attractive alternative settlement opportunities. In addition, the fact that Catholics who had come to London during the mass exodus of 1709 had been sent back, along with legal restrictions on Catholic immigration, may have discouraged their co-religionists from considering emigration to a Protestant empire (Fertig 2000, 138; Fogleman 1996, 32; Roeber 1993, 40–41; Wokeck 1999, 8).

A crucial factor in the decision to emigrate, however, was the availability of information on the American colonies. Some scholars even regard propaganda for distant lands as the decisive element in the migrants' decision to leave their home country (Brinck 1993, 144; Fenske 1980). There were three major sources of information: printed promotional literature, emigrant letters, and emigration agents. In the earliest phase of German migration to Pennsylvania, promotional tracts played an important role. In order to advertise his new colony, William Penn wrote several accounts of Pennsylvania between 1681 and 1685, which were also translated into German and Dutch by Penn's agent Benjamin Furly. Several of Francis Daniel Pastorius's writings were printed in Germany between 1684 and 1700, and Daniel Falckner's *Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania* (Curious News of Pennsylvania) was published in 1702. These descriptions of the colony's resources and early settlement emphasized Pennsylvania's favorable climate and the availability of inexpensive, fertile land along with high wages, low food prices, low taxes,

representative government, and liberty of conscience. By pointing out the absence of feudal dues, servitude, military service, and restrictions on hunting and fishing, the authors of these tracts contrasted the opportunities that Pennsylvania offered with negative conditions in Germany (Beiler 2005, 96–100; Diekmann 2005; Fertig 2000, 101–9, 177–79; Häberlein 1993, 85–88; Rödel 1978; Wokeck 1999, 26–27).

While promotional tracts advertising settlement projects in New England, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia continued to be printed in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, emigrant letters soon replaced printed works as the primary source of written information about Pennsylvania. As with the printed tracts, these letters often emphasized religious freedom, low taxes, the absence of feudal restrictions, the fertility of the land, and the abundance of natural resources. Coming from relatives and former neighbors, letters also appeared particularly credible and trustworthy, especially when they gave specific information on emigrants who had successfully established themselves in the New World and offered practical advice to prospective migrants. Although some letters emphasized the hardships of the voyage and the difficulties of adjusting to an unfamiliar environment, emigrant letters generally helped to sustain the migration flow from southwest Germany to Pennsylvania and contributed to the creation of migration chains between communities in the Old and New Worlds. On the other hand, negative reports about settlement conditions in colonies like Maine or South Carolina deterred prospective migrants or made them look for better opportunities—more often than not in Penn's colony, which established a lasting reputation as the "best poor man's country" (Beiler 2005, 102–4; Brinck 1993, 145–49; Fertig 2000, 169–77; Fogleman 1996, 33, 60; Häberlein 1993, 89–92; Schelbert and Rappolt, 1977; Wokeck 1999, 26–30).

The third major source of information on conditions in the colonies was provided by the "newlanders," immigrants who returned to southwest Germany or Switzerland in order to deliver letters, transact business, and recruit more migrants. Some authors at the time—for example, the organist Gottlieb Mittelberger, who emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1750 and returned to his native Württemberg four years later, where he published his *Journey to Pennsylvania* in 1756 (Mittelberger 1997); the Germantown printer Christopher Sauer; and the Lutheran clergyman Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg—charged these newlanders with unscrupulous practices. They allegedly promised more than they could deliver, gave exaggerated accounts of their success in America, forged emigrant letters, absconded with money entrusted to them, and robbed unsuspecting migrants of their goods at the first opportunity (Brinck 1993, 88–103; Häberlein 1993, 96–97; Heinz 1989, 106–7; Hippel 1984, 71–79).

Whereas the older literature has often followed these negative characterizations and portrayed eighteenth-century transatlantic migrants from Germany as passive victims of devious agents, profit-hungry merchants, and

unscrupulous sea captains, more recent studies have substantially revised this picture. They emphasize the agency of participants in the migration process and demonstrate that German-speaking settlers, businessmen, and clergymen were actively involved in the transatlantic networks that emerged in the context of eighteenth-century overseas migration. Significantly, negative reports about unscrupulous newlanders come mostly from the peak period of German transatlantic migration in the middle of the eighteenth century, when competition among merchants and colonial promoters was most intense (Fertig 2000, 113–35; Häberlein 1993, 92–96; 2000; Roeber 1993, 114–31; Wokeck 1999, 31–34).

Modern research has also established that these transoceanic go-betweens were a large and heterogeneous group. Historian A.G. Roeber (1993, 118) identified about eighty persons who came to German village communities with powers of attorney from emigrants to America in order to recover village property or claim inheritances. If all references in German and American archival sources and in the Pennsylvania German newspapers were added up—a task that has not yet been undertaken—the number of newlanders would certainly come to several hundred. A case study of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a regionally important commercial and administrative center in the hinterland of Philadelphia, shows that at least ten German-speaking residents traveled back to their native regions in southwest Germany and Switzerland between 1736 and 1769 in order to collect inheritances and purchase trade goods. Johann Hegetschwiler, an immigrant from the Zurich canton of Knonau, crossed the ocean at least three times between 1764 and 1769 (Häberlein 2002; Pfister 1987, 163). While some newlanders were farmers, artisans, and traders who made the trip back across the Atlantic only once with the primary purpose of settling their affairs in the Old World, others regularly crossed the ocean in order to collect inheritances, carry letters, transmit information, and purchase trade goods either in commission or on their own account. As historian Marianne S. Wokeck (1999, 32) has pointed out, these activities complemented each other within a "system of transferring capital and goods across the Atlantic built primarily on personal contact and trust."

A few German immigrants managed to establish themselves as successful merchants in Pennsylvania and develop their own transatlantic business networks. One of the most prominent and certainly the best-studied is Caspar Wistar, the son of a forester from the vicinity of Heidelberg who had immigrated to Philadelphia at the age of twenty-one in 1717. In the 1720s Wistar entered the Atlantic trade, and by 1730 he began to import goods directly from Germany. As the Navigation Acts allowed only subjects of the British Crown to engage in commerce within the British Empire, Wistar became naturalized as a British subject in 1724 and obtained a naturalization act that spelled out his commercial privileges. To sustain his German-American import business, he built up a transatlantic network of partners and agents.

Goods for the Pennsylvania market were purchased by a childhood friend in the town of Neckargemünd, who entrusted them to newlanders or emigrants. Wistar's business network also included river boatmen, shippers, sea captains, Mennonites (in the Palatinate, Krefeld, and Amsterdam), and colonial Quaker merchants. As Rosalind Beiler (2000; 2009, 89–153) has shown, Caspar Wistar conducted this transatlantic trade at the margins between the legal shipment of emigrants' household goods and the illegal smuggling of non-British commercial items. Finally, Wistar imported German goods that were not produced in comparable quality in Great Britain or which were in high demand among German migrants: custom-made rifles, metal goods, textiles (silk, fustian, and linen), German-language books, looking glasses, and mirrors. Wistar's commercial strategy, which was finely adjusted to the exigencies of transatlantic trade and the needs of overseas migrants, proved remarkably successful: with the capital accumulated in commerce, he purchased 22,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania, much of which he resold to German immigrants at a profit. By finding jobs for immigrants, selling land and goods to them, extending credit, and forwarding information, Wistar established himself as an important member of the Pennsylvania German immigrant community. At the time of his death in 1752, he was one of the richest men in Philadelphia.

Finally, the availability of an effective transportation system sustained German migration to the American colonies. Pennsylvania's founder William Penn relied on agents like the Quaker merchant Benjamin Furly in Rotterdam and the Dutch merchant Jacob Telner to recruit central European settlers for his new colony. In the early eighteenth century, Amsterdam's wealthy Mennonites organized a Commission for Foreign Needs in order to help persecuted co-religionists in Switzerland. Up to the 1730s, the commission provided essential material assistance to Swiss and Rhenish Mennonites who migrated to Pennsylvania. According to historian Richard K. MacMaster (1985, 35–39, 55–69, 72–74), the commission "operated what was virtually an emigration office" (see also Beiler 1997; 2007). By that time, a small group of British-owned shipping firms in Rotterdam, which were closely collaborating with merchants in London and Philadelphia, had created the necessary infrastructure for shipping tens of thousands of central Europeans to the New World. In a transatlantic division of labor, London merchants provided most of the ships, their counterparts in Rotterdam recruited the passengers for the ocean voyage, and the Philadelphia merchants received the passengers and settled the outstanding accounts (Brinck 1993, 72–88; Grubb 1987b; 1990; 2011, 52–70; Wokeck 1986a; 1991; 1999, 59–112).

A crucial aspect of the passenger trade was the extension of credit to those migrants who could not afford to pay their own passage. Merchants and shippers devised the "redemptioner system," a variant of the long-established practice of indentured servitude. Essentially, the passenger agreed with a merchant, agent, or captain to settle his account for the Atlantic passage

upon arrival in America. If he was lucky, a relative, friend, or former neighbor would settle his account. If he could not find anyone who paid for his passage, however, the passenger had to "redeem" himself by selling his labor to another colonist, usually for two to four years in the case of adults and for up to seven years in the case of children and youths. A substantial proportion—perhaps one-half or more—of all German migrants to colonial Pennsylvania came as redemptioners. Whereas the older literature emphasized the exploitative aspects of the redemptioner system and sometimes referred to it as a form of "white slavery" (Herrick 1926; Hippel 1984, 35–36; A. Smith 1947), recent work has pointed out the system's essential rationality. The redemptioner was able to negotiate the terms of his contract in the port of destination according to his skills and to the demand conditions on the colonial labor market. Families might sell the labor of one or two members in order to pay for the passage costs of the other members. While this system involved considerable risk—when demand for labor was sluggish, for example, the redemptioner's bargaining position weakened—it also constituted an opportunity for immigrants, and it might involve educational experience in the new country as well (Grubb 1986; 1990; Wokeck 1986b; 1999, 100–103, 150–64).

Since most eighteenth-century emigrants from southwest Germany were subject to a feudal system and in a state of personal serfdom, they had to undergo a cumbersome bureaucratic procedure of manumission and release from allegiance to their prince. While servitude in southwest Germany was comparatively mild compared to the conditions in north and northeast Germany, it enabled territorial rulers to control the geographic mobility of their subjects, and territorial states used the manumission process to skim off a substantial part of the migrants' assets. At least 20 to 25 percent (though in some cases more than 50 percent) of their property was pocketed by princely authorities. Many migrants, especially those with little or no landed property, avoided the procedure and the manumission fees by leaving their home territory illegally (Brinck 1993, 157–63; Fogleman 1996, 20; Heinz 1989, 39, 55–93). Even in the Duchy of Württemberg, where the Treaty of Tübingen (1514) had guaranteed the subjects' right to move abroad free of charge, government bureaucrats closely monitored geographic mobility. As a rule, German governments in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries followed the cameralist maxim that a large population constituted the essential basis of a country's wealth. Therefore, they tended to discourage emigration, especially the removal of prosperous subjects. Thus, potential migrants were warned of the dangers of the journey and denied the right to return if they failed; the estates of illegal emigrants were confiscated; newlanders were often arrested and expelled; and emigration was sporadically prohibited, although to little effect (Brinck 1993, 163–84; Fogleman 1996, 19–20; Häberlein 1993, 97–101; Heinz 1989, 54–58, 97–146; Hippel 1984, 30, 94–112; Roeber 1993, 99–101; Wellenreuther 2000; Wokeck 1999, 21–23).

Contexts and Interpretations

One interpretive problem concerning the Old World background of Pennsylvania Germans concerns the significance of eighteenth-century transatlantic migration in the context of early modern migration in general. German migration to Pennsylvania certainly had a much larger impact on the receiving region, where 33 percent of the inhabitants were of German origin according to the first federal census of 1790 (Schwartz 1987, 1), than it had on the emigrants' regions of origin. Scholars have repeatedly pointed out that population movements from southwest Germany to eastern and southeastern Europe were considerably larger than overseas migration before the nineteenth century. According to Hans Fenske's estimates, state-sponsored and private settlement projects in Hungary attracted at least 350,000 settlers between 1683 and 1812, while Brandenburg-Prussia recruited another 300,000 immigrants. After 1763, some 37,000 Germans migrated to Russia and settled in the Volga and Black Sea regions, and about 50,000 went to Poland. Other destinations—Ireland, Spain, and Denmark—were less important but still received several thousand migrants. These figures clearly establish that the 111,000 migrants to colonial America constituted merely a fraction of total long-distance migration from Germany during the eighteenth century. Particularly after 1763, the government-sponsored and heavily advertised settlement projects in eastern and southeastern Europe may have appeared more attractive than the American colonies to many potential long-distance migrants (Fenske 1980, 333–35; Fogleman 1996, 28–30; Hippel 1984, 36–41; Wellenreuther 2000, 24–25, 29, 33; Wokeck 1999, 2, 8, 20).

Taking this argument one step further, Georg Fertig (1994; 2000, 80–81) has pointed out that the German population as a whole was highly mobile in preindustrial times: domestic servants moved around in search of employment, journeymen were expected to spend time abroad after the completion of their apprenticeship, merchants and commercial agents often had to travel long distances, students left their hometowns to attend universities, armies had to leave their garrisons for military campaigns and mercenary service, and vagrants were on the road because they had no other place to live. The Dutch East India Company recruited hundreds of thousands of young Germans as sailors, soldiers, craftsmen, and commercial employees throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to Fertig's (1994, 195) estimate, "roughly every third adult individual in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Germany changed his or her place of residence during their lives." Long-distance migrants made up but a small fraction of the total migrant population. The estimated 516,000 adult migrants to eastern Europe in the eighteenth century appear to have constituted a mere 1.1 percent, and the 70,000 adults who went to North America during the same time period no more than 0.2 percent of all German migrants. According to Fertig (1994, 210), transatlantic migration should therefore be seen "as an extension and modification of the traditional 'channels' of mobility."

While these observations help to put transatlantic migration from Germany in perspective, it is also clear that overseas migration had a significant impact in some places at certain times. Transatlantic migration dominated local discourse when a newlander appeared or letters from Pennsylvania arrived, affected family and kinship networks, and put the distant colony of Pennsylvania on the "mental map" of German villagers and townsmen (Häberlein 2000, 156–62; Wokeck 1999, 18). These observations raise various questions regarding the impact of transatlantic migration on individual communities and regions. How did it affect land and labor markets, social networks, and practices of communication? Moreover, the migration streams to eastern Europe and North America should be analyzed in comparative perspective with regard to the migration systems, information flows, and communication networks that they generated.

Georg Fertig (1997; 2000) has also taken issue with prevailing explanations of overseas migration in terms of "push factors" (negative conditions in the Old World) and "pull factors" (a positive image of America promoted in printed works, emigrants' letters, and the accounts of newlanders). He thinks that historians have too long followed the logic of eighteenth-century bureaucrats and cameralist thinkers, who deemed emigration undesirable and therefore characterized it as irrational and abnormal. In a detailed local study of the Baden village of Göbrichen, he shows that the community was not overpopulated and that migration from Göbrichen to North America at midcentury cannot be explained adequately as a manifestation of economic and social crisis. Instead, Fertig (2000, 401) argues that migrants made rational choices according to their assessment of local market conditions and the available information about opportunities in North America: "These people were neither pushed nor pulled," he writes; "they invested."

While Fertig has presented a methodologically sophisticated analysis, he also tends to downplay the abundant evidence on poverty, material hardship, and dissatisfaction with prevailing living conditions expressed in petitions for manumission and government reports (Wellenreuther 2001, 101). On the other hand, he may be overemphasizing the quality of information about America that was available to prospective emigrants. There is ample evidence that migrants acted on uncertain information and that villagers doubted the authenticity and accuracy of news from America (Häberlein 2000, 165–67; Wokeck 1999, 31). Migrants who left Germany for Pennsylvania were certainly not mere passive victims of unscrupulous newlanders and profit-hungry schemers; they actively took part in transatlantic networks of travel, trade, and information. But it is also doubtful that they based their decision to migrate entirely on rational market considerations (Wellenreuther 2001, 100–101). We therefore need to account for the complexity of migrants' motivations and the manifold economic, social, religious, political, and individual factors involved in the transatlantic relations of the Pennsylvania German diaspora.

2 To the New World
Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

JOHN B. FRANTZ

Between 1683 and 1775, tens of thousands of German-speaking Europeans left what is now Germany and Switzerland and entered the British American province of Pennsylvania. Once in the New World, they drew upon their varied regional, religious, and linguistic backgrounds to form a new Pennsylvania German identity. A central research theme among analysts is the relatively speedy process of consolidation by the German-speaking immigrants as a culture from their arrival in the late seventeenth century to their migration and distinctive settlement inland in the eighteenth century. Yet analysts also note their cultural variation as the ethnic German population fanned out from the primary cultural hearth of Philadelphia. These twin patterns of consolidation and variation underlie the historical narratives of arrival and settlement of the German-speaking persons who became at times venerated and vilified collectively as the Pennsylvania Dutch.

The significance of the early immigrant experience in the center of the American colonies derives from the challenge of a large German-speaking population to English colonizers. Indeed, more German speakers came to Pennsylvania than any other ethnic group and raised issues of their compliance with an English linguistic and social standard (Fogleman 1996, 2). The German speakers came from as far east as Silesia, as far west as Alsace-Lorraine, and as far south as Switzerland, and from numerous principalities in between, including Württemberg, Saxony, and especially the Rhenish Palatinate region in what is now southwestern Germany (Wokeck 1999, 2–3). So many came from the Palatinate that English officials and some Pennsylvanians, such as Benjamin Franklin, erroneously called all German-speaking immigrants Palatines (Frantz 1998, 23; Ten Brook 1896, 24). Responsibility for this influx is often laid at the feet of William Penn, and it is with him that the colonial saga of the Pennsylvania Germans begins.

Recruitment and the Journey to the New World

Penn recruited settlers on evangelistic missions in the 1670s to Holland and what is now Germany, where societies of Friends had existed since 1657 (Seidensticker 1878, 251). Beginning in 1677 in Holland, he attended meetings of the Society of Friends from Holland, the Palatinate, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Holstein (Seidensticker 1878, 271). His audiences made him aware that his views on pacifism and freedom of worship were similar to those of the Mennonites who lived in the area (Trueblood 1966, 63, 86, 107, 187). Consequently, he became more interested in the Rhineland's oppressed religious minorities, which led to his desire to give them asylum where they could practice their religion freely (Trueblood 1966, 54).

When Penn received a charter for a colony in America in March 1681, he began to write promotional tracts in English, and then he had Benjamin Furly translate them into Dutch and German to distribute among the people whom he had recently visited (Soderlund 1983, 58). Penn's first tract was titled "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America" (Soderlund 1983, 58–65). Possibly because he wanted to appeal to a broad audience, he did not emphasize religion. Instead, he specified the value of colonies to England: "The colonists' labor is worth more there than if they had remained in England, as are the products of their labor. Their products came to England for use there. If there were an excess, it could be exported which would benefit England financially." Such commerce could create work for large numbers of Englishmen.

Having extolled the value of colonies to England, Penn proceeded to praise his own. Because he had not yet been to America, he had to rely on reports that he received to write his promotional tracts. Penn's opening pitch was that his colony was "600 miles nearer the sun than England," implying that the climate is better there. It could be entered by the Delaware River on which ships could sail about seventy miles before reaching the falls, or by the Chesapeake Bay. Without going into detail, Penn mentioned that the area contained a variety of trees and that "fowl, fish and wild deer" are "plentiful." He identified "commodities that the country is thought to be capable of," such as wine, tobacco, iron, furs, and grains. He explained that these commodities would be useful in trade with the southern colonies, England, or the Continent (Soderlund, 1983, 62).

Penn then described the policies that he planned to establish. The people and the governor were to have legislative power "so that no law can be made, nor money raised, but by the people's consent" and, in subsequent tracts, disclosed his plan for a "Holy Experiment" in which people of various nationalities and religious beliefs would live together in peace (Soderlund 1983, 62, 77). Other writers also compiled tracts that promoted Pennsylvania, including Francis Daniel Pastorius, who became the leader of the Germantown colony established in 1683 in what is now northwest Philadelphia. He

was a well-educated attorney who had intense religious sensitivities. According to his biographer Marion Dexter Learned (1908, 103), the frivolities of contemporary life in Europe disgusted him: "the vanities of dress, speech, foreign manners and ceremonies," dancing and fencing. While practicing law in Frankfurt, he came in contact with Spenerian Pietists who shared his concerns about the moral and spiritual corruption of Europe and, in light of its unwillingness to reform, pointed to America as a place to realize their vision (Learned 1908, 6).

Undoubtedly, the decision to leave Europe was a difficult one. Roeber (1993, 52, 93) emphasized that some emigrants left behind property that they never could reclaim. They traded familiar terrain for a land they had only heard about. Leaving required obtaining permits from rulers who were reluctant to grant them and the payment of fees (Fogleman 1996, 19–20). According to Gottlieb Mittelberger (1960, 11), who emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1750, those who traveled down the Rhine were stopped thirty-six times between Heilbronn and Holland. Officials boarded the ships, searched the passengers, forced them to open their chests, and often robbed them. After reaching Rotterdam, the normal port of departure, they sometimes had to wait several weeks for a ship to carry them across the ocean (Kuhns 1901, 657). This delay caused added expense for room and board. Some emigrants traveling on the Rhine River on their way to Pennsylvania had spent almost all of their resources before reaching Rotterdam, their port of embarkation (Klepp, Grubb, and Pfaelzer de Ortiz 2006, 18).

Consequently, indigent emigrants had to contract with agents, also derogatorily referred to as newlanders, soul merchants, or man stealers. Wokeck (1981, 273–78) explains how the system worked. Merchants and shipowners based in Rotterdam, London, and Philadelphia formed "business networks" and hired agents to recruit emigrants. Faust (1927, 61–62) describes how they encouraged emigrants by advancing their fares, which emigrants would pay for by selling their services when they arrived in Pennsylvania. For the emigrants, agents provided information about America (some of which was inaccurate), arranged passage to Rotterdam, and scheduled their departure on ships sailing to America. While posing as helpful friends, some newlanders exploited eager emigrants. Mittelberger (1960, 26–27) charged that the newlanders "stole German people under all manner of pretenses" and "delivered them into the hands of the great Dutch traffickers in human souls."

One of the newlander's techniques was to create the appearance of wealth, by wearing conspicuous attire, such as a heavy gold watch and chain, and loudly proclaiming tales of how easily he acquired the wealth in America (Faust 1916, 32). Mittelberger (1960, 27–28) claims that some naïve emigrants who entrusted their money to the newlanders for safekeeping never recovered it; likewise, some settlers in America authorized newlanders to collect inheritances in Europe but never received them because unscrupulous agents kept the funds (also see Wokeck 1999, 32 n. 3). To some extent,

Mittelberger's negativity can be attributed to his disillusionment with Pennsylvania and his desire to discourage his countrymen from going there. Nevertheless, other emigrants had similar experiences with newlanders. Swiss officials attempted to prevent the newlanders from recruiting emigrants by offering rewards to those who would facilitate their apprehension, and newspaper publisher Christopher Sauer wrote in 1751 that the ruler of the Palatinate ordered that newlanders caught in his territory be imprisoned (Faust 1927, 32, 62).

Despite the unsavory techniques attributed to the newlanders, several historians report that they rendered an important service. Wokeck (1999, 76–77, 80) acknowledges their abuses but describes the system as beneficial to everyone involved. Instead of using the pejorative term, she calls them "recruiting agents" (65). She notes that merchants in Rotterdam, London, and Philadelphia as well as the ship captains were involved in a "profit making venture" (59–60). It was in their best interest to deliver a live and healthy human cargo. Not only was that good public relations but also was more likely to provide paying passengers and masters who would pay for those who could not afford their own passage and then place the indigent under contract to work off their passage payment. She claims that the recruiting agents helped many people emigrate to Pennsylvania who would not have known how to do it on their own (80). Klepp and her colleagues (2006, 18) also identify positive aspects of the system—that some parents were able to negotiate "tailor-made education clauses for their children." William O'Reilly (2006, 180) claims that the agents provided information to people who were isolated or illiterate and who would not have known about the opportunities to emigrate. The agents, he insists, knew the governments of the homelands and the characteristics of the colonies and had mastered the detail of preparing large groups of colonists to emigrate. O'Reilly considers them "the foundation on which the trade in strangers was built" (165, 179).

Whether the emigrants paid the cost of their own passage, as some were able to do, or became indentured to a ship captain or merchant, more than a few emigrants described their voyage to America as a dangerous, even life-threatening experience. To people whose only experience with big water was the Neckar or Rhine River, if that, the very thought of sailing across the ocean was terrifying. Mittelberger (1960, 13), who left for Pennsylvania in 1750, described the journey in great detail. He mentioned gales that raged for two or three days and nights. These storms whipped up waves that looked like mountains, one after another, jostling overloaded ships. People were "packed densely, like herrings." Many ships carried 400 to 600 men, women, and children. During the storms, it was not possible to be on deck, and in the passengers' berths below healthy and sick rolled over each other. Mittleberger noted that there is on board these ships terrible misery, stench, "fumes, vomiting, various kinds of sea sickness, fever, dysentery, headaches, heat, constipation, boils, scurvy, cancer, mouth rot, and similar afflictions." He attributed these problems to the "old and sharply salted food and wheat,"

as well as "very bad and foul water" that contributed to hunger and thirst. As if these afflictions were not enough to make the emigrants miserable, lice was so abundant, "especially on sick people," that they could not scrape them off their bodies (12).

Other passengers had similar experiences as they sailed to Pennsylvania. Pastorius, the founder of Germantown, reported that his 1683 voyage to Pennsylvania included sailing off course, a storm that broke the ship's foremast, having had the ship repeatedly shaken by a whale, food that was so bad that he could hardly eat the meat and fish, and a sailor who "went crazy" (Learned 1908, 118). Christopher Sauer faulted the ship's captain for the poor food and water (Durnbaugh 1959, 220). A pastor to Pennsylvania's German Lutherans, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, complained that, shortly after leaving for America in 1742, he could not move because contrary winds forced the ship to lie on its side, and everything that was not tied down "tumbled out." He became ill, and only "a little warm wine" enabled him to get up. Rats in his sleeping quarters also concerned him. After one climbed on him while he slept and drank the sweat from his body until it awakened him, he could not sleep at night. Muhlenberg praised God for his survival. Fortunately, throughout the journey he had Salzburg Lutherans on board to whom he preached and who helped distract him from his troubles (Muhlenberg 1942–48, 1:26, 55, 57).

Adventurer Carl Büttner observed that sickness was so pervasive on his voyage that most of the members of the crew became "violently ill; even the captain himself vomited constantly, like the rest of us, and almost threw up his intestines." Büttner disparaged the "deplorable custom" on his ship that forced "the sixty girls to be distributed among the three hundred men in their quarters" (Klepp, Grubb, and Pfaelzer de Ortiz 2006, 217). He noted that in this way "the doors on immortality were opened" and many of the women contracted venereal diseases. The length of the voyage contributed to the prevalence of disease and death among the passengers. The journey down the Rhine required four to six weeks. Crossing from Holland to England took about a week. Loading cargoes and payment of customs duties delayed departure for another week or two. With favorable winds, voyages lasted seven weeks; however, some took much longer, according to Mittelberger (1960, 12): "In 1752 a ship arrived in Philadelphia from Holland which had taken an entire half year to make the crossing. This ship was able to bring 21 out of approximately 340 persons to Philadelphia." Pregnant women and children under seven rarely survived the journey. Mittelberger (1960, 25, 14–15) wrote that he saw thirty-two children thrown overboard to be "devoured by the monsters of the sea." Illness was so prevalent on immigrant ships that they could be considered "floating hospitals" (G. S. Fisher 1908, 101). Christopher Sauer charged that in one year 2,000 Germans had died crossing the Atlantic (G. S. Fisher 1908, 102). Even on William Penn's voyage to Pennsylvania in 1682, which one would think would have been well provisioned with healthy food and water, many people had small pox, and thirty people died (Darrach

1917, 2). Such accounts discouraged some prospective colonists from making the journey to Pennsylvania (Grubb 1987c, 566).

Despite the prevalence of such anecdotal evidence, the danger of the voyage might have been exaggerated. Some scholars dispute the validity of the evidence from journals and travel accounts. Economist Farley Grubb (1987c, 584, 566 n. 3) acknowledges that the eighteenth-century North Atlantic voyage for European immigrants was difficult and hazardous; he pointed out, however, that "there were many favorable accounts of the passage that have for the most part been ignored." He claims that quantitative evidence indicates that the journey "was not as deadly or prone to promoting serious diseases as has been commonly suggested." His statistics indicate that the normal journey to Pennsylvania took only two months, whereas Mittelberger (1960, 7) charged that he had spent fifteen weeks at sea. Mittelberger's ship carried approximately 400 passengers, whereas Grubb's (1987, 570 n. 9) statistics indicate that the average was 300. Grubb (1987c, 581–85) suggests also that the death rate during the passage was lower than Mittelberger would have us believe. Historian Sharon Salinger (1987, 91) notes that the lack of reliable statistics makes it difficult to specify the exact rate. Nevertheless, Wokeck (1999, 540) notes that "in the single worst year, 1748, the death rate was as high as 35 percent."

Settlement in Pennsylvania

Upon landing in Philadelphia, passengers who had paid for their passage or who had relatives or friends who paid for them left the ship and went on their way. The sick had to remain on the ships for several weeks, and many of them died (Mittelberger 1960, 25). Those who could not pay, probably a majority, had to remain on the ship until their services were sold to an entrepreneur who needed their labor. Roughly 70 percent of the German servants were sold within fifteen days of arrival (Grubb 1987c, 567 n. 5). Mittelberger (1960, 18) laments that "many parents in order to pay their fares . . . must barter and sell their children as if they were cattle." According to Salinger (1987, 10), the system was not as cruel as the enslavement of Africans, at least partly because the servants' contracts had definite termination dates. The terms of the indenture required the servants to "serve a master well and faithfully," performing whatever tasks the maters assigned for a specified period of time, often three or four years. Masters were to "provide food, drink, clothing and shelter." In addition, generous masters provided wages. In order to adapt to their new surroundings, some German servants asked to be taught English. At the conclusion of the servants' terms of indentures, they were to receive "freedom dues" that varied from "money and land to tools, clothes, animals, or seeds."

Although iron manufactures and owners of large farms bought the services of some indentured servants and took them to interior areas, Salinger adds another dimension to the image of Pennsylvania Germans. She de-

scribes the activities of those who remained in the cities and towns. They were especially evident in the inland towns of Reading, York, and Lancaster, where not all were indentured servants. Jerome Wood (1979, 7) calls Lancaster an English town in name only. By 1740 Germans and Swiss constituted 75 percent of the lot holders. According to Salinger (1987, 64–67), the urban Pennsylvania Germans worked in a variety of occupations. Merchants used men as clerks, stevedores, and even sailors. Tradesmen appreciated them as bakers, butchers, cordwainers (shoemakers), snuff makers, tailors, stonemasons, carpenters, painters, and groomsmen. Women usually served as domestic servants, especially in caring for large homes and their young occupants. Some children helped local innkeepers. Trade in servants was a lucrative business. Not only did it provide profits for ship captains, merchants, and masters, but servant labor was needed in Pennsylvania's "expanding economy" (Wokeck 2008a, 25, 34).

Not all indentured servants were satisfied with their arrangements. According to Salinger (1987, 103–5), some left their masters before the expiration of their contracts. Mid-eighteenth-century Philadelphia newspapers carried numerous advertisements for runaway servants. More rural than urban servants ran away. They absconded for a variety of reasons. Those whose contracts had been sold and resold resented the uncertainty of their situations. Others experienced conflicts with their masters, possibly over work assignments. Much of their work was continuous drudgery. The fortunate runaways avoided the jailers who were eager to return them and reap their rewards. If a fugitive joined the British army, his contract was canceled.

As time passed, several prominent Pennsylvania colonists wished that the German and Swiss immigrants would return to Europe or at least not immigrate in such large numbers. There was plenty of land, Philadelphia was developing rapidly, and the arrival of self-effacing individuals from Germany was regarded as an advantage for the young province (Graeff 1939, 17). By 1727 officials' attitudes changed. Arthur Graeff (1939, 16) most fully discusses the opposition to large-scale immigration into Pennsylvania. The increasing number of German-speaking immigrants threatened leading Pennsylvanians. Their immigration intensified in midcentury. Approximately 12,000 entered in 1749 alone. Another 48,000 arrived between 1750 and 1754 (Wokeck 1981, 259–61). In 1750, as many as 100,000 Germans lived in Pennsylvania (Frantz 1998, 31 n. 2). Governor George Thomas estimated that from 40 to 60 percent of its population was German (W. Perry 1870–73, 1:256). Isaac Norris wrote that people in Pennsylvania were shocked to see so many foreigners enter Pennsylvania (Schwartz 1987, 86). As early as 1717, Governor George Keith had urged the Pennsylvania Assembly to restrict the number of Germans entering the province. In 1727 officials began to require that non-British immigrants coming in through the port of Philadelphia register and take an oath of loyalty to King George II (Wokeck 1981, 251). In an attempt to divert German immigrants to other colonies, in 1729 the assembly levied a per servant tax on masters who imported aliens. Simultaneously,

James Logan, provincial secretary, warned that Pennsylvania was becoming a colony of Germans (Graeff 1939, 18–19). Schwartz (1987, 86) reported that John Dickinson believed that the early German and Swiss settlers had improved the colony, but later he, too, began to worry about such a large influx. As Pennsylvania's assemblymen moved to prevent such large numbers of German-speaking immigrants from entering the province, William Penn's son Thomas defensively retorted that the colony's "flourishing conditions is in great measure attributed to these people" (P. Klein and Hoogenboom 1980, 44).

Slightly more than two decades later, in 1751, Benjamin Franklin expressed to a correspondent his fear that in the near future Pennsylvania would become a German colony. He worried that their large numbers enabled them to be decisive in provincial elections. He observed their tendency to settle clannishly together in the interior, where they spoke their language instead of English. He fretted that they would pressure the English to leave the colony (Labaree et al. 1961, 4:120). The quality of the midcentury immigrants also disturbed him. He charged that the European prisons were being emptied to fill the immigrant ships. "Palatine Boors" he called them, which meant ignorant, uneducated peasants. The Germans could never be assimilated into the English population, he claimed, for the German man has a "swarthy" complexion, and their women were unattractive (Labaree et al. 1961, 4:234; 1962, 5:159). Both Franklin and William Smith, a prominent Anglican clergyman, suspected that the Germans would join with the French to push the English into the sea from whence they had come. Smith was afraid that the French, who knew that the ignorant Germans placed great value on large farms, would send Jesuit missionaries to convert them to Catholicism by granting them the land in the Ohio Valley (H. Smith 1879, 46). The German settlers, however, dismissed Franklin's charges and affirmed their loyalty to the colony (Frantz 1998, 27).

Christopher Sauer, an influential spokesman for German pacifists whose publications circulated widely among the Germans, created the impression among the English that all German settlers were pacifists. Through his newspaper and almanac, he suggested a separatist German American identity in the minds of many Englishmen (Roeber 1993, 5). He questioned in print whether the boundary between English and French possessions in America was worth expensive preparations for war and the possible loss of many lives. Residents of the pacifist Seventh Day Baptist Ephrata Cloisters took oaths that they would not resist the French or the Indians. Conrad Beissel, the Cloister's superintendent, told them that God had promised in a dream that none would die. Nevertheless, he sought early protection by sharing with British army officers the abundant contents of his wine closet (Lamech and Agrippa 1889, 236–37).

According to William Smith, the solution to the problem was to educate the German children. Samuel E. Weber (1956, 23–64) describes what were called "charity schools." Although Reformed clergyman Michael Schlatter

had initiated such a project, Smith subsumed it and formed a society to raise the necessary funds. Its trustees appointed Schlatter as superintendent and distributed appropriations to Reformed and Lutheran pastors. In 1755 Smith informed proprietor Thomas Penn that three schools had been organized and that six more were about to open. By 1760, the nine schools served 400 students; however, Sauer aroused opposition. He evoked in the Pennsylvania Germans ethnic solidarity by claiming that the English trustees were not interested in educating German children but wanted to Anglicize them. Within a few years of Sauer's charges, the schools failed.

The Pennsylvania Germans did not ally with the French, but a significant number joined the English against the French and Indians. Needing military protection during the 1750s, the "Church people" comprising Lutherans and Reformed broke politically with the pacifist Quakers (Frantz 1998, 22–27). When the crisis between the colonists and British officials intensified in the mid-1770s, many "Church people" joined other colonists in the war for American independence (Frantz 2010, 79–82; Parsons 1976, 136–57). In time, the hostility abated. In 1787 Franklin became the largest donor to a college in Lancaster (now Franklin and Marshall College) that was founded primarily for Pennsylvania Germans (H. Klein 1952, 17).

Another reason for the hostility Pennsylvania developed against the German-speaking immigrants by the 1750s was that they feared the diseases that so many of the immigrants brought with them. Graeff (1939, 21) explains that, in an attempt to prevent the spread of these illnesses, which they referred to generally as "Palatine Fever," the Pennsylvania Assembly forbade ships containing sick passengers from entering the port of Philadelphia until physicians examined the passengers. Those who were sick were sent to an isolated "House in the Country." Governor George Thomas in 1741 urged assemblymen to appropriate funds for the construction of such a "pest house," a place in which people with communicable diseases could be quarantined (Salinger 1987, 90). Initially, the assemblymen refused and countered instead that the governor had been derelict in failing to keep ships containing sick passengers from entering the city (Graeff 1939, 22). Nevertheless, by 1750 the assembly provided funds for the construction of a pest house on Fisher's Island at the mouth of the Schuylkill River. Its construction demonstrated that the city's officials recognized that the continued arrival of unhealthy immigrants endangered the city's inhabitants. A Lutheran pastor visited the pest house and called it a "vault of living corpses." The "stench" was so vile that he was unable to preach or pray with the patients. The city also had a burial ground for the immigrants. Its supervisor reported in 1754 that more than 250 Palatines who had arrived recently had been interred in the previous three months and that there might have been more (Salinger 1987, 90, 94–95).

In 1750 the assemblymen passed stricter laws that were intended to deal with immigrants. It blamed the spread of disease among the passengers on the large number of them on the ships and lack of private space. It specified that each passenger was to have an area six feet in length and one foot six

inches in breadth. Seidensticker (1878) states that a law of 1765 increased the spatial allotment and required weekly fumigation and cleansing. The law was passed at least partially as the result of pressure from the newly formed German Society of Pennsylvania (1764), led by the prominent Philadelphia merchant Henry Kepple. The society's purpose was to protect the interests of the Pennsylvania Germans, but it was not effective in promoting enforcement of laws to aid the German immigrants (Salinger 1987, 94–95). Abuse of the immigrants bound for America continued throughout subsequent centuries.

In Philadelphia the immigrants became acculturated linguistically. William Parsons (1976, 133, 155) notes that in order to participate in the city's economic life they had to learn the English language. For some, political success followed: Parsons cites Kepple, who was elevated to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1764, and Jacob Hiltzheimer, who rose from his indentured servitude to become the treasurer of the Continental Congress. By the late eighteenth century, they began to use English in their worship (J. Good 1911, 7–13; A. Wentz 1955, 76–77). Some German immigrants even changed their names to English equivalents (G. S. Fisher 1908, 129).

Evidence remains that some German settlements resisted assimilation. The first group that arrived in 1683 comprised German and Swiss Quakers and Mennonites from Crefeld and Kriegsheim, on the border between Dutch and German territory. They traveled a short distance northwest and established the "urban village" of Germantown, near the Wissahickon Creek, to indicate its German distinctiveness. Once settled, they did not engage in farming but practiced various crafts, such as weaving and related industries (S. Wolf 1976, 104–5). From Germantown, some moved northwest into the Perkiomen Valley, where now are the towns of Harleysville, Skippack, and Kulpsville. MacMaster (1985) follows another group of settlers, primarily Swiss, who arrived beginning in 1709 and moved west into the Conestoga region, the center of which became Lancaster. Later immigrants proceeded north to the Lehigh Valley and west and southwest to the Shenandoah Valley, where they formed predominantly German-speaking enclaves (F. Hart 1942).

Beyond the lowlands near Philadelphia and Germantown were the rolling hills of the Piedmont Plateau, whose landscape became associated with Pennsylvania German culture (P. Lewis 1989, 2–4). Richard Shryock (1939, 47–54) demonstrates that Pennsylvania German agriculture differed from English patterns. The Pennsylvania German farmers cleared the land thoroughly, rotated their crops, and used animal manure as fertilizer. They maintained the fertility of the soil, in contrast to the English, so that much of their land still is productive (see Lemon 1976, 39). The English planters in Tidewater Virginia grew the same crops on their fields until declining yields forced them to move elsewhere. Much of the land in southeastern Pennsylvania was covered by forests of chestnut, maple, oak, poplar, sassafras, tulip and beech, cedar, and walnut (Illick 1928, 26–109). According to oral history, the Pennsylvania Germans followed the trail of black walnut trees, assuming

that the soil was fertile there (Klees 1950, 192). G. Elmore Reaman (1957, 65) entitled his book on the move of Pennsylvania Germans to Ontario, Canada, after the American Revolution *The Trail of the Black Walnut*, implying that it mapped the route from southeastern Pennsylvania to Waterloo, Canada. Geographer James Lemon (1976, 63–64) disputes the legend and attributes the German speakers' initial selection of good soil to the English and Welsh, who had occupied most of the land close to Philadelphia. With much land already taken, later arrivals were forced onto the good soil of the Piedmont. The temperature and rainfall in the Piedmont Plateau, and the rest of Pennsylvania, were similar to those in their European homelands. This similarity enabled them to grow most of the same crops they had raised back home (P. Klein and Hoogenboom 1980, 191). Philip Otterness (2013, 70) mentions that a few of New York's Palatine settlers hoped to leave behind problems with land speculators. From their Schoharie Creek settlement, they traveled down the Susquehanna River and settled in the Tulpehocken region of Pennsylvania, between what are now the cities of Reading and Harrisburg.

What most Pennsylvania German settlers wanted in the backcountry was land on which to establish their homes and farms. As Roeber (1993, 310) emphasizes, the Pennsylvania Germans conjoined property ownership with liberty. Acquiring title to the land, however, was a complicated process. Basic to Pennsylvania's land policy was William Penn's belief that the land belonged to the Indians. No settler was allowed to buy land directly from the Indians. The provincial officials were to purchase the land and then put it up for sale. English speculators bought large tracts consisting of thousands of acres. Most of them lost their land because they could not fulfill the requirement to settle the land. After Penn died in 1718 and until 1732 when his male heirs took control, no land deeds could be provided. Thereafter, land offices were established at the county seats. Government officials granted land tickets that could be exchanged for deeds when a land office was established.

Subsequently, a pattern for selling land emerged. Prospective purchasers filed applications in the land office for a tract that they defined imprecisely. Land officials would then issue a warrant authorizing a survey of the tract. The survey contained a more or less clear definition, a map showing boundaries, and names of owners of adjoining tracts. Six months after completion and submission of the survey, applicants paid for the land and then received a deed. In the case of conflicting claims, land officials validated the earliest. Lemon (1976, 52–57) explains numerous problems that undermined its efficiency. Land offices were understaffed, and because there were not enough agents, surveyors, and collectors of payments, records were not systemically kept. It was also difficult to collect the quit rents, payments that land purchasers had to pay annually in addition to the initial purchase price, that the proprietors required. The rents were modifications of the payment of goods or services that peasants provided during the Middle Ages. In time, some settlers moved well beyond the county seats. Despite the lack of a deed, these settlers received first rights to purchase the land by following established

procedures. Settlers who ignored the application process and built houses, barns, and fences often received from the courts the right to buy land, even if a prior applicant claimed it (Klein-Hoogenboom 1980, 182–86). Ownership of large tracts of land caused German and Swiss farmers to modify their traditions. Frederick Klees (1950, 193–94) states that farms of 300 to 400 acres made it necessary for settlers to abandon their heritage of living in small agricultural villages. German Reformed minister William Stoy reported to church authorities in Europe that Pennsylvania Germans settled "wherever they could find a spring, river, or a grove which suits them" (Hinke 1903, 164).

How many Pennsylvania Germans adhered to the colony's land policy and obtained valid deeds is an open research question. Official records and deeds passed down from generation to generation, even to the present day, indicate that some did. Notice of those German settlers who defied the policy led to calls by colonial officials to cease land sales to them (Schwartz 1987, 87). Andrew Hamilton, owner of the land on which the heavily German town of Lancaster was formed, complained that many settlers failed to pay for the lands that they occupied. Lancaster historian John Ward Willson Loose (2010, 130) attributed the Germans' failure to pay what was required to their inability to understand the pertinent legal technicalities. Some settlers moved to Indian lands before provincial authorities had acquired them. Others moved to land owned by speculators. They were unable to obtain deeds to that land but seldom were evicted (Klein and Hoogenboom 1980, 183). In any case, Pennsylvania's land system, with its legal variations and lack of enforcement, enabled many Pennsylvania German immigrants to obtain land and establish homes for themselves and their progeny in Pennsylvania.

German Regional Formation to the West, South, and North

The early German and Swiss settlers found natural barriers to penetrating Pennsylvania's interior and gaining more land. With the exception of the Delaware River, there were no natural routes inland. Consequently, early Pennsylvanians traveled overland. In 1700 provincial officials authorized "King's Highways," dirt roads in the vicinity of Philadelphia (Klein and Hoogenboom 1980, 199). However, they were of little use to the German immigrants. They served the English and Welsh near Philadelphia, not the Germans and Swiss, who had to go farther inland. Kuhns (1901, 85–86) claims that the German immigrants simply "plunged into the unbroken wilderness." Others may have used Indian trails, as had those who went from Philadelphia and founded Germantown in the early 1680s (S. Wolf 1976, 25). Philip Pendleton (1994, 143–47) reports that residents of the Oley Valley petitioned in 1717 that the road from Philadelphia be extended by the north to the Oley Valley. By 1741, the "Great Conestoga Road" connected Lancaster to Philadelphia (Swetnam 1964, 7). As late as 1766, however, the Pennsylvania legislators complained that "the road from this city to Lancaster is in many parts, so out of repair, as to be very dangerous, and almost impassable for carriages"

(Kelley 1980, 575). In 1790 a private company completed the Lancaster Turnpike, one of the first paved roads in the United States (Swetnam 1964, 13). No doubt, it made it easier and safer for the Pennsylvania German farmers to transport the products of their fertile fields to Philadelphia in the Conestoga wagons built by their neighbors. By the 1740s, the expanding population made it necessary to extend these roads to the Susquehanna River and south into western Maryland and the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. After another few decades, routes to the Ohio country, Kentucky, and North Carolina were available (P. Lewis 1989, 4–5).

By the middle decades of the eighteenth century, the German-speaking population numerically dominated the interior of southeastern Pennsylvania (Purvis 1987, 118). They outnumbered all other ethnic groups in Northampton, Berks, Lancaster, and York counties (Swank 1983, 11). Geographer Wilbur Zelinsky (1989, 88) contends that although the inland towns of Lancaster and York were laid out by Englishmen and bore English names, they were inhabited primarily by Germans (Swank 1983, 11–16). Pennsylvania Germans in this region reflected their heritage in the names that they gave their towns. Jürgen Eichoff (2001, 1) calculates that almost 800 of the Pennsylvania's 8,000 communities have German names. Examples of locations that not only had German names but also a German cultural character include Germantown, Hanover, Bernville, Alsace, and Strasburg.

Because much of the best land in southeastern Pennsylvania had been occupied and prices were escalating, German-speaking settlers followed the contour of the landscape and began to move into Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, between the Blue Ridge and North Mountains (F. Hart 1942, 23). During the 1730s, the Virginia settlers developed three specifically German neighborhoods: the Massanutten colony, between the Blue Ridge and Massanutten Mountains in what is now Page County; the Opequan colony, just south of what is now Winchester; and the Shenandoah colony near present day Strasburg in what is now Shenandoah County. Settlement increased rapidly between 1750 and 1775 when 20,000 to 25,000 Germans lived among the valley's approximately 50,000 residents (Bridenbaugh 1962, 121; F. Hart 1942, 34 n. 3). An economic incentive was the cheaper cost of the land in the Shenandoah Valley, approximately half that of land in Pennsylvania (Wust 1969, 32–35).

As Maryland officials noticed Germans moving south over the Monacacy Road, they became envious. In 1732 Lord Baltimore proclaimed that he wanted to encourage worthy immigrants to settle in his colony. Though applicable to all, his proclamation primarily was directed toward the Germans. Those who settled within the following three years would receive 200 acres free. In the fourth year and henceforth, a small rent would be required. He promised that the settlers' property and liberty would be as secure as anywhere else in British America. The offer of land with fertile soil, familiar hills and valleys, and streams and rivers initially enticed many German settlers to forgo plans

to move to Virginia (Cunz 1948, 58–60). In 1745 Frederick, Maryland, 50 miles northwest of Baltimore and 150 miles southwest of Philadelphia, was laid out on land owned by Daniel Dulany. It became the region's most important settlement and the county seat. Many of the early German settlers were among the first purchasers of lots. In subsequent decades, other German towns emerged, including Lewistown, Myersville, Mechanicstown, Havers, Leitersburg, Creagerstown, and Woodsboro (Cunz 1948, 78).

Because the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland was unsettled, serious problems developed (Doutrich 1986, 101 n. 2). When British officials notified Lord Baltimore of the grant to William Penn in 1681, they did not refer to settlement of Pennsylvania's southern border; in 1682 and 1683, Penn and Baltimore held several fruitless conferences to discuss the area (Russ 1966, 12). Historian Paul Doutrich (1986, 101) relates the story of "Cresap's War" related to the land dispute. The conflict escalated during the early 1730s when the settlers from both colonies moved into the Susquehanna River valley. Pennsylvania's officials discouraged settlement because they had not bought the land from the Indians. Nevertheless, Marylanders came north, while Pennsylvania Germans moved west and south. Several decades of conflict followed. Pennsylvania's land officers provided temporary permits but not clear titles for land in what Maryland's officials considered their territory (Cunz 1948, 46–58). Meanwhile, Thomas Cresap, an Indian trader who arrived in Maryland in 1730, obtained from Maryland officials a grant of 500 acres, at least some of which lay in what was then southern Lancaster County. Much of this area contained Pennsylvania German farmers. In 1735 Cresap, who became Lord Baltimore's land agent, led a contingent of Marylanders into the area to claim it for Maryland, and his men stole the farmers' livestock, burned their barns, and evicted many of them. In the ensuing struggle, one Pennsylvanian was killed, and several others were taken to a Maryland jail.

The Lancaster sheriff responded by taking a group of twenty men into Maryland where they burned Cresap's house, arrested him, and took him to Philadelphia to be tried for murder. Before being released and departing for Maryland, Cresap described Philadelphia as one of the nicest cities "in Maryland" (Doutrich 1986, 103 n. 49). Britain's King George II intervened in 1737 and instructed officials of both colonies not to issue titles to land in the area until an official border has been set. Despite the king's edict, similar incidents continued to occur along the border. Gradually thereafter, the conflict became less intense. Doutrich (1986, 89–90) claims that Cresap's War was responsible for the survey by Mason and Dixon that set the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1767 and brought this conflict to an end. Despite these problems, letters written by German and Swiss settlers in the 1740s reported to their countrymen in Europe that the land in Maryland was fertile, they enjoyed freedom of religion, and they lived comfortably (Cunz 1948, 125–26).

Pennsylvania Germans also went to north to Canada. Anglican priest Thomas Bradbury Chandler warned the Germans and other non-Britishers, who he claimed had prospered under the moderate British government, that American independence would place them under a "stern Puritan yoke" (W. Nelson 1961, 79). A large exodus from the new nation occurred in the 1780s and 1790s when groups of Mennonites left for the Canadian province of Ontario, then known as Upper Canada (MacMaster 1985, 278–79; W. Nelson 1961, 25). They had been harassed during the War for American Independence because of their refusal to swear allegiance to the government of Pennsylvania and serve in the Continental army and the Pennsylvania militia. As pacifists, they did not swear oaths. Historian Francis Fox (2000, 147–56) describes Northampton county officials confiscating their property, land, livestock, buildings, and even a family Bible. Adding insult to injury, they threatened to break up Mennonite families by banishing the men. The pacifist Pennsylvania Germans had other reasons for leaving. They suspected that under the king's rule in sparsely populated Canada, they could more easily maintain their German culture and pass it on to their children. The British enticed the Mennonites by promising them freedom of religion. In addition, there was the opportunity to buy large tracts of good land on which to raise their families (F. Epp 1974, 54).

In Upper Canada, government officials were just beginning to open the land as Americans to the south were resisting the British Parliament's Stamp Tax. In 1766 they made the first of several purchases of land from the Indians. Much of the newly purchased land was granted to soldiers and others who were loyal to King George III, 40 percent of whom were Germans. Whether they were Hessian merchants in the British service or others is not known. Many of the recipients of the grants were not agriculturalists and were eager to sell. The Pennsylvania Germans were just as eager to buy. Several of their leaders formed the German Land Company to arrange their purchases of land (F. Epp 1974, 55).

Among the first were Mennonites from Bucks County. Their initial settlement was on a tract called "The Twenty," which was about twenty miles west of Toronto (MacMaster 1985, 278–79). Probably the first to arrive contacted others about the adventure of living in Ontario, just as the first Mennonites who came to Pennsylvania almost a century earlier relayed information to their co-religionists in Europe. For whatever reasons, many followed. In 1800 settlers from Franklin County joined the exodus from the United States to Canada, as did thirty-three families from Bucks County in 1802. In time, what is now Kitchener became the center of their settlement (F. Epp 1974, 55). Their move to Canada was not without problems. They were unable to acquire contiguous tracts, which caused their communities to be more scattered than some desired. Similar to their counterparts to the south, they had difficulties with a speculator. This time it was not an Englishmen but a Native American who claimed the land. As tended to occur, the dispute was settled in favor of the Europeans (F. Epp 1974, 59, 72).

German Lutherans also went north to the geographic area known as Canada (Tappert 1975, 27). When British forces withdrew from New York in 1783, Bernard Hausihl, who had served the British as translator, interpreter, and pastor to British troops, left his congregation and settled in Halifax, Nova Scotia (Glatfelter 1980–81, 2:394–95). The existence of German Lutheran congregations in the area suggests that other Lutheran Loyalists also settled there (Nelson 1973, 101). Most of them moved to Ontario. That pastors for these congregations usually came from the ministeriums of Pennsylvania and New York suggests that German Lutherans who had moved to Canada communicated with Lutherans in the older settlements (H. Anderson 1975, 101–2).

The Emergence of Pennsylvania German Identity

By the end of the American Revolution, Pennsylvania German immigrants and their progeny had become the state's largest single ethnic group (Lemon 1976, 14; R. O'Conner 1968, 88). They had permeated the southern half of the province and moved well beyond its boundaries in three directions. Having come from different parts of Europe, they were distinct when they arrived—Palatines and Swiss, Alsatians, and Württembergers (Glatfelter 2002, 21). Once in Pennsylvania, they changed in order to adapt to each other, to other ethnic groups, and to their physical environment. In doing so, they developed a distinctive Pennsylvania German culture that emphasized for most immigrants a connection of agriculture, religion, and language. Most observers viewed the German-speaking immigrants as different from other ancestry groups that assimilated quickly. The predominant view of the Germans was that they reconciled themselves to English ways to the degree necessary to achieve their economic and social objectives, and they were notable among others groups for forming conspicuously German cultural regions and landscapes.

The people whom we call Pennsylvania Germans immigrated in smaller numbers after the French and Indian War that ended in 1763 and almost stopped coming after the American Revolution, which ended in 1783 (Wokeck 1981, 278). German immigration resumed after the end of the Napoleonic Wars in the early nineteenth century. Almost 6 million Germans entered the United States between 1829 and 1929 (Luebke 1990, 95), but they were different. Pennsylvania Germans did not view them as their own. They did not speak the *Pennsifawnish Deitsch* dialect, as did their earlier immigrants, but retained the dialects of the regions from which they had come (C. Schneider 1939, 26). Few Mennonites and Amish came to Pennsylvania in the nineteenth century. Although Pennsylvania attracted more mid-nineteenth-century immigrants than any other state except New York, most settled beyond Pennsylvania's borders (Klein and Hoogenboom 1980, 317). Historians estimate that one-third of the nineteenth-century German immigrants remained in the East, one-third settled in towns on their way

west, and one-third arrived in the Midwest. There they established farms, while others settled in cities along the Great Lakes and in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys (C. Schneider 1939, 14, 26). Many of the nineteenth-century German immigrants formed their own institutions, including singing and debating societies and churches (Bodnar 1985, 144–68; C. Schneider 1939, 29).

By the nineteenth century, Pennsylvania Germans gained a distinctive ethnic-linguistic identity as a result of the consolidation of different regional backgrounds in the inland regionalization of settlement. One of the most debated historical issues is the extent to which acculturation occurred. We know that in time linguistic assimilation occurred, but the Pennsylvania Germans were still considered remarkable for hanging on to their language for as long as they did and do. For some nineteenth-century commentators this persistence was a sign of cultural vitality, but for others it was a mark of backwardness or resistance to American norms (Gibbons 1869; Grumbine 1905; A. Hart 1907). Recognizing that the maintenance of German language and culture resulted from the shared migration and settlement patterns of the German-speaking pioneers, we can also see the way that Pennsylvania German identity was affected by views of the English and later German immigrants, who considered the German-speaking settlers to be exclusive or unassimilable. Geographers and historians have noted differences of acculturation and community formation between the urban and rural experience of the settlers and the cultural variations in emerging Canadian, Marylander, Virginian, and Ohio regions. In so doing, they have identified the Pennsylvania Germans not only as an early ethnic-linguistic group instrumental in American regional formation but also a diasporic culture.

3 Communities and Identities

Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Centuries

DIANE WENGER AND SIMON J. BRONNER

In the early nineteenth century the last of the immigrants from Switzerland, Alsace, and the Palatinate, who along with their descendants would become known as Pennsylvania Germans, arrived in the New World. By 1840 the group had developed a new identity that scholars designate a "hybrid culture" created out of English and German components (see Swank 1983, 5). Pennsylvania Germans also began to enlarge their geographic range: while they retained their strong presence in southeastern Pennsylvania, some groups moved north into Northumberland County and south and west into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. By the end of the nineteenth century, they had pushed further north and west with settlements in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, and New York and in Waterloo, Canada. As time went on, Pennsylvania German culture was shaped and tested by political and market forces, the arrival of new German-speaking immigrants, a civil war and two world wars, rising mass culture, and dramatic changes in transportation and technology. Some of these forces purportedly strengthened Pennsylvania German identity while others diluted it and hastened abandonment, at least for a time, of cultural markers, such as the use of the Pennsylvania German dialect.

The survival of the hybrid culture that took hold in the nineteenth century was by no means certain. As the United States forged the new nation, Pennsylvania Germans faced increasing pressure in education and legal matters to become Americanized along the lines of the country's English forebears. Rather than totally assimilate into the dominant culture, however, Pennsylvania Germans used the rhetoric of liberty to defend their right to remain culturally and ethnically distinct while also being good American citizens (Nolt 2002, 130). This dual mentalité would set the Pennsylvania Germans apart from later immigrants from Germany, who brought decidedly different customs, retained strong ties to their homeland, and became known collectively as German Americans. The stridently nationalistic German Americans reportedly pushed Pennsylvania Germans all the more to see

themselves not as Germans-in-America but as "old-stock" Americans (Kazal 2004; D. Yoder 1985, 51–53).

Accordingly, this chapter addresses research into three sets of relations formed in the process of post-immigration settlement: the relationship of Pennsylvania Germans religiously and historically to other German-speaking immigrant groups; the spread of the central Pennsylvania "core" to other regional centers such as the Shenandoah Valley, as Pennsylvania Germans migrated west, south, and north; and Pennsylvania Germans as an ethnic-linguistic identity within and apart from mainstream American popular culture and its "English" cultural patterns. Within these sets of relations are multiple themes and concepts—migration, formation of community and cultural landscape, modernization, and assimilation—all of which inform the study and identification of Pennsylvania Germans from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century.

Pennsylvania Germans and the Market Economy

German-speaking immigrants who came to America in the eighteenth century were predominantly landed farmers (*Bauern*) and tradesmen. Arriving in Philadelphia, those who could afford land and who had a desire and ability to farm headed to the countryside. Those with lesser means or who earned a living through craft or trade stayed in the city to find work or perhaps moved to a smaller town to open a shop (Swank 1983, 10–11). Those immigrants who could not afford their passage came as redemptioners and worked for a set number of years to pay off their debt.

Although not all German immigrants in Pennsylvania worked the land, observers tended to view them on the whole as farmers—thrifty and hardworking, but uneducated. Benjamin Franklin's published remarks in 1755 about the group were particularly harsh, and they also helped create the notion that Pennsylvania Germans were a monolithic group. Franklin described the Germans in Philadelphia as "swarthy" "Palatine Boors" (even though they came from a variety of regions in Europe) and warned that because of their increasingly large numbers, their language and culture would taint what he considered the superior "purely white" American people. By the end of the century, Franklin had reversed his opinion and added his voice to those of individuals, including Benjamin Rush, who celebrated the republican virtues of industry, thriftiness, and skill exemplified by Pennsylvania German farmers (Falk 2008, 50–54; Rush [1789] 1910, 11–25).

Pennsylvania German farmers grew a variety of crops, including food and flax for their family's need. Grain, which could be sold to local millers or merchants for export, was the principal crop. Labor on the farm was generally done by the family members with occasional help from neighbors or a hired man or woman. Unlike women in English and Scots-Irish communities, Pennsylvania German farm women routinely worked in the fields when

extra help was needed (Fletcher 1950, 108, 143–48; Frantz 2001, 5; Rush [1789] 1910, 25).

By the early nineteenth century, Pennsylvania Germans, like all Americans, faced a rapidly changing world of transportation (first by canals to facilitate westward movement and then railroads), increasing markets for agricultural and craft production, and the availability of a wider array of consumer goods. Whether this era was a time of "market revolution," a "transition to capitalism," or merely a continuation of economic patterns established in the eighteenth century is a matter of debate among historians, as is the extent to which rural people, including Pennsylvania Germans, participated and sought monetary gain in this thriving economy. At stake in this debate is the extent to which Pennsylvania Germans operated apart from, or as part of, the rising American industrial economy.

Much of the debate surrounds the thesis of historical geographer James T. Lemon, who analyzed consumption patterns, agricultural production, and settlement patterns in his study of the development of southeast Pennsylvania to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Lemon (1976, xv, 180) concluded that settlers in this region (including Pennsylvania German Mennonites) were classically "liberal." That is, they placed "individual freedom and material gain over that of public interest." They were disposed toward the market but sold their produce only when they had a surplus, and then used the proceeds for "what they deemed necessities." Historian James A. Henretta refuted this assertion and interpreted Lemon's statistical evidence differently. Henretta (1978, 4–5, 19, 28) argued that the tendency of early Americans, including Pennsylvania Germans, to cluster in informal ethnic enclaves shows they were more concerned with communal values than with individual profit seeking and that these groups formed bonds that "circumscribed the range of individual action." Such webs of relationship were stronger, he suggested, than the "free play of market forces." Henretta cited the tendency to preserve the family's property, including the widow's "third" (her share of the estate mandated by law), for the future generations as further evidence of the powerful community and family forces that governed farmers' behavior in early Pennsylvania. Charles Sellers (1991, 16), likewise, in his sweeping analysis of the market revolution, specifically named late eighteenth-century Pennsylvania Germans as an example of a group that was reluctant to cross "the cultural divide into pursuit of wealth."

However, in an effort to make their point about the economy, these historians overstated the isolation of Pennsylvania Germans. Other scholars argue more convincingly that Pennsylvania Germans, including farmers and craftsmen, were not opposed to the market economy. Thomas M. Doerflinger (1988, 187) stresses that Pennsylvania German farmers produced a variety of commodities for family use and for sale in "increasingly sophisticated commodity markets." Indeed, Beatrice B. Garvan and Charles F. Hummel (1982, 69–70) note that the Pennsylvania German economy was based on the

market economy. Pennsylvania German artisans, for example, made goods to sell on the market, and they proudly signed such products as coverlets and axes and marked their pounds of butter with their name or initials to advertise the quality of their work and solicit business.

Additional evidence from one specific locale further illustrates Pennsylvania Germans' involvement in the market as producers and consumers. Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania, located about seventy-five miles northwest of Philadelphia, was settled by German-speaking immigrants in 1758. Village residents displayed their Pennsylvania German ethnicity in various ways, including language, religion, foodways, and vernacular architecture. But they were also linked to the regional and national economy and the Atlantic world of trade through the efforts of the extended Rex family, who operated a general store in Schaefferstown from 1790 until 1917, when the business went out of family hands (D. Wenger 2008).

The Rexes were Pennsylvania Germans whose grandfather immigrated in the eighteenth century to Germantown, Pennsylvania. In the subsequent generation the family changed its name from Rüger to Rex. The first of the family to arrive in Schaefferstown was Samuel Rex, in 1790. He spoke German, so he could easily converse with the residents of Schaefferstown, but he was equally fluent in English, the language that he used to keep his store records and even write family correspondence. Rex was followed in business by a younger brother, Abraham, who kept the store from 1807 to 1839. The Rexes had business connections in Philadelphia, where they bought goods and sold local produce, including butter which they purchased from Schaefferstown area people. In addition to farm produce, the brothers bought craft items produced by the local population. Such transactions benefited both customers and storekeeper as customers earned cash or store credit for their production and the Rexes obtained goods to sell from the store or to carry to Philadelphia, where they used the proceeds to buy more store inventory (D. Wenger 2008). The Rexes' store inventory included a variety of luxuries and necessities—many imported from Europe. These goods, which included hardware, wines, textiles, ceramics, coffee, and tea, to name just a few, illustrate the global culture of the small community. As historians Cary Carson (1994, 672) and Cynthia Falk (2008, 18, 24) have argued, such purchases do not necessarily mean that Pennsylvania Germans were trying to discard their ethnic identity and assimilate into the mainstream British American society. Rather than making a choice between "ethnic and English," it is likely that Schaefferstown people were choosing between "formal" and "folk." That is, they were trying to appear a bit more stylish or fashionable by, for example, drinking tea in imported ceramics instead of redware or wearing clothing sewn of imported cloth rather than homespun.

Still, even as Pennsylvania Germans enjoyed consumer goods that showed publicly their gentility and status, they maintained traditional practices. Samuel and Abraham Rex moved easily between English-speaking and

German-speaking communities and were conversant with the latest fashions because of their connections with the Philadelphia merchant community. Nevertheless, when the seemingly acculturated Abraham Rex and his wife Elizabeth (daughter of town founder Alexander Schaeffer) had their first child in 1802, they memorialized the event with a *Taufschein*, an elaborately decorated Pennsylvania German birth certificate. Abraham's sons, Abraham Jr. and Samuel S. (S.S.), took over the family store in 1839. The entreprenurial brothers enlarged the scope of the store's butter trade. They also attempted to establish a silk industry in Schaefferstown by planting 1,500 mulberry trees and lobbied to bring railroad lines through the village. Both efforts failed; the store left family hands in 1917 but continued to serve the local community selling general merchandise and groceries until the 1980s (D. Wenger 2008).

The Rexes' efforts to bring modern transportation and industrialization to their town reflected the overall trend of the times, as does the experience of another Pennsylvania German enterpreneur, Milton S. Hershey (1857–1945). Hershey was apprenticed to a candy maker after he left school at age fourteen. After several unsuccessful attempts to launch a business, he opened the Lancaster Caramel Company in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in the midst of Pennsylvania German farm country, where there was a ready source of milk for his candy business. Inspired by a chocolate-making exhibit he saw at the Columbian Exposition in 1892, Hershey began dabbling in a new product. In 1900 he sold the Caramel Company for $1 million (the enormous sum is a testament to the success of his enterprise) and founded the Hershey Chocolate Company in Derry Township, Pennsylvania. He built a company town, Hershey, for his workers, and in 1909 established an industrial school for orphaned boys. By the twenty-first century, Milton Hershey School provided free education for needy boys and girls, Hershey and Hersheypark (first developed as recreational space for Hershey's employees) became popular tourist destinations, and the Hershey Company became known worldwide, according to its website, as "the leading North American manufacturer of quality chocolate and non-chocolate confectionary and chocolate-related grocery products." Driving up to the park, visitors behold a Pennsylvania German landscape of bank barns and farmhouses on Hershey's farms, and inside the park, toward the entrance, Hershey's preindustrial, nineteenth-century roots are celebrated with faux Pennsylvania German structures and food stands.

Language, Religion, and Education

In the earliest years of settlement, the Pennsylvania Germans' common culture and language overcame doctrinal differences and local congregational loyalty. Lutherans and Reformed congregations frequently shared one building and alternated services in an arrangement known as a "Union" church

to conserve resources until each group could afford its own building (Parsons 1976, 248). A few union churches persisted into the twenty-first century (Frantz 2001, 7). The records of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Schaefferstown show that members also crossed congregational lines frequently to serve as sponsors for children being baptized in the other denomination (Brendle [1901] 1979, 15–17, 19–21, 91–167).

By the nineteenth century, many Pennsylvania German communities and congregations became divided; the issue was the language they would use for worship. Pennsylvania Germans typically used standard ("High") German in worship services and other formal settings and conversed with each other informally in *Deitsch*. Some people—like the Rexes of Schaefferstown—were quite comfortable with English, but others were unwilling to give up the traditional German services. In urban areas, a change from German to English occurred quite early as people argued that clinging to the old language would drive away the younger generation. The German Reformed and Lutheran congregations in Philadelphia each split and formed new English-speaking churches in 1805–7 (Glatfelter 1990, 35; Nolt 2002, 36). It should be noted though, that in the case of the Philadelphia Lutherans, this was not an amicable parting. Even though the pro-English faction of the St. Michael and Zion German Lutheran Church left and founded St. John's Lutheran in 1806, they continued to argue for the next decade that English should be used occasionally at St. Michael and Zion, where they still retained membership. The disagreement became so intense that, in January 1816, a fistfight between the opposing sides broke out during a congregational meeting. As a result, the pro-English faction brought suit against fifty-nine of the pro-German Lutherans, who were ultimately found guilty and fined for disorderly conduct and conspiracy to commit violence (F. Baer 2008).

In Lebanon, Pennsylvania, similar problems arose. In 1844, some members of Salem German Lutheran desired to hold services in English, but they could not convince the rest of the congregation to make the change. As a result, they left and established the English-language Zion Lutheran Church a few blocks away ("Downtown Lebanon"). In the smaller, more rural community of Schaefferstown, the language issue emerged later. In 1871 the Schaefferstown German Reformed Church began using English and German on alternate Sundays, but two decades later the congregation was still grappling with the issue. When the church consistory showed little interest in the English services, members of the congregation successfully elected a "second set of consistory men" who were more sympathetic to English usage (*History of St. Paul's* 1965, 53–54). At the same time, Schaefferstown Lutherans were alternating English and German in their Sunday afternoon services. Apparently some members wished to expand the use of English; in 1894 the church council considered the idea of using English in morning worship services but "declared [it] inexpedient on account of the old members who do not understand the English language" (St. Luke Council Minutes 1894).

Many churches quietly dropped German usage during World War I because of anti-German feelings (Glatfelter 1990, 50). But this was not the case in Schaefferstown. In 1918 the Lutheran council once again took up the issue of language when someone suggested there be two English services to every one conducted in German. They handled the issue by agreeing to speak of it no more and to "let the matter die out" (St. Luke Council Minutes 1918). There is no record of exactly when St. Luke switched entirely to English-language services, but it was not before the second decade of the twentieth century. Indeed, folklorist Don Yoder (1985, 57) asserts that "it was only in 1935 that the last regular High German services gave way to English in our rural churches."

Language was also an issue when it came to education. Before the establishment of public schools in the Commonwealth in 1834, Pennsylvania German parents who wished to have their children educated relied on parochial schools run by the local Lutheran and Reformed churches; in Pennsylvania there were 250 Lutheran schools and 160 schools run by the German Reformed Church (Nolt 2002, 44). As would be expected, instruction in these church schools was primarily in German. This was the case in the Schaefferstown Lutheran Church School, whereas the school run by the local Reformed church gave parents the choice of having children taught in English or German (Egle 1883, 261; *History of St. Paul's* 1965, 186).

When the issue of public schools arose, most Pennsylvania Germans strongly resisted the idea that the state could dictate how they should educate their children, and they argued that state-run schools violated their freedom and right to maintain local control (Nolt 2002, 44). The issue was all the more galling, perhaps, because the Pennsylvania governor who presided over the educational reform, George Wolf, was a Pennsylvania German himself. As historian William T. Parsons (1976, 193) explained, "German voters found they could not trust one of their own," and the school issue cost Wolf a third term. Many Pennsylvania Germans feared that public schooling would dilute their traditional culture, and, indeed, in 1843 writer Sherman Day (1843, 417) predicted that the introduction of the new school system "will soon introduce the English language into every family, and eventually eradicate the other [German]." However, Day (and some Pennsylvania Germans themselves) may have underestimated the strength of the Pennsylvania German culture. Public schools were forced to offer bilingual instruction throughout the nineteenth century because so many school-age youngsters from Pennsylvania German families knew only *Deitsch*. It was not until 1911 that the state legislature passed a law mandating all public elementary school instruction would be in English (Glatfelter 1990, 52–53). Even so, as late as 1942, when Clyde S. Stine (1942, 125) surveyed rural school teachers, he found that "a majority of the pupils come to school with no language but Pennsylvania German" and that 20 percent of the pupils in German districts preferred using the dialect because they could express themselves more

clearly in it. Stine further noted that schools were not doing enough to help these children learn English, since "the only widespread means of furthering English has been the negative one of ridiculing the dialect."

The overview of the 1920 U.S. Census recorded what it called "a major and continuing shift of the population of the United States from rural to urban areas." This trend accelerated during World War II when many Americans relocated to urban areas for work in the defense industry. This population dispersal and anti-German sentiments generated by the two world wars further limited the use of the dialect for a time, but a resurgence in interest was to occur in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Politics in the State and Nation

Although they were the largest white, non-British group in the New Nation (Nolt 2002, 5) Pennsylvania Germans were never united enough to form a strong voting bloc. Under the first party system, there were pockets of Federalists in some regions, but most Pennsylvania Germans favored the Jeffersonian Democratic-Republican Party, and after 1828 they gave their support to the Anti-Masons and Jacksonian Democrats because of their appeal to the "common farmer." Pennsylvania Germans tended to be opposed in the mid-nineteenth century to the Whigs, who advocated for urban-industrial development. The Whig threat to Pennsylvania German traditionalism was especially apparent when the Whigs held their national convention in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on December 4, 1839, in the urban hub of Pennsylvania German farmlands. Aware of the need to woo agricultural voters, the Whigs chose Ohioan farmer and war hero William Henry Harrison as their candidate, although Harrison had lost to Jacksonian Democrat Martin van Buren in Pennsylvania in the 1836 presidential election. Had Harrison been able to carry Pennsylvania, he would have garnered the necessary electoral votes to put him in the White House.

Relatively few Pennsylvania Germans were inclined to run for office, but they enthusiastically turned out to vote for those of their number who did. As the case of George Wolf's unpopular advocacy for the state school system showed, they were equally willing to withhold that vote if the incumbent displeased them. Wolf was part of a forty-year run of Pennsylvania German governors that began with Simon Snyder in 1808 and ended with Francis Shunk, who held office from 1845 to 1848. During this period, Pennsylvania Germans dominated the governor's post while Scots-Irish politicians controlled the legislature. Except for Snyder, a Jeffersonian who championed the common man and presided over the relocation of the state capital from Lancaster to Harrisburg in 1812, Pennsylvania German governors were not singled out by historians for their achievements. Their careers seemed to stall with the governor's post, and they tended not to rise to a national level in politics. While these early governors may not have overtly favored their countrymen in their programs, they aided the rural Pennsylvania German community by

championing internal improvement and increasing industrialization, while not permitting these developments to occur at the expense of farming (Parsons 1976, 179, 188, 190, 195, 197; see also Lapansky 2002, 161–63).

From 1903 to 1959, one-third of the Commonwealth's governors were of Pennsylvania German ancestry. This number includes Samuel Pennypacker (1843–1916) from Chester County and Martin Brumbaugh (1862–1930) from Huntingdon County, both of whom stressed their pride in their Pennsylvania German heritage while in office. Pennypacker, who served as governor from 1903 to 1907, authorized the state museum and supported the Child Labor Act of 1905, affecting Pennsylvania Germans and other ethnic groups in the coal regions of Pennsylvania by setting a minimum age for young workers for the first time. He also had the distinction of serving as president of the Pennsylvania German Society in 1895. In an address to the society in 1894, he made the case that the Pennsylvania Germans primarily shaped the character of the state and, with reference to their out-migration to the West, ultimately the American continent. Pennypacker (1895, 100) exclaimed, "A Philadelphian is always called a Philadelphia Quaker, but when a citizen of Pennsylvania leaves his native State to abide among other people, he is invariably regarded, whatever may have been his birth or ancestry, as a Pennsylvania-Dutchman. It is a significant and impressive fact that the undemonstrative but forceful and persistent energy which constitutes the predominant characteristic of this race has come to be recognized as that which most strongly marks the great state of Pennsylvania wherein he lives, and wherein have been wrought out in the main the destinies of the American continent." He warned, however, in his gubernatorial inaugural address of 1903 about the social and political stigmatization of the Germans in the countryside by the ascendant urban-industrial centers of the state. Pennypacker (1903, 8) called for unity so as to "overcome certain tendencies to divergence and dissension existing among her [Pennsylvania's] people." It was a key, he concluded, for Pennsylvania to take a national lead in "wealth and population, among the American States."

Brumbaugh, who served as governor from 1915 until 1919, was known for expanding farm support, highway construction, and educational spending. Biographers have connected his Republican "conservatism" to Pennsylvania German farm life and pacifist upbringing in the Church of the Brethren. They often cite as examples of political stands based on these experiences his support of liquor prohibition, opposition to capital punishment, and call for neutrality in World War I. On the basis of his upright reputation, credentials for education reform, and popularity as a "farm boy," party leaders urged him to run against Democrat Woodrow Wilson in 1916, but he declined. Despite his religious pacifism, he became a "war governor" and publicly declared military assistance for the allies. Indeed, he ordered executive branch employees to take a loyalty oath or face dismissal. He decided not to seek reelection in 1918 and, after a period of writing and lecturing, served a second period as president of the Church of the Brethren–affiliated Juniata College

(1895–1906, 1924–30) in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, near his childhood home (Kaylor 1996, 331–58).

Under the Brumbaugh administration in 1917, the first Pennsylvania Farm Show (Pennsylvania's state fair) in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, was held after an organizational meeting called by Agriculture Secretary Charles E. Patton in Lancaster. It grew out of biennial meetings of agricultural organizations in Harrisburg to chart strategy for the legislative session. The midwinter show was thrown open to the public and served to promote agriculture as the state's largest industry. With twenty-four acres under roof spread throughout eleven buildings, the show grew to be the country's largest indoor agricultural exposition with 13,000 competitive exhibits (but unlike other fairs, no "sideshows") and over 400,000 visitors. Representation of Pennsylvania German investment in agriculture was high, including a cultural stamp on the foodways at the show—chicken corn soup, whoopie pies, and soft pretzels—and strong participation in the events by Amish and other Plain groups. Accordingly, the list of agriculture secretaries in Pennsylvania has been dominated by Pennsylvania German executives. At the national level, Willet Martin Hays (1859–1927), who was instrumental as assistant secretary of agriculture under Theodore Roosevelt in drafting groundbreaking progressive agricultural education legislation (Smith-Lever Act of 1914 establishing cooperative extensions and Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 funding vocational education for agriculture) referred to his Pennsylvania German heritage on an Iowa farm as influential on his political as well as social outlooks (Hays 1907, 7).

By the end of the twentieth-century, Pennsylvania Germans who were still reliant on agriculture had a particular interest in legislation that protected their farming interests. Democrat George Leader (1918–2013) who served as governor from 1955 until 1959 drew more attention to his business success in a family-operated chicken hatchery than his deep Pennsylvania German roots in York County farms. He relied on a coalition of industrial labor and agricultural interests to score an upset win over Lieutenant Governor Lloyd Wood in the election and, once in office, concentrated on industrial development and educational support to reverse an economic slump (Wolensky and Leader 2011).

At the local level, several legislative districts, especially in Pennsylvania, retained their "Dutch" identity into the twenty-first century and used it to suggest transnational ties with Germany. In 2011 Democratic congressmen Tim Holden and Republican James Gerlach formed the German-American Caucus to highlight trade and draw attention, they said, to the heritage of German American immigrants. Holden announced that he represented "literally thousands of people who are Pennsylvania Dutch. . . . It's a very important transatlantic relationship" (Isenson 2011). In 2015 Pennsylvania state representative Peter Schweyer, D-Lehigh, who counted himself as Pennsylvania German, introduced a resolution that designated the week of October 4 through 10 as "Pennsylvania Dutch (Deutsch) Heritage Week." As Governor

Pennypacker felt inclined to do more than a century earlier, Peter Schweyer referred to the positive social traits of the Pennsylvania Germans as a people who contributed to the welfare of the state. His resolution honored the Pennsylvania Dutch for "possessing an impressive work ethic, a strong social conscience, and a true sense of family and community" (Schweyer 2015). He again evoked images of the Pennsylvania Germans as rural, and his political concern for their agricultural interests, with his statement that "a person needs only to travel any country road through Lehigh, Northampton, Berks, Lebanon, Lancaster and other counties and see hex signs on the side of a barn." That legacy as part of, or apart from, the Pennsylvania mainstream came into question when Pennsylvania lawmakers attempted several times in the early twenty-first century to declare English the official language of the state. Although Pennsylvania German speakers were typically fluent in English, the historic experience of Pennsylvania German usage as important to ethnic identity entered into the debate about the bills aimed at new immigrants.

Although the linguistic and educational issues of concern to Pennsylvania Germans in the nineteenth century no longer made headlines, the claims in the twentieth century of Plain groups identified with Pennsylvania German ancestry to educate their children separately, operate nonmotorized vehicles on highways, and choose traditional medical services in accordance with their religious beliefs increasingly took center stage politically. Government officials weighed the political fallout from granting exemptions to Plain groups in highly publicized cases on licensing midwives, photographic requirements for motor licenses, and zoning ordinances for industrial commercial uses on Amish farms.

Pennsylvania German Diffusion

As in the North, changes in the language of worship also marked the maturation of the southern Pennsylvania German communities in the region known as "Greater Pennsylvania": Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. While they were not physically located in Pennsylvania, these areas, settled in the eighteenth century by German-speaking migrants from Pennsylvania, are nonetheless regarded as Pennsylvania German because of their connection to the Pennsylvania German "cultural hearth" of southeastern Pennsylvania (Frantz 2001, 5; J. Glass 1986; Glassie 1968b, 36–64; Nolt 2002, 13). Besides language, Pennsylvania German influence remained apparent throughout the nineteenth century in the regional architecture of Maryland and Virginia and the decorative arts such as the redware pottery and painted chests of the Shenandoah Valley (Chappell 1986a; Cunz 1948; Getty 1985; Mroszczyk and Price 2008; Swank 1983, viii).

However, living beyond the geographic boundary of Pennsylvania may have diversified the Pennsylvania German culture as those who migrated to the southern states came into contact with various other ethnic groups.

In Virginia, debates over English versus German services began as early as 1795. Between 1820 and 1840 most Lutheran congregations in the Shenandoah Valley made the change to English, but ministers continued to preach in German as the need arose. Marylanders, too, gave up German in their church services relatively early—about 1820. By 1880, Pennsylvania German churches in Virginia, including Dunkers and Mennonites, were holding services only in English (Cunz 1948, 291; Wust 1969, 139–51).

Historian Klaus Wust notes that, by the mid-nineteenth century, ties between Pennsylvania German communities in Virginia and the North were weakening. Virginia's Pennsylvania German communities thus developed in a different way from their northern counterparts—a process Wust (1969, 195) dubs "Virginianization." By 1830 in Baltimore and western Maryland, German newspapers were discontinued because, according to historian Dieter Cunz (1948, 219), "the German language was disappearing so rapidly." By contrast, there were approximately thirty-eight German-language newspapers in Pennsylvania in the early nineteenth century, and some of them continued publication into the twentieth century (Frantz 2001, 11).

Unlike the eighteenth-century migrants to Maryland and Virginia, many groups that moved out of Pennsylvania in the nineteenth century maintained a stronger Pennsylvania German identity despite geographic distance. Folklorist Simon Bronner (1981, 68) discovered that, in the late twentieth century, German influence was still apparent in the cultural landscape of Mennonite communities in northern Indiana where there existed a transregional Pennsylvania German community that looked to central Pennsylvania as its ethnic "homeland." Moreover, at the turn of the twentieth century, Pennsylvania Germans in the Midwest, according to Marion Egge (2000, 14), exhibited a keen interest in their family lineage. He found the dialect "still alive and functional and many Pennsylvania institutions and regional customs visible" in the Kitchener-Waterloo area of Canada.

The matter of continuity and change among the relocated Pennsylvania Germans in Waterloo was the subject of a symposium and exhibition at the Joseph Schneider Haus Museum in Ontario in July 1991 with proceedings published as *From Pennsylvania to Waterloo: Pennsylvania-German Folk Culture in Transition*. The event brought together Pennsylvania German scholars and artifacts from the United States and Canada to examine the regional formation of Pennsylvania German culture. It was, according to curator Susan M. Burke, the first such international event on the continent. While "no final conclusions were reached," the papers and exhibits revealed that the relocated Pennsylvania Germans took their culture with them—creating show towels, furniture, and fraktur quite similar to those produced by their counterparts in Pennsylvania (Burke and Hill 1991, 9, 16–23). At the same time, they had to make some adjustments to maintain their traditions in a new geographic region. Saffron is an essential ingredient for some Pennsylvania German cooks, including the Lancaster County group who migrated to Ontario. Added to certain dishes, particularly chicken pot pie and potato fill-

ing (a combination of mashed potatoes and bread stuffing), saffron yields a rich, yellow color and a piquant flavor (D. Wenger 2002). When the migrants found that the saffron crocus would not grow in Canada, they substituted safflower, which adds the desired color, though not the distinct saffron flavor, to their traditional dishes (Hollands 1991, 111).

Pennsylvania German diasporization became most evident in the twenty-first century with the expansion of Amish communities into harsh, sparsely populated environments of the Rocky Mountain West. Concerned for the encroachment on their eastern farmlands by suburban and commercial development, several Amish communities sought as their ancestors had in the past to be further removed from the disruptions of the "English" world. They relocated to more isolated regions in Montana, where there are five communities, and to South Dakota, Idaho, and Wyoming, where by 2016 there existed at least one district. To the northeast of the Pennsylvania core, Amish districts were established in 2015 in New Brunswick, Canada, and Vermont. This northeastern movement joined an earlier settlement in northwestern Maine in 1996, which had grown to five districts by 2016. In addition to farming, Amish community members in Maine engage in cottage industries such as producing storage sheds and small barns, working sheet metal for roofing and siding, and leather craft. As far south as Sarasota, Florida, Pinecraft has emerged as a winter vacation spot for many North American Amish and Mennonites; it also is home to an Amish crafts industry with a small year-round Amish population. Reminders of Pennsylvania German tradition include shop names such as Der Dutchman Restaurant (serving a "Pennsylvania Breakfast"), Shoofly Pie at Yoder's Restaurant and Amish Village, and Miller's Dutch Haus Furniture.

Civil War

Pennsylvania strongly supported the federal government during the War of 1812, and Pennsylvania German units served during the conflict. The Mexican War was far less popular among Pennsylvania Germans, who opposed the war because it seemed to encourage the expansion of slavery; nevertheless, many of them served (Parsons 1976, 189, 201). The Civil War more than other national armed conflicts was a factor in testing and, some scholars argue, strengthening cultural identity, at least among Pennsylvania Germans in Pennsylvania. Those groups in the North had little use for slavery, whether from moral scruples or because the mixed agriculture of the region did not lend itself to large-scale plantations where slavery was economically viable. According to historian William T. Parsons (1976, 204–6), they "looked askance at the institution" of slavery but had little interaction with blacks (free or enslaved) and, with some notable exceptions such as Reformed pastor Henry Harbaugh, did not actively support abolition. In Maryland, according to historian Dieter Cunz (1948, 285–88), the old German settlers did not own slaves, but, because they were loyal to the Democratic Party, they, too, did

not make an issue of slavery. While there were Germans on both sides of the secession issue, western Maryland, home to the oldest and largest Pennsylvania German settlements in the state, was largely pro-Union.

In Virginia, Pennsylvania Germans were on both sides of the sectional argument. Some (including Lutheran clergymen and one Lutheran congregation) were slaveholders, but there were also pockets of antislavery sentiment among Virginia's German Lutherans, while the Plain groups actively opposed slavery. During the Civil War, two German rifle Confederate units were formed in Virginia, but it is unclear whether these units comprised Pennsylvania Germans or the more recently arrived German immigrants (Wust 1969, 123–27, 220).

In Pennsylvania, as in the South, most Pennsylvania Germans favored the Democratic Party (Keller 2004a, 8). However, there was also support for the Republican Party in some areas, as revealed by period German-language newspapers. According to historian David L. Valuska (2004, 45–46), following the attack on Fort Sumter "a greater sense of unity became apparent" among Pennsylvania Germans, but it seems they were hardly united. While Valuska notes that some enlisted as "First Defenders," others mounted what may have been a pro-Southern "copperhead" movement in eastern Pennsylvania. Historian Christian B. Keller (2004b, 56–73) has a different view; he describes most Pennsylvania Germans not as copperheads but as "lukewarm Democrats or neutralist in their sympathies," while the pacifist groups (Amish, Mennonites, Dunkers) tended to favor the Republican Party because of their antislavery beliefs. Keller stresses that no matter their attitude toward the conflict, Pennsylvania Germans in southern Pennsylvania, unlike most Northern residents, felt firsthand effects of war as the Confederates and pursuing Union soldiers came through their neighborhoods. Keller further posits that Pennsylvania Germans' response to these invasions of their property was influenced, at least partially, by ethnic identity. When the Confederate army moved through the region in 1863, some Pennsylvania German residents fled. Most stayed put and did what they had to do to protect themselves and their farms. For the most part, they neither condoned nor resisted the Southerners' movements, although they objected strenuously when Confederates requisitioned or damaged their livestock or other property. They felt the same way about the Union soldiers, who, when they came through the area in pursuit of the Confederates, appeared to the Pennsylvania Germans as a second wave of invaders. The main concern of Pennsylvania Germans was to protect their farms. What they really wanted was to be left alone; they considered threats to their property as threats to their way of life—whether those threats came from the Confederate or Union army. This response, while consistent with their community values, provoked mixed responses from Confederate soldiers but prompted negative feelings among the Union forces who expected more support (and more anti-Confederate guerrilla actions) from the Pennsylvania Germans.

On the other hand, thousands of Pennsylvanian German men willingly served in the Union army alongside other ethnic groups, and this experience may have helped to spark a postwar revival of ethnic consciousness. Keller and Valuska (2004, 189, 196–98) argue that serving in the Army of the Potomac allowed Pennsylvania Germans to keep their "Americanized German culture" and maintain "a unique cultural awareness while at the same time embracing a larger American identity that the war helped to strengthen." Faced with the most intense of all Americanization processes—fighting for their country—Pennsylvania Germans concluded that they must also wage a battle to preserve their distinctive culture.

Assimilation, Nativism, and *Deitschlenner*

Even as some members of the groups cherished their cultural heritage and seemed determined to maintain their ethnicity, others were—consciously or not—leaving it behind. As suggested by the relatively early switch from German to English in Philadelphia churches, Pennsylvania Germans who lived in larger towns and cities were quick to discard their ethnicity. Historian Charles H. Glatfelter (1990, 39) notes that by 1865, "except for their names and perhaps a few other survivals," many city-dwelling Pennsylvania Germans were "indistinguishable" from most Americans. As the nineteenth century wore on, Pennsylvania German identity was alive and flourishing, but it was a rural phenomenon, located in the countryside among farmers and in small towns.

The association of Pennsylvania Germans with conservative, rural American values was one of several factors in the latter half of the nineteenth century that may have contributed to the group being stereotyped as "Dumb Dutch" by other ethnic groups. Historian Scott T. Swank (1983, 61–62) explains that other factors may have been the group's opposition to the public school movement earlier in the century and the pro–New England bias common in the writing of the time. Still another reason for the unflattering depictions of Pennsylvania Germans in this period was the continuing anti-immigrant sentiment in America (see also Parsons 1976, 246–47). Such opinions were not new. Travelers in the Early Republic often wrote disparagingly of the ignorance of Pennsylvania Germans (Falk 2008, 57). Before the Civil War, the Know-Nothing Party was formed specifically to counter immigrants' influence. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the nativist impulse was rekindled by the increasing xenophobia and fear of the new wave of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe who looked and acted in ways that were different from the earlier arrivals, whose descendants considered themselves to be "Native Americans." Even though Pennsylvania Germans had been in the United States for generations, the group's tendency to resist assimilation and cling to their ethnic identity drew negative attention from nativists.

If the ugly label "Dumb Dutch" contributed to the self-awareness of Pennsylvania Germans, so did the arrival of immigrants fleeing Europe in the wake of the German Revolutions in 1848, continuing through the 1890s. Pennsylvania Germans were confused by the new immigrants, who spoke a familiar language (High German) but whose culture and politics were markedly different and much more radical than those of the Pennsylvania Germans. In seeking to differentiate themselves from the newer arrivals Pennsylvania Germans sought to portray themselves as "old line Americans"—separate and distinct from the newer arrivals, whom they called *Deitschlenner* (people from Germany), "Europeans," or "Germany-Germans" (Kazal 2004, 21).

The new immigrants were likewise confused by the Pennsylvania Germans who spoke a dialect version of German but considered themselves Americans. Steven M. Nolt (2002, 1–2) cites the example of a German traveler in the mid-nineteenth century, Johann G. Kohl, who introduced himself as a fellow German to two Pennsylvania German women. They were quick to inform him, in German dialect, that they were not Germans—they were "Americans." Don Yoder (1985, 51–53; see also Max Kade Institute 2005, 17–19) explains that, settling in cities rather than rural areas, these new arrivals from Germany attempted to re-create German culture in America with such practices as "the *Biergarten*, the *Volksfest*, the *Turnverein*, the *Männerchor*, and the *Sängerfest*." Unlike Pennsylvania Germans, the new arrivals were intensely devoted to their homeland and, after 1871, were, "not lacking in praise for the new united German Empire."

At the same time all of these sentiments were swirling through American society, the 1876 Centennial celebration in Philadelphia created new interest in colonial America and the nation's founding generation, as well as a reverence and nostalgia for the past. The combination of nativism and interest in hereditary organizations prompted in part by the Centennial caused a group of Pennsylvania German leaders (including Governor Pennypacker, state senator Edwin Albright, state librarian William H. Egle, Reading Railroad president George F. Baer, and newspaper editor Frank R. Diffenderffer) in 1891 to form the Pennsylvania German Society. The organization's goal was to celebrate and demonstrate the deep roots of Pennsylvania Germans in America and to showcase their own and their ancestors' achievements in defiance of the "Dumb Dutch" stereotype. One result was an outpouring of filiopietistic literature that celebrated individual Pennsylvania German accomplishments. Like the Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution, the society limited its membership. Pennsylvania Germans whose ancestors had emigrated from German-speaking Europe before 1808 were welcomed. Others whose ancestors came later might join, but they had to settle for associate rather than full membership (Glatfelter 1990, 56; Lord 2008, 35; D. Yoder 1985, 53–54).

World Wars

In 1917 when the United States became involved in World War I, Pennsylvania Germans, like the newer arrivals from Germany, now known as German Americans, came under intense scrutiny. Arthur D. Graeff (1942, 234) relates the tale of the U.S. Army's provost general who queried the Pennsylvania governor in 1917 as to whether federal troops might be needed to keep order among the Pennsylvania Germans. On the contrary, while German Americans had to decide where their loyalties lay, the Pennsylvania Germans had no such problem. In fact, Pennsylvania Germans who enlisted in the military during World War I found their dialect skills extremely valuable when they were stationed in Europe (Glatfelter 1990, 64–65; Graeff 1942, 235).

Still, the virulently anti-German sentiments common among Americans as a result of the country's entry into the Great War hastened the assimilation of many people of German descent in America into mainstream culture (R. M. Miller 1984, 2). Historian Russell A. Kazal (2004, 22) argues that Pennsylvania Germans' successful portrayal of themselves as long-standing "old-line" Americans in this time period paved the way for at least some descendants of the nineteenth-century German migration to "reshape themselves" similarly after the war. But, at the time, anti-German sentiment ran so high that communities with obviously German names changed them to something more innocuous. In Lebanon County, the village of Bismarck became Quentin (after Theodore Roosevelt's son). Schools dropped German-language programs, and most ethnic churches discontinued German services. Even German foods were renamed. Sauerkraut reemerged on menus as liberty cabbage; knockwurst became liberty bologna, and German sausage, liberty pork (Parsons 1976, 231).

The enmity of Germany for Americans in World War I raised questions about Pennsylvania Germans being less than loyal Americans (Glatfelter 1990, 64). Although not as pronounced with American entrance into World War II, suspicions about German American patriotism were inevitable when the United States again declared war on Germany in 1941. Ethnic leaders pointed out that Pennsylvania Germans signed up enthusiastically in the armed forces; some participated in the army's German-language training programs, while others distinguished themselves by their combat service. Many high-ranking military individuals had Pennsylvania German roots, including general and later U.S. president Dwight David Eisenhower. Members of the German "peace churches" had to again choose whether to hold to their pacifist stance or serve in the military (S. Taylor 2009, 9–42). One of these was a twenty-year-old soldier, Private First Class Alton Knappenberger of Spring Mount, Perkiomen Valley, Pennsylvania, who earned the nickname "one-man army" and a Congressional Medal of Honor for his "singlehanded attacks against machine-gun nests at Anzio" (Parsons 1976, 240–41). In a series of short articles on Knappenberger, the *New York Times* did not specifically identify him as Pennsylvania German, but the writer emphasized his rural

roots and the fact that his mother wore the traditional "cap and plain dress of the Mennonites." Sociologist Carl Bowman reported that "in spite of strong denominational statement against war, 80% of young Brethren opt for combatant military service; only 10% choose alternative service" (S. Taylor 2009, 38). The main alternative service was the U.S. government's Civilian Public Service (CPS) program. The National Service Board for Religious Objectors calculated that the largest number of participants in CPS were Mennonites of Pennsylvania German background (4,665, or 39 percent) followed by the Church of the Brethren, also primarily comprising believers of Pennsylvania German background (1,353, or 11 percent) (S. Taylor 2009, 36).

On the home front, the decision to house German prisoners of war in some southeast Pennsylvania locales (including Reading, Carlisle, Philadelphia, Middletown, Gettysburg, and Indiantown Gap) brought Old World Germans into contact with thoroughly assimilated Americans of Pennsylvania German heritage. At Indiantown Gap Military Reservation, for example, some employees found they could converse with the prisoners by speaking in the Pennsylvania German dialect. Other employees had different experiences. Doris Hippensteel was an eighteen-year-old government clerk during the war. While processing lists of prisoners of war, she was surprised to come across an internee who shared her surname. Out of parental caution, her father forbade her from contacting this possible relative, but she later regretted not finding a way to communicate with the German POW named Hippensteel (D. West 2010). Whether in the military or as a civilian, abroad or on the home front, wartime service introduced Pennsylvania Germans to new places, peoples, and experiences that changed their world view and diluted their cultural and geographic isolation.

Twentieth-Century Revitalization Movements

Peacetime events in the 1920s and 1930s also decreased the isolation of rural Pennsylvania Germans and brought increased awareness of Pennsylvania German identity both within and outside of their communities. Pennsylvania had not benefited from the prosperity of the 1920s. By the 1930s the state's farmers, coal miners, and textile workers were particularly feeling the economic pinch, but many people in all walks of life were affected. Overall unemployment in Pennsylvania reached 37 percent in 1933, and the state's annual farm income declined from $324 million in 1929 to $175 million in 1933 (Klein and Hoogenboom 1980, 450). In an effort to bring relief to rural residents, Governor Gifford Pinchot instituted a program of road construction "to get the farmers out of the mud" (Contasta 2002, 295). Although "Pinchot's Roads," as they became known, were rudimentary in comparison to modern highways, they served to connect rural people, including Pennsylvania German farmers, to distant communities and allow them to market their products farther from home (Klein and Hoogenboom 1980, 453).

At the same time, beginning in the 1920s, antique dealers and collectors

began scouring the countryside in search of Pennsylvania German artifacts, as part of a colonial revival in the United States (see Axelrod 1985; Stillinger 1980). These treasures included not only items such as fraktur, weathervanes, redware, and show towels but, in some cases, architectural features and entire rooms, which were removed and reinstalled inside private homes and museums. This recognition of Pennsylvania German antiques was a mixed blessing for Pennsylvania German communities. On one hand, sales of seemingly utilitarian objects to collectors brought income to rural families, a windfall that was especially welcome during the Great Depression; it may also have renewed ethnic pride. Some Pennsylvania Germans, such as Hattie Brunner, who was a painter in her own right, used their knowledge of the culture and its artifacts to become highly regarded among antique dealers (see Earnest 1984, 11–14). And it is true that, by removing objects and even architectural features from buildings, collectors saved some artifacts from later destruction and made them available to the larger community. Such was the case with the elaborate interiors salvaged by Henry Francis du Pont from the derelict Hehn-Kershner house, Wernersville, Pennsylvania, which were reinstalled in his mansion that would eventually become the Winterthur Museum (Swank 1983, 96).

In other instances, however, features were plucked from buildings that still stand today. While such actions would not be condoned by museums now, this practice served to raise awareness in some Pennsylvania German communities about the need to preserve and protect their cultural landscapes. Apparently there was little notice when the House of the Miller, Millbach, gave up its elaborate interiors to the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1926 (Downs 1929). But, less than three decades later, in 1950, Henry Francis du Pont's removal of one entire room of the Kutztown-area Hottenstein House angered local residents. Incensed that this community landmark—a tangible manifestation of their heritage—had been sold to an outsider, the irate citizens threatened and verbally abused du Pont's crew as they worked to dismantle and remove the room (Swank 1983, 93).

The 1930s was also a period in which Pennsylvania Germans, concerned about the effects of assimilation and the effects of stigmatization during World War I, organized to preserve their distinct dialect and culture. In 1933 a group of Allentown area men formed a social group, the Grundsow (Groundhog) Lodge, to "honor, preserve, protect, and perpetuate their besieged ethnic heritage." Around the same time some Pennsylvania Germans also staged well-attended events known as *Fersommlinge* (gatherings) which met periodically to enjoy a Pennsylvania German meal and an all-dialect evening (Donner 2016). Even more important than the lodges and *Fersommlinge*, according to Don Yoder (1985, 54), was the rise after 1945 of a grassroots movement for worship services in Lutheran and other churches in the dialect, "the language that is closest to the Pennsylvania German heart," he wrote. All of this served to further distance Pennsylvania Germans from the old, damaging perception of backward "Dumb Dutch" and to reinforce the

important point that Pennsylvania German identity had validity as one of the "old stock" groups in colonial America.

As "Church" Pennsylvania Germans were claiming their place in mainstream American society and countering negative stereotypes while honoring their distinctive heritage, the Amish were being recognized and celebrated (through no efforts of their own) for their seemingly exotic traditional way of life. A market arose for home items, such as tablecloths, paper napkins, and greeting cards with Amish designs and "Dutchy" sayings, along with decorative iron figurines and dolls dressed in traditional Amish garb. Cultural tourism, drawing largely from cities in the growing megalopolis stretching from New York City to Washington, DC, grew in the "Dutch country" around Lancaster County. Bolstered by tourist attendance, the Kutztown Folk Festival, featuring the traditions of the Pennsylvania Germans and Amish, during the 1950s grew to be America's largest folk festival. Part of the shift in interpretation of the Amish was their representation as America's pioneer ancestors because of their fidelity to old-time agricultural ways rather than as outsiders to American culture (D. Weaver-Zercher 2001).

After the deprivations of the previous decades, in the postwar years Americans enjoyed a high standard of living and had more disposable income than ever before. They were ready to buy consumer goods, including appliances and new cars (few had been available during the war years), and, as their households grew as a result of the "baby boom," they looked forward to enjoying family-oriented leisure activities. This rising economy was accompanied by increased Cold War fears that prompted Congress to authorize a new highway system in 1956. The rationale was that this would make it easier to mobilize troops in case of attack, but Americans reaped the benefit of better and faster roads for traveling to historic sites and entertaining events such as Pennsylvania German folk festivals.

Although there clearly were some people interested in speaking the dialect and celebrating Pennsylvania German culture, in the mid-twentieth century many parents (except among the Plain groups) deliberately stopped teaching their children *Deitsch* (Langley 2009, 11). It seems that the older generation enjoyed reminiscing, hearing the dialect, and reading about the past, but, perhaps reflecting on the disdain for the culture they had internalized, they did not see it surviving into the future or being an asset to their children. The notion that Pennsylvania German culture was, in a sense, part of the relic past may have been reinforced not only by the increasing number of museum exhibits but also by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission's decision to take over several sites associated with Pennsylvania German history and culture, including the Ephrata Cloister, the Landis Valley Farm Museum, the Daniel Boone Homestead, and the Conrad Weiser Homestead.

However, if members of the older generation believed that Pennsylvania German culture was a mere nostalgic remnant of their past, they were mistaken. Historian Randall M. Miller (1984, 3) suggests that the cultural

upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s received little or no response from those of German descent in America, since they had long become so thoroughly Americanized. Folklorist Don Yoder (1985, 42) makes much the same observation when he describes the Pennsylvania German culture, by mid-twentieth century, as "a regional variation of American culture as a whole." But there were countering signals of cultural revival and roots consciousness. In the mid-1960s two more local historical/folklife societies, the Goschenhoppen Historians of Green Lane, Pennsylvania, and Historic Schaefferstown in Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania, formed to sustain as well as preserve Pennsylvania German culture. And, as Americans celebrated the bicentennial of their independence in 1976, scholars assessed the status of the Pennsylvania German community, and *Deitsch* enjoyed a resurgence. That year William T. Parsons (1976, 259) published an important history, *The Pennsylvania Dutch: A Persistent Minority* (1976), and argued that, rather than being a mark of inferiority, "mastering the dialect today is considered a badge of merit, a mark of scholarship."

When the three-hundredth anniversary of Germans' arrival in America approached in 1983, there was an outpouring of conferences, special exhibits, and publications that again served to highlight, emphasize, and reinvigorate Pennsylvania German identity and recognition of the group as a distinctive component of America's diverse culture (Garvan 1982; R. M. Miller 1984; Swank 1983; Trommler and McVeigh 1985). All this set the stage for renewed discourse on the cultural sustainability of Pennsylvania Germans as a distinct group in twenty-first-century multicultural America.

Dutchiness, the Amish, and the Digital Age

In some respects, assessing Pennsylvania German identity and communities in the late twentieth to twenty-first century is complicated by changing associations of Dutchiness with the Amish. For most Americans during this period, the term Pennsylvania German became synonymous with the Plain sects, in particular the Amish. But most Pennsylvania Germans are "Church" people (whose ancestors were Lutheran and Reformed). Unlike the Amish, the Church Pennsylvania Germans are in many ways assimilated into mainstream American culture. They do not stand apart because of their traditional way of life or conservative clothing and mode of travel as do the Plain groups.

According to the U.S. Census, in 1990 and 2000 more Americans claimed German ancestry than any other ethnic group. Despite these numbers, Russell Kazal (2004, 1) argues that there is little evidence of ethnic pride among the group. With the exception of some German American groups, German identity seems to have been thoroughly subsumed into overall American identity in the course of the twentieth century in an "ethnic eclipse." However, a closer examination of the Pennsylvania German community as a whole reveals that this may be an overstatement, or at the very least this trend is

changing. In his study of Pennsylvania German farming and gardening, historian Irwin Richman (2007, 6–7) describes an agricultural industry banquet he attended in Lancaster County in 2004. He realized that he was surrounded by Pennsylvania Germans, "most of whose families had been farming and gardening in the same region for parts of four centuries." Some were sectarians; others could be identified as German only by their surnames or distinctive "Dutch" accents, but in all instances, Richman concludes, such families illustrate the "rooted nature of the Pennsylvania Germans" and their commitment now as in the past to the maintenance of the land.

While some members of the Pennsylvania German community remain rooted to the land that they and their ancestors farmed for centuries, as Richman points out, others find a sense of community and place in different ways, such as living in or visiting small historic towns whose very names suggest their German heritage, such as Womelsdorf, Pennsylvania (which boasts a sister city, Wittgenstein, in Germany); consuming Pennsylvania German products such as scrapple, funnel cakes, and fraktur; or participating in one of many groundhog clubs as far west as California that typically celebrate Dutchiness and sponsor Pennsylvania German dinners. Keeping in touch with one's Pennsylvania German heritage in the twenty-first century may also mean flying the Pennsylvania German flag, adopted by Die Grossdaadi-Grundsau Lodsch (The Granddaddy Groundhog Lodge) in 1989, or celebrating the still somewhat obscure Pennsylvania German Day (scheduled annually for June 28 by Act of the General Assembly, Pennsylvania, P.L. 458, No. 113, 1976). Genealogical and family historical societies are also popular outlets for awareness of ethnic heritage, and there are festive family reunions every summer in the Pennsylvania German "homelands" of Pennsylvania that serve to bond dispersed families.

Language is another connector. The U.S. Census (2010) estimates that 118,000 individuals speak *Deitsch*; and more than 1 million people in the Palatinate Region of Germany speak a related dialect. Although *Deitsch* remains in everyday or workaday use only in the Plain communities, the language is far from dead among Church Pennsylvania Germans. Groups such as Der Nei Dolpehock Sanger Chor (The New Tulpehocken Singing Chorus, made up of senior citizens) and Die Schwador Schalle (The Swatara Sounds, a chorus comprising young people ages five to eighteen), perform solely in *Deitsch*. Increasingly, the dialect is also being kept alive as a heritage language through classes offered by historical societies.

Newspapers and other media also unite the larger community. In 1993 Michael Werner, a German historian interested in fostering relations between Pennsylvania Germans and Germany, began publishing *Hiwwe wie Driwwe*, a semiannual *Deitsch* newspaper with accompanying website. Werner's website contained news on all things Pennsylvania German and includes a countdown to the next Pennsylvania German Day. The website allows Pennsylvania Germans and Germans anywhere in the world to feel part of one ethnic community through shared communication.

Werner's site is just one component of the spreading use of technology and social media, including Facebook, YouTube, and other websites devoted specifically to Pennsylvania German culture. These play an important role in strengthening Pennsylvania German identity and serve to inform the general public about the Pennsylvania Germans; YouTube sites, for example, include a series of lessons on speaking *Deitsch* with a comparison to High German, and a short clip of an auctioneer conducting a sale using English and *Deitsch* alternately. Sites such as ancestry.com have also served to spark interest among Pennsylvania Germans (as well as other ethnic groups) in researching family roots.

Some of the advocacy for Pennsylvania German identity is related to preserving the farmlands of the "Dutch country" homeland in the face of commercial development, tourism, and suburban sprawl. An important milestone in this effort was passage of the Agricultural Area Security Law (passed in 1981 and amended in 2013) affecting many Amish and Mennonite farmers. It offers protection to farmers by encouraging agricultural land uses and prohibiting loss of farmland through eminent domain and other "nuisances." While the Agricultural Security legislation was welcomed by those who rely on farming for their livelihood, another Pennsylvania legal decision caused some Amish to take unusual action. Amish families generally give birth at home and prefer using midwives who understand their culture and way of life over medical physicians; deliveries at home are also less expensive and more private than a hospital birth. So it came as a shock to the community in 2008, when popular Lancaster County midwife Diane Goslin was barred from attending births because, although she was "certified" in her profession, she was not licensed in Pennsylvania. The ruling came following the death of one Amish baby delivered by Goslin, but for the Amish, who trusted midwives such as Goslin, this was a case of the government interference in their lives and violation of their traditions. Ten families filed an amicus brief "contending that the State Board of Medicine's cease-and-desist order is a 'serious threat to their way of life and free exercise of religion'" (Couloumbis 2008).

The Goslin case and farmland legislation raise questions about the intersections of religion, region, and occupation with Pennsylvania German identity in the twenty-first century. Although many cultural scholars assumed that Church people of Pennsylvania German background had been assimilated by the end of the twentieth century and their ethnic identity was inconsequential, public interest in and public policy affecting the Amish and sustainability of historic folk cultures suggested a renewed consciousness in the twenty-first century of Pennsylvania German traditions. Early in the history of the relationship of Pennsylvania German religious-linguistic groups to colonial officials, the German immigrants were categorized as an ethnic bloc that was often racialized or othered as a stigmatized group with occasional positive references to their "industriousness" and steadfast nature. With the rise of the republic in the nineteenth century, however, their loyalty

to and integration in the region and nation, particularly during wartime, came into question. Although the Pennsylvania Germans had been characterized as an isolated, parochial society rooted in central Pennsylvania, signs of diffusion were evident during westward expansion, and intercultural connections representing the formation of a hybrid culture emerged into the American South and Midwest in addition to Ontario, Canada.

In the twentieth century, Pennsylvania German identity became complicated by anti-German feeling in addition to the growing national awareness of the Amish and Plain groups. As the twenty-first century began, organizations devoted to maintaining Pennsylvania German heritage took both broader and more localized views of Dutchiness. On the broad side, holidays such as Groundhog Day and mobility influenced a more diasporic, transnational consideration of Pennsylvania German identity in locations outside of Pennsylvania to augment, or displace, the definition of the group solely by language, rural location, and religion. The growth of the Amish also brought out traditions that were shared by so-called secularized Dutch men and women. On a localized level, communities associated with a Pennsylvania German heritage such as Schaefferstown and Goshenhoppen promoted their heritage as having a social impact within an increasingly mass culture.

In the wake of the growing educational model of America constituting racialized American minority cultures (prominently featuring African American, Latino, Asian American, and Native American groups), many Pennsylvania German heritage organizations appeared to adhere to William Parsons's concept of the Pennsylvania Germans representing a historic, "persistent minority," but one that has adapted and modified itself over time. Don Yoder (1984, 106–7) from a cultural perspective contributed the idea that Pennsylvania German identity was not bred in isolation (and therefore did not disappear when that isolation broke down) but continued as a modern hybrid shaped by the American experience and exchange of customs with other ethnic groups. Yet in the twenty-first century the continued effort of the Amish to be left to themselves and maintain Pennsylvania German ways is conspicuously visible. Once predicted to be doomed because of the difficulty of separating as a traditional community in a modernizing America, the Amish and other Plain groups steeped in Pennsylvania German traditions have grown in population and spread to the far West and deep South. Members of other religions and locations have a more ethnic model of performing identity in occasional framed events and cultural gatherings or surroundings as part of a process evident since the nineteenth century. In the twenty-first century, there has been a realization that this process is continuous but not unilinear. Revitalization movements, reflecting changing attitudes toward German ancestry and integration with social and political contexts of American multicultural life, continue to have an influence on the spreading expression of feeling "Dutch."

Part 2 Culture and Society

This page intentionally left blank

4 The Pennsylvania German Language

MARK L. LOUDEN

The story of the Pennsylvania German language is an unusual one across the sociolinguistic landscape of North America. Worldwide, languages spoken today by minority populations are in a critical situation, with most in serious danger of becoming extinct. Indeed, of the approximately 7,000 languages spoken across the globe, at least half are predicted to lose their native speakers by the turn of the century. Yet Pennsylvania German, spoken by a minuscule 0.08 percent of the U.S. population, is exceptional. Despite the fact that it is an oral vernacular language lacking in any official recognition or support, it thrives today in the United States of America, the heartland of the world's dominant engine of economic and cultural globalization, whose majority language, English, has become the international lingua franca. And although the linguistic roots of Pennsylvania German lie in central Europe, its speakers have always viewed themselves every bit as American as their English-monolingual neighbors.

Pennsylvania Dutch or Pennsylvania German? Language or Dialect?

Pennsylvania German (PG) is a North American language that developed during the eighteenth century in colonial Pennsylvania as the result of the immigration of several thousand speakers from mainly southwestern German-speaking Europe, especially the linguistic and cultural area known as the Palatinate (German *Pfalz*). Although the term Pennsylvania German is used in this essay and throughout this book, most PG speakers, past and present, have preferred to describe their native language in English as Pennsylvania Dutch. Contrary to widespread belief among both nonscholars and scholars, the term Pennsylvania Dutch is not a historical mistranslation of the PG word for the language, *Deitsch* (also *Pennsilfaanisch Deitsch* or *Pennsylvania-Deitsch*). Although the PG and English words *Deitsch* and *Dutch* do share a common Germanic etymology, both terms were used in earlier American English to refer to what are identified today as German (as distinct from Netherlandic) dialects. *German* traditionally had a more neu-

tral or formal connotation, while *Dutch* was used in familiar and informal ("folksier") contexts. Since most active PG speakers have historically been farmers and craftspeople, it is thus clear why *Dutch* has been their label of choice (D. Yoder 1980b).

The words *dialect* and *language* are both used to refer to PG. Among linguists, there are no absolute criteria to distinguish languages from dialects. Though many would argue that mutually intelligible linguistic varieties should be labeled dialects of some more general language as, for example, British and American English, there are numerous examples of languages whose speakers can understand each other quite well (e.g., Norwegian and Swedish; Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian), as well as mutually unintelligible dialects (e.g., Mandarin vs. Cantonese). The decision to label a linguistic variety as either a language or a dialect (and in many situations, speakers themselves will disagree) is ultimately an arbitrary one, based often on the cultural and political autonomy of the speakers of the language or dialect in question. In the PG case, most speakers and outsiders have described it as a dialect of German, mainly because it developed from regional (mostly Palatine) varieties of German that are similarly viewed as dialects (in German, *Mundarten*, *Dialekte*) that are distinct from the prescriptive written standard variety—what is misleadingly referred to as High German (in German, *Hochdeutsch*; in PG, *Hochdeitsch*). My own preference for calling PG a language is based on its structural, geographic, and cultural independence from modern European German, both the standard and regional dialects. PG is not mutually intelligible with most of these varieties, and even modern Palatine German speakers have some difficulty understanding their distant North American cousins, owing to the historical divergence since the eighteenth century of Palatine and Pennsylvania German from their shared origin.

Structural Features of Pennsylvania German

The basic grammar of any language consists of four major components: a phonology, specifying how individual sounds are produced and combined with one another; a morphology, which determines how words are formed and modified; a syntax, the system according to which words are combined to form phrases and clauses; and an inventory of words, called either its vocabulary or lexicon. In all four structural components, modern PG demonstrates an overwhelmingly Palatine character, that is, it shares most features in common with the European German dialects spoken in the Palatinate region. Already in 1872, in the earliest scholarly treatment of PG, Samuel Stehman Haldeman's *Pennsylvania Dutch: A Dialect of South German with an Infusion of English*, the author correctly pointed out that despite the diversity of German dialects brought by immigrants to colonial Pennsylvania, which included not only Palatine but also Swabian and other Alemannic dialects (from southwestern Germany, eastern France, and German-speaking Switzerland), PG is most similar to Palatine German. Later work, notably

by Albert F. Buffington (1939) of the Pennsylvania State University and his student Earl C. Haag (1956), as well as the German dialectologist Werner H. Veith (1968), narrowed the dialectal origins even further to the (south)eastern Palatinate (*Vorderpfalz* in German), specifically to dialects spoken in and around the city of Mannheim. In fact, with the exception of two features, the diminutive suffix *-li* (e.g., *Koppli* 'little cup') and the second-person plural pronoun *dihr* 'you' (pl.), which are almost certainly of Swiss German origin, the phonology, morphology, syntax, and native (i.e., not English-derived) vocabulary of PG can be shown to originate in the Palatinate.

Like all living languages, PG has, over the past two and a half centuries, developed beyond its Palatine German roots. In the area of its sound system, the vowels of PG have been more susceptible to change than its consonants, which is consistent with what we find in the history of languages generally. PG morphology, that is, how new words are formed and how all words, such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives, are modified according to grammatical context (inflected), has been remarkably stable. PG syntax, on the other hand, has shown some measure of change, but most of that is limited to the varieties spoken by Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite sectarians since the first half of the twentieth century. Finally, PG vocabulary has shown the greatest amount of change since the eighteenth century, a natural and inevitable phenomenon in all human languages, especially those whose speakers are bi- or multilingual. Much of this change is due to the borrowing of lexical items from American English, a fact that has been noted since the earliest descriptions of nascent PG in the eighteenth century. The size of the English-derived component of PG vocabulary has been grossly overstated, however. Although stereotypes about the language would have one believe that the language is a "mishmash of English and German" (Schöpf 1788, 156) due to the presence of loan vocabulary, an objective analysis of the actual percentage of English-derived words in PG yields a total of between just 10 and 15 percent, depending on the topic, which is a very modest amount, crosslinguistically speaking. Because contact with English has had essentially no effect on the phonology and morphology of PG, and only limited influence on its syntax, the "infusion of English" in PG referred to in the title of Haldeman's 1872 monograph is minimal.

The objective fact that the influence of English on PG is relatively limited stands in stark contrast to long-standing popular stereotypes about the language. The earliest detailed description of PG and the verbal behavior of its speakers, which was made by a German-born physician and polymath, Johann David Schöpf, begins as follows (see Louden 2003a for a detailed discussion of Schöpf's full remarks): "The language used by our German countrymen [in Pennsylvania] is a miserably broken mishmash of English and German, with respect to words as well as their combination. Adults coming over from Germany partially forget their mother tongue as they attempt, unsuccessfully, to learn a new language; those born here almost never learn German correctly and purely" (Schöpf 1788, 156). The view that contact with

English has been a subtractive process for PG, a fall from the linguistic grace of its European German origins, is a widespread but false one. On the contrary, the PG lexicon has expanded and become semantically enriched by the borrowing of vocabulary from English.

An example of lexical borrowing from English into PG is found on a coaster from the Old Reading Beer company, which was located in the heart of the Dutch Country and as a local brewery presumably had a large PG-speaking customer base (fig. 4.1). At the top of the coaster, the sentence *Die Fraa waert die Hosse* is a verbatim translation of the American English idiom "The wife wears the pants," an example of what is called a "loan translation." Within that sentence, the verb *waert* 'wears' is a borrowing from English, a form of the infinitive *waere* 'to wear'. Given the fact that it is highly unlikely that early PG speakers lacked a Palatine German-derived word meaning "to wear," it is fair to ask whether *waere* displaced an older, native lexical item. The answer is no. In earlier PG, "to wear" was expressed by the Palatine German *draage*, which also meant "to carry," parallel to its cognate in modern German, *tragen*. *Draage* is still used in PG, though only with the meaning "to carry." The borrowing of *waere* into English has thus not displaced *draage* but only narrowed its semantic scope. Such borrowings, of which there are dozens if not hundreds in PG, are an example of the economy of lexical borrowing from English into PG. Language contact, viewed in this light, is a form of linguistic enrichment: the size of the PG lexicon is increased through the inclusion of new words that do not displace older ones. Furthermore, borrowings from English have no effect on the core structures of PG. In the present example, *waere* behaves like any other verb and follows the phonological and morphological rules of the language, which are all inherited from Palatine German.

Fig. 4.1. Coaster advertising Old Reading Beer

Who Speaks Pennsylvania German Today and Where?

For many people, the terms *Pennsylvania Dutch* and *Amish* are almost synonymous, and for good reason: most of today's active speakers of PG are members of Old Order Amish churches and their children, who currently number more than 300,000 across North America (*Amish Population by State/Province* 2016). The only other sizable group of speakers are the closely related horse-and-buggy-driving Old Order Mennonites (who number more than 37,000 in the United States and Canada). Among these religious groups—which are the largest and most visible among several conservative Anabaptist sects in North America—the PG language serves as the major medium for oral, intracommunity communication. Due to the high growth rate and geographic mobility among Old Order sectarians, the PG language is now spoken by more people outside of Pennsylvania than within it (Keiser 2012). Old Order communities (i.e., concentrations of PG speakers) are to be found today in thirty-one U.S. states and three Canadian provinces (*Amish Population by State/Province* 2016). The following chapter by Kraybill, Nolt, and Burdge addresses the use of Pennsylvania German among these groups.

The ancestors of these "Plain people," however, for much of the history of PG constituted only a very small fraction of the total PG-speaking population. The historical majority comprised speakers of mainly Lutheran and German Reformed background who lived in rural southeastern and south-central Pennsylvania—that is, in or near the heart of the traditional Dutch Country, with especially large concentrations in Lehigh, Berks, Lebanon, and Lancaster counties. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, demographic changes affecting rural America generally, including Pennsylvania, laid the groundwork for widespread attrition away from PG among nonsectarians, such that today effectively all non–Old Order speakers who grew up with the language are now elderly and most of them no longer use the language actively. Estimates of the number of nonsectarian speakers are difficult to come by. The 2000 U.S. Census found the number of PG speakers in Pennsylvania to be 39,605, but there is no way of knowing how many of these speakers might be Old Order sectarians. It seems reasonable, then, to assume that the nonsectarian PG-speaking population is today fewer than 40,000. Given the fact that all fluent speakers are elderly, it is safe to say that within the next twenty to thirty years PG will be spoken almost exclusively by Old Order sectarians.

Why is it that sectarian speakers continue to maintain PG, while among nonsectarians the language has become moribund and is on the verge of disappearing? Since the eighteenth century, the social and demographic factors that correlate with maintenance of PG have been largely the same for both nonsectarians and sectarians. The typical active speaker of PG is a person who lives in a rural area with a high concentration of other PG speakers and who is engaged in occupations such as farming, carpentry, or oth-

er trades connected to rural life. Endogamy—that is, marrying within the PG-speaking community—is another crucial factor in determining whether the language is actively maintained in the home and larger community. Maintenance of PG is thus closely linked to the limited geographic and social mobility of its speakers. Ethnic Pennsylvania Germans who acquired the language in childhood but as adults have gone on to pursue careers that have taken them out of the country or have married a non-PG-speaker typically shift to active use of English instead of PG. This has been the case for virtually all nonsectarian speakers living today, with the added fact that the areas of rural Pennsylvania where they live are now more connected—geographically, economically, and culturally—to non-PG speakers and to nearby towns and cities where use of English is the norm. The Old Order sectarians, on the other hand, as a result of their rurally based, endogamous, socioreligious lifestyle, have naturally maintained PG (alongside English, it should be pointed out) without any special effort, in effect "by inertia" (Louden 2003b). However, the relatively few people (approximately 15 percent) who are born into Old Order families but as adults choose not to join (or remain in) Old Order churches often shift to using English predominantly or exclusively after leaving. Maintenance of PG is thus strongly linked to Old Order identity.

Early History of Pennsylvania German (1710–1800)

Although the first German settlement in Pennsylvania was the community of Germantown, founded in what is now part of Philadelphia in 1683, there is no evidence to suggest that there was any connection between the language(s) of these first settlers and what became PG. On the basis of eighteenth-century shipping records, the historian Marianne Wokeck (1999, 44–46) estimates that just under 81,000 German-speakers entered the port of Philadelphia between approximately 1710 and the outbreak of the Revolution in 1775. While we do not know precisely where all these 81,000 immigrants ended up, it is presumed that most settled in a fanlike area to the north and west of Philadelphia, especially in what are now the counties of Lehigh, Berks, Lebanon, and Lancaster, which compose the bulk of the Dutch Country. More than two-thirds of these immigrants (58,000) arrived between 1710 and 1755, of whom 35,000 (43 percent) came during the period 1749–54 (Wokeck 1999, 44). From 1755 until 1775, immigration to Pennsylvania from German-speaking Europe dropped off significantly and did not resume until about 1820, after the hostilities between Britain and the United States (including those during the War of 1812) had ceased.

For the purpose of reconstructing the history of PG, the years between 1750 and 1775 and, secondarily, from 1775 until the early nineteenth century are crucial. On the basis of what we know of the linguistic outcome of German-speaking immigration to colonial Pennsylvania—Pennsylvania German, a language closely related to southeastern Palatine German dialects, though not identical to any one of them—it is reasonable to assume

that many if not most of the 35,000 immigrants between 1749 and 1754 hailed from the southeastern Palatinate. Since major linguistic change typically proceeds generationally, that is, as the result of child language acquisition, it may be further presumed that the children of immigrants born around the middle of the eighteenth century, who would have been young adults at the outbreak of the Revolution, were the main agents in creating earliest PG. We thus infer that PG existed as a distinct language by around 1780. This inference is supported by contemporary accounts of the speech of Pennsylvania Germans from the early 1780s, including the relatively detailed description provided by Johann David Schöpf, which was based on his firsthand observations in 1783 and 1784 (Schöpf 1788; see also Louden 2003a).

Another piece of early documentary evidence for the existence of PG is an article from the German-language *Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz* published on October 26, 1784. This article was a parody of rural-dwelling German Pennsylvanians that mocked their presumed heavy use of English loanwords. In the following passage, none other than Frederick August Muhlenberg, a member of the ethnic German social elite of Philadelphia who went on to become the first speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, plays the role of a rural "Dutchman" defending himself against the disrespect of a standard German speaker (Louden 2008, 6).

> Hey da! *Certainly* wer sie jetzt reden hört, dem ist *easy* zu wissen, daß sie ein grober *Dutchman* sind. Wissen sie nicht, daß ich ein *Gentleman* bin, und einen *Gentleman* einen Thoren zu nennen, das ist *meaner* als *mean*; aber es ist nicht *worth while*, viel *Notice* davon zu nehmen, *because* ich werde doch bleiben, wer ich bin.
>
> [Hey there! Certainly whoever hears you speaking now will know easily that you are a coarse Dutchman. Do you not know that I am a gentleman, and to call a gentleman a fool, that is meaner than mean. But it is not worthwhile to take much notice of this because I will remain who I am.]

Later in the parody, one of Muhlenberg's interlocutors responds with a statement that includes the earliest documented reference to a distinct "Pennsylvania German dialect":

> Ich dachte halb, daß unser lustiger Freund nur spashaft seyn wollte, da er anfing den Pennsylvanischen Deutschen *Dialect* zu reden; denn ich weiß, daß er sonst so rein Deutsch spricht, als einer von uns.
>
> [I figured that our merry friend was just being silly when he began speaking the Pennsylvania German dialect, since I know that he otherwise speaks German just as purely as any of us.]

The accounts of Schöpf and Muhlenberg and his friends underscore a crucial sociolinguistic fact about PG that endures to the present—namely, its lack of overt prestige, as the vernacular medium of common people living in rural areas. The difference of PG from standard (High) German, including its acceptance of loanwords from English (which, as discussed earlier, com-

pose a much lower percentage of the PG lexicon than assumed by unsympathetic observers such as Schöpf and Muhlenberg), as well as its association with speakers of modest social status, has led to its stigmatization as the "miserably broken mishmash of English and German" described by Schöpf.

Recalling now our earlier discussion of the long-standing dichotomy within PG-speaking society between speakers of Lutheran and Reformed background (nonsectarians; also "Church people" or "Fancy Dutch") and the members of Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite communities (sectarians; also "Plain people"), it is important to consider sociolinguistic aspects of the relations between these two groups in the eighteenth century. Interestingly, over much of the history of PG, the contacts between these two groups of PG speakers have been limited, mainly due to the fact that they have lived in geographically separate areas. Nonsectarian speakers of PG were concentrated in the Dutch Country of southeastern Pennsylvania, but especially in counties such as Lehigh, Berks, and Lebanon, and also in York, Dauphin, and Northumberland counties where, until recently, sectarian communities were few in number. The three Pennsylvania counties with significant and long-standing sectarian populations, Lancaster, Somerset, and Mifflin, were home historically to very low numbers of nonsectarian PG speakers. Only in the past thirty years or so, as the Old Order population, especially in Lancaster County, has grown and sectarians have settled in other parts of the state have PG speakers from the two groups come into contact with one another to any extent. Despite their shared language, mutual lack of knowledge about the historical connections among their ancestors is the norm. Reinforcing this divide between sectarians and nonsectarians has been the expansion of PG speakers, for the past two centuries, out of Pennsylvania, especially into the American Midwest (Keiser 2012). Many midwestern Amish and Mennonite speakers of PG are not even aware that there are (or were, historically) speakers of the language anywhere who are not of sectarian background.

Yet the basic fact that nonsectarian and sectarian varieties of PG are mutually intelligible, with only minor lexical and pronunciation differences between them, points to the fact that sectarian and nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans must have lived in close proximity to one another during the crucial period of language genesis between 1750 and 1775. This is supported by historical research, including the studies of MacMaster (1985) and Fogleman (1996). It is important to note how few sectarians there were among the 81,000 total German-speaking immigrants to colonial Pennsylvania. Fogleman (1996, 104–5) estimates there were just over 3,200 sectarians among the original immigrants, of whom roughly half were Mennonites and Amish (1,536 and 265, respectively). Thus, approximately 4 percent of the first Pennsylvania Germans were sectarians and only 2 percent were the progenitors of today's Old Order speakers (Krahn, Bender, and Friesen 1989). The demographic majority was composed of people of Lutheran and German Reformed affiliation. As MacMaster (1985, 138–56) lays out in de-

tail in an important revision of what he terms an "isolationist interpretation" (139) of sectarian-nonsectarian relations in colonial Pennsylvania, eighteenth-century Mennonite and Amish congregations were located in areas with sizable Lutheran and Reformed (as well as Scots-Irish) populations (e.g., in Berks County), and the diverse groups were bound to one another by numerous social, economic, and educational ties, often stemming from the exigencies of pioneer life (likely including resistance from local Native American groups to the incursion of white settlers).

By the turn of the nineteenth century, however, as the turmoil of the Revolution and the early years of the Republic subsided, sectarian and nonsectarian PG speakers became concentrated in different areas of Pennsylvania, with sectarians heavily represented in parts of Lancaster County. From about 1800 on, regular contacts between sectarians and nonsectarians in Pennsylvania declined significantly owing to their geographic distance, a situation that has only recently changed somewhat with the expansion of Old Order communities into traditionally nonsectarian parts of Pennsylvania. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, sectarians also began migrating outside of Pennsylvania, including to Waterloo County, Ontario (1800), and Holmes County, Ohio (1809). The Waterloo County Mennonite settlement is particularly interesting for PG linguistic history since it is the oldest major daughter settlement out of Pennsylvania. The modern variety of the PG spoken in Ontario today (cf. Burridge 1989) is, aside from minor lexical and pronunciation differences, structurally identical to nonsectarian and other sectarian varieties with which there has been little or no contact since the eighteenth century. This underscores the proximity of the earliest sectarian and nonsectarian PG speakers during the crucial period between 1750 and 1775 when the language developed.

By way of concluding this discussion of the genesis and early history of PG, we should note that we have essentially no direct written evidence of the language itself aside from the fanciful and negative characterizations of folk speech made by non-PG speakers such as Johann David Schöpf and Frederick August Muhlenberg. In a study of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania German society as described in contemporary newspapers, James Owen Knauss (1922, 105) found just one example of printed dialect, from the *Neue Unpartheyische Readinger Zeitung*, April 30, 1794. While there are differences between the language of this text and later PG, its features are still basically Palatine German. The use of PG as a literary medium did not begin until the nineteenth century, but even then most PG speakers preferred to read and write in English or German. Up to the present day, PG has remained a predominantly oral language. During the eighteenth century, knowledge of written standard (High) German was widespread, as evidenced in the circulation figures for German-language newspapers. In colonial Philadelphia, a small German-speaking social elite (to which the Muhlenbergs, for example, belonged) cultivated High German, though by 1800 the city had become largely anglicized. Although the standard language was never wide-

spread as an oral vernacular among rural-dwelling Pennsylvania Germans, German-language newspapers with mainly PG-speaking readerships (e.g., the *Reading Adler* [Eagle]) were published as late as the early twentieth century. And knowledge of what became known as "Pennsylvania High German" (R. Wood 1945) was also promoted by German-speaking churches, both nonsectarian and sectarian (Helffrich 1906).

The relatively secondary status of Pennsylvania High German in the verbal repertoire of Pennsylvania Germans during the eighteenth century and beyond is attested to by the fact that the standard variety has had no structural influence on PG: the core phonological, morphological, and syntactic structures of the language are wholly Palatine dialectal. Even in the area of vocabulary, the most malleable component of any language, the few High German–derived words are largely limited to religious domains and had almost certainly been part of the Palatine German lexicon before immigration to America. Two examples of High German–derived lexical items in PG compared with historically related, phonologically Palatine words are *Heiland* 'savior' (lit. 'healer') versus PG *heele* 'to heal'; and *Glaabensbekenntnis* 'confession of faith' versus *Glaawe* 'faith'.

Pennsylvania German in the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century witnessed the flowering of a rich Pennsylvania German folk culture, the major products of which were in some way connected to the PG language. It was a time during which PG became a vehicle for literary expression, even as the negative stereotypes of it held by outsiders (and not a few insiders) endured. Although identified PG writers composed only a small fraction of the total PG-speaking population, the texts they produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are a valuable resource for students of Pennsylvania German history. PG speakers created for themselves a linguistic and cultural identity that was distinct not only from that of German-speaking Europe but also from an emergent German American culture, the standard-bearers for which were new immigrants and their descendants concentrated especially in eastern cities and rural and urban areas of the Midwest. Tellingly, the Pennsylvania Germans dubbed these relative newcomers *Deitschlenner* "Germans, Germany-people" as opposed to *Deitsche* "(Pennsylvania) Dutch" (D. Yoder 1988). At the same time, despite their enduring self-image as "old stock" Americans, Pennsylvania Germans (more properly, Pennsylvania Dutch) continued to view themselves as different from their English-speaking neighbors, language but not ethnicity being the salient marker of their differentness. By the turn of the twentieth century, PG reached its demographic high point with an estimated three-quarters of a million active speakers in the United States and Canada, approximately 600,000 of whom lived in Pennsylvania (Seifert 1971, 16–17).

The decades leading up to the Civil War are described by Earl F. Robacker (1943, 38–71), in his study of Pennsylvania German literature, as a "period of

transition" for Pennsylvania German culture. Linguistically, knowledge of High German receded and, with it, a connection to the culture and spiritual life of German-speaking Europe. At the same time, Robacker states that overall economic prosperity during the years of the Early Republic afforded Pennsylvania Germans a measure of autonomy from their English-speaking neighbors, allowing them to create a space in which their folk culture could develop.

> After the second or third generation in America, High German had become almost a foreign language to many. It was used in the pulpit and in the devotional literature of the Church, but it was only spoken, to any extent, by the newcomers, since the dialect, increasingly modified by English, was employed for all the everyday purposes of life.
>
> Actually, the Pennsylvania Germans had no real need either for pure German or pure English. Pure German could not meet their needs in a land which called for an agricultural, economic, and political terminology unknown to Europeans. And as for English, there was seemingly no more cause for the solid bloc of Germans in Pennsylvania to learn English than there was for the English to learn German. Few, if any, had the vision of a continent united by one people and one language, and there appeared to be no reason why, in the face of prosperity, anything should ever be different from what it was right then. (Robacker 1943, 43)

The cultural autonomy of Pennsylvania Germans during the nineteenth century should not, however, be viewed as a result of their ignorance of what was going on in the rest of Pennsylvania and American society. On the contrary, as reflected in their own writings, especially local newspapers and, later in the century, literary and nonliterary texts produced in PG, they were profoundly aware of the larger community of which they were a part, albeit a distinct part. The historian Steven M. Nolt, in writing about the political culture of Pennsylvania Germans during the first half of the nineteenth century, speaks of their "peasant republicanism," a blend of attitudes and behaviors inherited to some extent from central Europe but strongly shaped by the ideals of the American Revolution.

> Peasant republicanism regarded true liberty in negative terms—that is, as freedom from intrusive agents of change. Its proponents resisted the efforts of distant power brokers to meddle in their local and traditional affairs, yet ancient privileges and the authority structures that guarded them received honor and deferential respect, and peasant subjects dutifully filled their roles in a vertically organized society. . . . Peasant republicanism endorsed a collective self-interest derived from a strong local base. It could produce seemingly passive subjects who compliantly yielded to hierarchies of merit, but its advocates actually based their actions on political principles that could also evoke stiff opposition and vigorous protest. (Nolt 2002, 31)

This spirit of Pennsylvania Germans exercising what they saw as their fundamentally American right to be allowed to determine their own affairs enabled them to carve out for themselves a cultural territory within which their

distinctive language—neither German nor English, yet related to both—could flourish. This was language maintenance born not of isolation but of a controlled distance between an independent-minded minority community and the sociolinguistic mainstream.

However, it was difficult for most non–Pennsylvania Germans, both Anglo- and German American, to view the Dutch as anything other than stubborn, backward people who spoke a "bastard jargon." As one German observer, Franz Löher, wrote in 1847:

> These Germans have, since the end of the Revolution and up to the War of 1812, preserved part of the Germany of the eighteenth century, such that our recent literary achievements and Germany's entire spiritual rebirth since the eighteenth century are either totally unknown to them or have had no effect on them. In fact, they have forgotten the land of their ancestors and have come to consider themselves the only Germans in the world. A friend [from Germany] told me once that, twenty years ago, he took a trip through rural Pennsylvania. A Dutchman said to him: "You talk pretty good German; how long have you been in this country?" "About six months." "Wow, that's amazing that you've already learned such good German!" I myself have found only the vaguest memories of Germany among the Pennsylvania Dutch, which consisted mainly of the following: that things are jollier in Germany, a lot of wine is produced there, and the people are not deceiving Yankees, but honest and pious.
>
> . . . Good German ended in America when preachers no longer came over from Germany; it lived on only in a few books. Our countrymen here could not preserve the ponderous German way of speaking; they had to develop something more lively. Maintaining the pure German language was too hard for them, so that is how the curious Pennsylvania language came about, which preserves the humor and directness of German dialects, here the Palatine dialects, but mixed in a crazy way with English-derived business talk and expressions adapted to German. Before the Pennsylvania Dutch shifted from German to English, they preferred to speak English (which they could not avoid) with a German accent. Pennsylvania Dutch is certainly the most curious among the many dialects of German and has the distinction, along with Holland Low German [i.e., Dutch], of becoming a written language. Whoever becomes familiar with this language cannot help but be amused by its "leaps" and "stings," even though it has developed into something that will make the fruits of German learning less accessible to Pennsylvanians. (Löher 1847, 200; my translation)

Unaffected by, yet also in reaction to, the negative views that outsiders such as Franz Löher held of them, a small but visible number of nineteenth-century Pennsylvania Germans produced thousands of texts in their vernacular language that offer us a unique window on their self-identity and culture. These were pieces of prose and poetry, some lighthearted and humorous, others profoundly serious, that were written by and for members of the PG-speaking community. Thus, when we read them today, we are, in a sense, listening in on private conversations that took place generations ago.

Among the earliest published works in PG were short texts, poems, letters to the editor, and interesting anecdotes that appeared in the first decades

of the nineteenth century in small, usually German-language newspapers serving rural Pennsylvania. Many of the writers were anonymous, but several individuals achieved a degree of local fame as dialect writers. Harry Hess Reichard (1918; 1940; Buffington 1962), whose documentation of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century PG prose and poetry is invaluable for its scope, identified more than 100 authors, the oldest of whom was Louis (or Lewis) Miller, who was born in 1795 and died in 1882 (Reichard 1918, 46–48). The sole work of Miller, a lifelong resident of York County, Pennsylvania, to survive is a poem about bringing goods to the markets of Baltimore by Conestoga wagon. The first stanza is given below with original spelling:

Nooch Baltimore geht unser Fuhr
Mit dem bedeckte Waage;
Der Turnpike zeigt uns die Geschpur,
Die Gäul sin gut beschlaage.
En guter Schluck, Glück zu der Reiss,
Der Dramm, der steigt un fallt in Preis—
So bloose die Posauner—
Hot, Schimmel, hot! ei, Brauner!

[To Baltimore goes our team
With the covered wagon;
The turnpike shows us the way,
The horses are well shod.
A good drink, for luck on the journey,
The rum rises and falls in price—
So blow the horns—
Giddy-up, white horse, giddy up! hey, brown one!]

The twentieth-century folklorist Alfred L. Shoemaker (1951a) found a handful of PG texts in German-language newspapers dating as far back as 1804. One early piece appeared in the March 25, 1815, issue of the *Northumberland Republicaner*, published in Sunbury, Pennsylvania. Although there are differences between the language in this text and later PG, modern speakers would have no difficulty understanding it. The "peace" referred to here is evidently the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812 and went into effect on February 18, 1815, just weeks before this article appeared.

Du Drucker,

Was gebts doch net närsche Leut in der Welt—do war ich nächti Owed im Werthshaus un hab do en Schnaps kaaft, eb i en zahlt hab odder net, deß geht jo ken nicks ah, as wi der Werth un mich. Well awer do war en Kirl dart, der hot gscheit gnunck guckt, awer wi i gmahnt ho, so hot der verdeickert närrsch geblaudert; do hot er gsaat vum Friede, daß die Americaner wäre gzwunge gwest Friede mit de Englische z'mache.

[Printer,

Are there ever crazy people in the world. Last night I was at the tavern and bought a drink there; whether I paid for it or not, that's between the innkeeper

and me. Well, there was a fellow there who looked intelligent enough, but as I recall, he rambled on mighty crazy. He talked about the peace . . . that the Americans were forced to make peace with the English.]

In the years immediately following the Civil War, the first books containing PG prose and poetry appeared. The earliest of these were two anthologies that were published in 1869. The first was *Gemälde aus dem pennsylvanischen Volksleben* (Sketches of domestic life in Pennsylvania; Wollenweber 1869), which is discussed later. The second book to appear in 1869 was a collection of English and PG poems written by Rachel Bahn (1829–1902), who was notable since she is one of the few known female dialect writers in the nineteenth century. Bahn's life story was also particularly poignant for the fact that she was bedridden for fifty years (Lockyer 1979). In 1870, one year after Bahn's *Poems* appeared, a posthumous collection of PG poems written by Henry Harbaugh, a distant cousin of Rachel Bahn, was published. Harbaugh (1817–67), dubbed "The Father of Pennsylvania German Literature" by Earl C. Haag (1988, 33), was a well-known minister and theologian in the Reformed Church whose PG poetry composed just a small part of his published works, most of which were in English and dealt with religious topics (Kieffer 1945).

The proliferation of PG prose and poetic texts in periodicals and books during the second half of the nineteenth century speaks to the growing popularity of the written language among PG speakers, even if most still preferred to read and write in English. While many dialect writings were of a lighthearted, entertaining nature, several had a distinctly nostalgic quality. Pennsylvania Germans born in the first decades of the nineteenth century had witnessed significant changes over their lifetimes as their young nation grew to be a world power, and technological advances, notably the railroad, marked the beginning of an industrial age that many rural Americans, not just Pennsylvania Germans, viewed with suspicion. The centennial celebrations of 1876, for example, were tempered by a severe economic recession—the worst in the nation's history up to that point—as well as political scandals, all of which engendered a melancholy mood among traditionally peasant republican Pennsylvania Germans whose world was rapidly changing around them. It is no surprise then that many PG writers evoked romanticized images of the simpler, happier times of their youth. The most famous poem of Henry Harbaugh, "Das alt Schulhaus an der Krick" (The old schoolhouse at the creek), exemplifies this nostalgia. The poem's first three stanzas are given here:

Heit is 's 'xäctly zwansig Johr,
  Dass ich bin owwe naus;
Nau bin ich widder lewig z'rick
Un schteh am Schulhaus an d'r Krick,
  Juscht neekscht an's Dady's Haus.

Ich bin in hunnert Heiser g'west,
  Vun Märbelstee' un Brick,

Un alles was sie hen, die Leit,
Dhet ich verschwappe eenig Zeit
    For's Schulhaus an der Krick.

Wer mied deheem is, un will fort,
    So loss ihn numme geh'—
Ich sag ihm awwer vorne naus
Es is all Humbuk owwe draus,
    Un er werd's selwert seh'! (Harbaugh 1870, 13)

[Today it is exactly twenty years ago
    That I went away;
Now I have returned alive
And stand by the schoolhouse at the creek
    Close by Dad's house.

I have been in hundreds of buildings,
    Made of marble and brick,
And everything I have seen
I would trade any day
    For the schoolhouse at the creek.

Whoever is tired with being home and wants to go away,
    Let him go;
But I will tell him up front
It is all humbug out there,
    As he will see for himself.]

Nearly all known literature in PG produced in the nineteenth century was written by nonsectarians, with a notable exception, John H. Oberholtzer (1809–95). Aside from his importance in the history of PG, Oberholtzer, a native of Berks County, is an important figure in the early history of the Mennonite church in North America (Fretz 1987). A gifted preacher and prolific writer in High German and English, Oberholtzer edited the first Mennonite periodical in America, the German-language newspaper *Der Religiöse Botschafter* (1852–55), as well as its successor *Das Christliche Volks-Blatt* (1856–67), which included a handful of articles in PG that he wrote pseudonymously. An excerpt from one such article, "Vom naus Heira" (On marrying outside the faith; Oberholtzer 1862), is given here with translations of both the High German introduction and the first paragraph (fig. 4.2). Note that the spelling of Oberholtzer's PG has been amended to follow modern conventions.

The following has been submitted in the name of an old "Pennsylvanian," and we hope, as coarsely and simply Pennsylvania-style as he has written, our readers will not be put off, since he makes some points in his message that are not without some relevance if one reflects on them. Here is his piece:

"Vum Nausheiere"

Den Marrige hab ich so iwwer allerhand noh geconsidert un bin so an's Nausheiere kumme, un do hab ich gedenkt und gedenkt un hab des eefeldich

Ding schiergar nimmi los waerre kenne. Un weil ich's Volksblatt als lees, un sie als iwwer allerlei Sache gschriwwe, so hab ich gedenkt: du gehscht yuscht so gut emol draa un schreibscht e Schtick fer's Volksblatt, grad wege dem aus der Gmeeschaft Nausheiere.

["On Marrying outside the Faith"

This morning I was reflecting about a number of things, including marrying outside the faith. I was thinking and thinking and just could not get this simple thing out of my head. Since I read the *Volksblatt* regularly, and have written them [*sic*] about different topics, I thought: you should just go ahead and write a piece for the *Volksblatt* about marrying outside of the faith.]

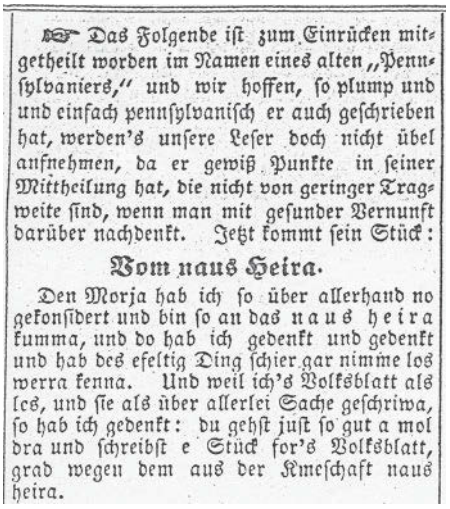
Especially interesting here is Oberholtzer's editorial note to readers almost apologizing for writing in the "coarse and simple" PG instead of German. Clearly, though, PG had an important stylistic function here—namely, to convey a serious message to readers in an informal and accessible way.

As mentioned earlier, most texts in PG were written by native speakers for a native-speaking audience. There are a few notable exceptions to this trend, including three books that all appeared within a decade of one another. The first of these was Ludwig Wollenweber's *Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben* mentioned earlier. Wollenweber was exceptional in many regards. Although a *Deitschlenner* (nineteenth-century immigrant German American), Wollenweber became a "Pennsylvania-German by preference" (Reichard 1918, iii; cf. also 100–104). Born near Zweibrücken in the western Palatinate in 1807, Wollenweber emigrated to Philadelphia in the 1830s and worked for many years in the newspaper business. Wollenweber took a strong, sympathetic interest in rural Pennsylvania German life, including many local-color stories and legends he heard. His *Gemälde* contains poems and short prose texts, many of which he wrote himself in his own variety of PG, which differs somewhat from that of native speakers. The first stanza of the first poem in the collection, "Eine Beteurung" (An affirmation), translated here, expresses Wollenweber's affection for his adopted home.

I am a Pennsylvanian,
I am proud and happy about that
The country is beautiful, the people are nice,
By jinks! I would bet anyone
That no other country in the world can beat it!

The title page of Wollenweber's book listed both Philadelphia and Leipzig as places of publication, though it is not known whether the book did in fact appear in Germany. In any case, it is clear that Wollenweber sought to disseminate PG language and culture among both German and American readers. Unlike earlier European-born observers of Pennsylvania German life, such as Johann David Schöpf, Wollenweber treated his subject with respect and admiration.

In 1875 another book of special importance in the history of PG appeared, the *Pennsylvania German Manual* by Abraham Reeser Horne (1834–1902). Born



☞ Das Folgende iſt zum Einrücken mitgetheilt worden im Namen eines alten „Pennſylvaniers," und wir hoffen, ſo plump und und einfach pennſylvaniſch er auch geſchrieben hat, werden's unſere Leſer doch nicht übel aufnehmen, da er gewiß Punkte in ſeiner Mittheilung hat, die nicht von geringer Tragweite ſind, wenn man mit geſunder Vernunft darüber nachdenkt. Jetzt kommt ſein Stück:

Vom naus Heira.

Den Morja hab ich ſo über allerhand no gekonſidert und bin ſo an das naus heira kumma, und do hab ich gedenkt und gedenkt und hab des efeltig Ding ſchier gar nimme los werra kenna. Und weil ich's Volksblatt als les, und ſie als über allerlei Sache geſchriwa, ſo hab ich gedenkt: du gehſt juſt ſo gut a mol dra und ſchreibſt e Stück for's Volksblatt, grad wegen dem aus der Kmeſchaft naus heira.

Fig. 4.2. Excerpt from 1862 article by John H. Oberholtzer

on a farm in rural Bucks County, Horne was a progressive figure in education, both in Pennsylvania and nationally. Aside from years of practical experience as a teacher in rural Pennsylvania schools, he directed the Kutztown State Normal School (today Kutztown University) and for more than forty years published and edited the *National Educator* (Donner 2000). From his life experience, Horne knew firsthand how PG-speaking children struggled in school, stigmatized as they were as "dumb Dutch" by unsympathetic English-speaking teachers. His *Manual*, which was subtitled "For Pronouncing, Speaking, and Writing English," was premised on the sound pedagogical view that children could acquire English more effectively through a contrastive approach. That is, if PG-speaking children could first learn to read their native language phonetically, that would enable them to anticipate the pitfalls (especially phonetic) associated with the target language English. An ancillary benefit to this contrastive approach was promoting literacy in High German, which in Horne's time was the most commonly taught "living language" in schools. A sample page from Horne's *Manual* is given in figure 4.3.

Horne's dedication to the improvement of the situation of Pennsylvania German children in schools was part of his broader desire to elevate the status of his native language and culture. To that end, Horne included in his *Manual* a wealth of material from Pennsylvania German history, folklore, and literature, not to mention an extensive PG-English dictionary, making the book an invaluable resource for scholars today (Kopp 2010). That Horne's *Manual* went through three editions and four printings between 1875 to 1910 points to its popularity and likely distinguishes it as the most successful PG-language publication in history.

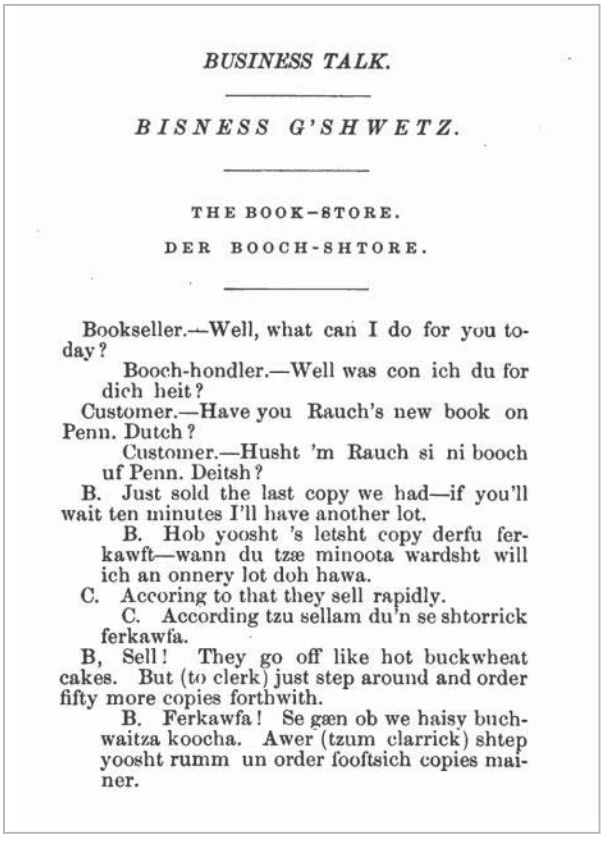
A third important book to appear around the time of Wollenweber's *Gemälde* and Horne's *Manual* is the *Pennsylvania Dutch Hand-Book* (1879) by Edward Henry Rauch (1820–1902). Born in Lancaster County, Rauch had a

Fig. 4.3. Sample page from A. R. Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual*

long and successful career as a journalist and newspaper publisher (Louden 2003c; 2006b). An ardent Radical Republican, Rauch assisted with the work of the Underground Railroad and later served as an officer in the Civil War. Much of his writings, including those in PG, were connected with his strong political views, which were matched only by his advocacy for PG language and culture. Rauch's *Hand-Book* overlapped in content to some degree with Horne's *Manual* (the two men were friends), yet the aims of these books differed. Whereas Horne's goal was to facilitate PG-speaking children's acqui-

sition of English, Rauch sought to help English speakers in Pennsylvania learn the language of their Dutch neighbors. Both books were concerned with demonstrating the legitimacy and expressive power of PG, for example, by including an extensive dictionary and numerous literary texts, in both the original and translations from English. Horne, the teacher and educational theorist, adopted a more didactic approach than his political activist and man-of-the-people friend Rauch. It is no accident, then, that Horne used the more formal sounding "Pennsylvania German" to describe their native language, while Rauch preferred "Pennsylvania Dutch." A sample page from the section in Rauch's *Hand-Book* on "Business Talk/Bisness G'shwetz" is given in figure 4.4.

That the second half of the nineteenth century marked the demographic high point for PG was reflected in the proliferation of publications in the language during this time. And to be sure, the popularity of PG literature reflected the measure of pride (in the non-sinful sense) that many Pennsylvania Germans came to feel about their language and heritage. With the turn of the century, however, it became clear that a new and very different chapter in the story of the PG language was about to be written.



BUSINESS TALK.

BISNESS G'SHWETZ.

THE BOOK-STORE.

DER BOOCH-SHTORE.

Bookseller.—Well, what can I do for you to-day?

Booch-hondler.—Well was con ich du for dich heit?

Customer.—Have you Rauch's new book on Penn. Dutch?

Customer.—Husht 'm Rauch si ni booch uf Penn. Deitsh?

B. Just sold the last copy we had—if you'll wait ten minutes I'll have another lot.

B. Hob yoosht 's letsht copy derfu ferkawft—wann du tzæ minoota wardsht will ich an onnery lot doh hawa.

C. Accoring to that they sell rapidly.

C. According tzu sellam du'n se shtorrick ferkawfa.

B, Sell! They go off like hot buckwheat cakes. But (to clerk) just step around and order fifty more copies forthwith.

B. Ferkawfa! Se gæn ob we haisy buchwaitza koocha. Awer (tzum clarrick) shtep yoosht rumm un order fooftsich copies mainer.

Fig. 4.4. Sample page from E. H. Rauch's *Pennsylvania Dutch Hand-Book*

Decline and Growth of Pennsylvania German in the Twentieth Century

Throughout the nineteenth century, PG-speaking Mennonite and Amish sectarians played a marginal role in the development of the Pennsylvania German folk culture, especially PG-language literature. To be sure, that was partially due to their small numbers. In 1890 it was estimated that there were only 3,700 Amish spread across the three largest settlements in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; Holmes County, Ohio; and Elkhart County, Indiana (J. Hostetler 1993, 97). This contrasts with the estimate cited earlier of approximately 750,000 PG speakers total in North America at about the same time. Adding Mennonite PG speakers to the 3,700 Amish would not likely have increased the sectarian total by a significant amount. Small population size aside, sectarian and nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans grew apart from one another during the nineteenth century, both geographically and culturally, even if their respective varieties of PG did not diverge to the point of mutual unintelligibility.

The major sociolinguistic development affecting PG in the twentieth century has already been noted, namely the widespread attrition of nonsectarians from PG and, at the same time, the dramatic growth in the number of sectarian speakers due to natural increase (Huffines 1980). The turning point came around 1920 or 1930. Children who were born into nonsectarian PG-speaking families in rural Pennsylvania at that time rarely maintained active use of the language through adulthood. By the 1940s and 1950s, when these native speakers of PG began marrying and having children, in very few cases did PG remain the dominant home language. The result is that today virtually all fluent nonsectarian speakers are aged seventy and older, and most have spoken English more frequently than PG for many years now. Among Old Order sectarians, on the other hand, the situation is strikingly different. PG continues to be the first language sectarian children acquire, and it is the preferred medium of oral communication within Old Order communities. What happened, then, in the 1920s and 1930s, to have led to the near extinction of PG among nonsectarians but not among sectarians?

The answer to this question lies in the sociodemographic factors that have correlated with maintenance of PG since the eighteenth century, namely ruralness, limited social and geographic mobility, and endogamy. The economic and attendant social changes brought about by industrialization in Pennsylvania and across the United States after the Civil War, which were observed and often lamented by PG writers during that time, dramatically affected the rural areas of southeastern and south-central Pennsylvania where nonsectarians were concentrated. More and more men (and women) left farming and rural-based trades for factory work, and many commuted or moved to cities and towns; somewhat later, English-monolingual city-dwellers began moving out into the Dutch Country. Educational levels were raised, and with

that the entry of Pennsylvania Germans into English-dominant occupations accelerated. Increasing numbers of PG speakers came into contact with and married non-PG-speaking partners, including across ethnic and religious boundaries that in earlier times were less commonly surmounted. The overall result of these changes was that after about 1940 it was no longer possible for nonsectarian PG speakers to grow up, marry, work, worship, and raise children in the ethnically and socially homogeneous rural communities in which their parents and grandparents had grown up, communities where PG had been the vital vernacular language.

The accelerating decline in the active use of PG in the early decades of the twentieth century did not go unnoticed by nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans. The most important reaction against the trend was the Grundsow (Groundhog) Lodge movement in 1934 (Donner 2002; D. Yoder 2003, 65–84). Patterned to some extent on the model of older American fraternal organizations such as the Moose and the Elks, the all-male Grundsow Lodges were founded to promote Pennsylvania German language and culture through annual gatherings that take place on or around Groundhog Day (February 2), the now quasi-official Pennsylvania German holiday (D. Yoder 2003). Featuring a program of rituals, speeches, skits, singing, and a multicourse meal—conducted in PG—Grundsow Lodge meetings are important expressions of the desire to preserve the language and rich heritage of nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans. Despite the near extinction of PG in the everyday lives of nonsectarians, the Grundsow Lodges and related *fersommlinge* (similar evening "assemblies" that take place at times other than Groundhog Day) continue to the present day (Rosenberger 1966, 194–99).

A leading figure in the establishment of the Grundsow Lodges and the promotion of the PG language in the twentieth century more generally was William S. "Pumpernickle Bill" Troxell (1893–1957). A tireless advocate for Pennsylvania German culture, Troxell is especially important for continuing the nineteenth-century tradition of "dialect columns" in local Pennsylvania newspapers. Don Yoder (2003, 66) notes that Troxell's column appeared in the Allentown *Morning Call* six times a week for more than three decades, earning him the distinction as "the most prolific writer of the dialect of all time." When Troxell passed away in 1957, a memorial poem composed in PG by James A. Koch appeared in the *Morning Call*, the last three verses of which are reproduced here, followed by their translation by Troxell's lifelong friend and fellow language advocate, Melville J. Boyer (Rosenberger 1966, 310–11)

Die Mudderschprooch war ihm im Hatz,
Er schreibt sie dann uff weiss un schwatz,—
  Er eschdimiert sie hoch.

Mer kennt viel schreiwe un viel saage,—
Doch heit sin Dreene in viel Aaage,—
  Mer duhne nix dezu.

Die Fedder un Babier leit schtill,—
Dann saag ich: Pumpernickle Bill
Gott geb dir selichi Ruh.

[The "mother tongue" was in his heart,
In black and white he penned it,—
Held it in high esteem.

Much might we write and say,
Full of tears are many eyes,—
But let us add no more.

His pen and paper quiet lie,—
Just let us say: "Pumpernickle Bill,
God grant you peaceful rest!"]

Aside from the inception of the Grundsow Lodges, the 1930s witnessed other activities related to the promotion of PG, including the founding of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society in 1935 (Rosenberger 1966, 206) and the Pennsylvania German Folk Festival at Allentown in 1936, an important forerunner of the later Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festivals and the modern Kutztown Folk Festival. And in 1935, in Pumpernickle Bill's outlet, the Allentown *Morning Call*, the weekly "'S Pennsylfawnisch Deitsch Eck" (Pennsylvania Dutch Corner) was begun by a native PG-speaking professor of German at Muhlenberg College, Preston A. Barba (1883–1971) (Hanson 2009b; Rosenberger 1966, 206). The "Eck," which Barba brought out from 1935 to 1969, is an unmatched archive of material related to Pennsylvania German language, culture, and history. It was reinstituted five years after Barba's death, in 1976, by C. Richard Beam (b. 1925), who like Barba, was a native Pennsylvania Dutchman and professor of German (at Millersville University). Beam, a member of the last generation of nonsectarian children to grow up hearing PG actively used, continues to play a leading role in the documentation and promotion of PG. His *Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (Beam et al. 2004–11) is a reference work of unparalleled importance.

The various efforts to promote Pennsylvania German language and culture during what Don Yoder (2003, 67) terms the "Pennsylvania Dutch Renaissance of the 1930s" did little, however, to stem the tide of attrition by nonsectarians away from active use of PG. However, the Grundsow Lodges, the folk festivals, and columns such as those of Troxell and Barba have been crucially important in documenting and preserving the products of Pennsylvania German culture and raising both public and scholarly awareness of their significance in American history and society. Concomitant with the "tidal wave of popular interest in the Pennsylvania Germans" (Rosenberger 1966, 194ff.) that built during the 1930s and 1940s was the production of an important body of scholarship documenting the PG language and its folk culture. In linguistic studies, the doctoral dissertations of Albert F. Buffington (1937), Alfred L. Shoemaker (1940), J. William Frey (1941), Carroll E. Reed (1941), and Lester W. J. Seifert (1941) were groundbreaking in their

description and analysis of the structure of PG and its regional variation (Louden 2001). Two of these linguists, Shoemaker and Frey, later collaborated with Don Yoder (1921–2015), himself a leading figure in the development of folklife/folklore as an academic discipline in the United States, to found the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center at Franklin and Marshall College in 1949. Yoder's prolific research output distinguishes him as the premier scholar in the history of Pennsylvania German studies (D. Yoder 2001a).

A major goal of the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center was to counter the misinformation about Pennsylvania Germans and their culture that was being disseminated by merchandisers catering to tourists in the wake of the "tidal wave of popular interest" (Weaver-Zercher 2001, 114–21). Regarding the language, popular characterizations of PG were no more flattering in the twentieth century than they had been in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Instead of comparing PG negatively to High German, however, tea-towel and trivet manufacturers came to focus on the "dutchified" or "ferhoodled" (PG *verhuddelt* 'confused') English supposedly spoken by Pennsylvania Germans. An example of what was presented as "Pennsylvania Dutch talk" is shown in the postcard from the 1940s in figure 4.5.

While it is true that some native speakers of PG did "dutchify" their English to some extent through their pronunciation and use of certain lexical items and expressions, some of which have become part of regional Pennsylvania English (e.g., *rutsch* 'squirm', *The cake is all* 'The cake is all gone'), the extent to which PG speakers' English has been influenced by their first language has been overstated. The myth of Ferhoodled English became so widespread that some observers began to equate it with PG itself, as reflected in the lyrics of a popular song "Mama from the Train," which was written in 1956 by Irving Gordon and made a hit by Patti Page.

> Throw mama from the train a kiss, a kiss,
> Wave mama from the train a goodbye;
> Throw mama from the train a kiss, a kiss,
> And don't cry, my baby, don't cry.
>
> How I miss that sweet lady with her old-country touch,
> Miss her quaint broken English called Pennsylvania Dutch;
> I can still see her there at the station that day,
> Calling out to her baby as the train pulled away.

One of the most commercially successful authors of tourist literature during this time—and somewhat of a lightning rod for the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, especially its director, Alfred L. Shoemaker—was a Harrisburg bookseller, A. Monroe Aurand Jr. (1895–1956) (Deibler 1988–89; 1989). In 1939 Aurand published two pamphlets on language that were popular and are still available today: *Pennsylvania-German Dialect: Stories and Poems* (Aurand 1939a) and *Quaint Idioms and Expressions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Aurand 1939b). Though much of what Aurand wrote about the languages of Pennsylvania Germans was reasonably accurate, the overall impression he

Fig. 4.5. "Pennsylvania Dutch talk" postcard, 1940s

conveyed about their verbal behavior was one of humor. For example, in a section from *Quaint Idioms and Expressions* titled "On Making Ourselves Understood!" Aurand writes the following:

> While it may be a novelty to hear Pennsylvania-Germans speak in the "dialect," it is no less entertaining to hear, shall we say, two such women, who might perchance be gossips, speaking in their rural English, occasionally including one, or perhaps several of those odd words that seemingly have no orthodox origin.
>
> Surely some of these, when used in conversation in a community where they are understood, find their usage justified—especially when to all intents and purposes they express so much better than English or German, what the speakers have in mind. (Aurand 1939b, 3–4)

Unfortunately, what the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center produced on language was not always an improvement over what Aurand had written. In

1951 the center published a pamphlet by J. William Frey titled *That Amazing Pennsylvania Dutch Language*, the cover of which is shown in figure 4.6. Although few were as informed about the history and structure of PG as the scholar Frey, a professor of German and Russian for many years at Franklin and Marshall College, important facts about the language are difficult to find amid the humor in this pamphlet. Compare, for example, what Frey states in the section titled "Different Terms for the Same Thing."

> But this example [words for a "sowbug"] does not demonstrate the freedom of expression nearly so well as do the various terms for the oil-gland, or uropygial gland of the chicken—that's the part, you know, in which the tail feathers are stuck, or we say, "the piece that went over the fence last!" Very well, here's what you may call it in Pennsylvania Dutch: TSIPPEL, BOTZEL, SHWONS-GRIP, SHMELS-PON, AIL-KENNLY, AIL-KEVVICH, AIL-TSEPPLY, FETT-SHNEPPEL, SHMOOTZ-HEFFLY, SHMOOTZ-KENNLY, FETT-HEFFLY, FETT-PON, SHNEVLY, and last but by no means least, POOP-NOCKER!!! (Frey 1951, 6)

The pamphlet ends with Frey suggesting that it might be a good idea for the United Nations to adopt PG as its "universal language." If the international body were to do this, Frey speculates that "one good barnyard story at the beginning of each meeting would give all members a hearty laugh and a good send-off for better understanding among themselves!" (Frey 1951, 12).

Old Order sectarians, today the last active speakers of PG, have remained largely unruffled by the ever-growing tourist industry that markets their image. They are also generally uninvolved with nonsectarian efforts, such as the Grundsow Lodges, to preserve and promote the Pennsylvania German heritage. However, PG is in no way endangered within their community. The Old Orders maintain PG naturally, without any special effort, much as generations of rural, endogamous nonsectarian PG speakers did for nearly two centuries. However, the economic and attendant social changes that sounded the death knell for PG among nonsectarians in the early twentieth century were not without consequence for Old Order verbal behavior. Although sectarians have withstood the pressure to shift to English monolingualism by remaining rural and endogamous and by maintaining a measure of distance between themselves and the social mainstream for spiritual reasons, their varieties of PG reflect limited but clear patterns of change since the 1930s and 1940s. Old Order speakers of PG, like their nonsectarian counterparts, were always bilingual, yet in the twentieth century their use of English as an oral medium of communication has intensified as their regular face-to-face contacts with English monolinguals have increased, largely for economic reasons (Kraybill and Nolt 2004).

The effects of their intensified bilingual situation can be found in varieties of PG spoken by Old Orders sectarians, especially those born after 1940. Such effects are most clearly seen in the area of vocabulary (Louden 1988). While there has always been a tendency for PG speakers to borrow English loanwords in order to achieve one-to-one pairings between words

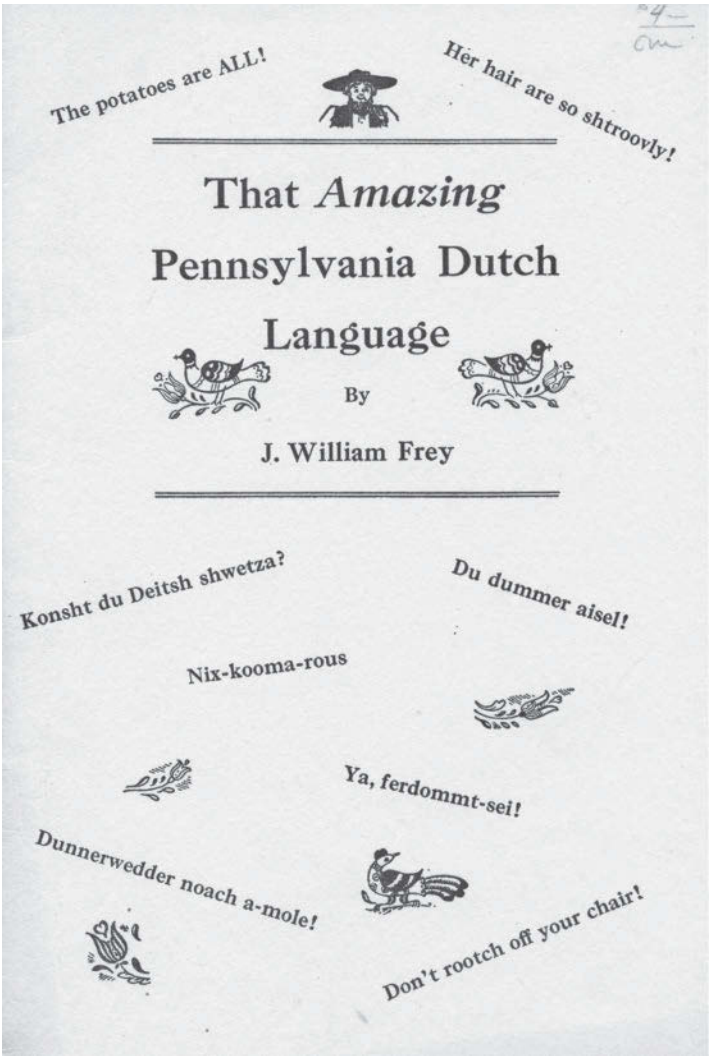


Fig. 4.6. Pamphlet on Pennsylvania Dutch language by J. William Frey, 1951

and meanings (e.g., the *waere/draage* example), the trend toward making PG lexical items line up semantically with English equivalents has gathered speed. Two simple examples illustrate this. In earlier PG, to say "It's ten past two" one traditionally said *S'is zehe iwwer zwee*, using the preposition *iwwer* 'over'. Most younger sectarian speakers now say *S'is zehe verbei zwee*. Whereas *verbei* was used formerly only as an adverb in PG meaning "past, over" as in "They drove past" and "The meeting is now over," in modern PG it may also be used as a preposition, as in English. A second example of the recent semantic convergence of modern sectarian PG toward English deals with ways to express the concept of knowing something. In earlier PG, there were three verbs that corresponded to English *know*: *wisse* 'to know a fact', *kenne*

'to be familiar with', and the homophonous but differently conjugated *kenne* 'to know a language'. Many younger sectarian speakers, on the model of English, have generalized *wisse* across all three usages: *Ich wees sell/ihn/Deitsch* 'I know that/him/Pennsylvania Dutch'.

The semantic alignment of modern sectarian varieties of PG with English is thus a result of the bilingual situation of today's Old Order speakers, who find themselves making more active use of both languages in everyday life than did earlier generations of sectarian and nonsectarian PG speakers. Indeed, English is a very important part of the linguistic ecology in Old Order society, serving not only as the necessary medium of communication with outsiders but also as the dominant vehicle of literacy within their community. Few sectarians ever read anything in PG, and even fewer bother to write more than a few words in it. The rich body of dialect literature from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is largely unfamiliar to them. It should be noted, however, that the Bible has been translated into sectarian PG by a committee of native speakers who grew up in Old Order Amish communities (*Di Heilich Shrift* 2013; cf. also *Vella Deitsh* 1997). Although virtually all adult sectarians have a basic reading knowledge of the High German of the Bible, prayer books, and hymnals, their preferred language of literacy (and also the exclusive medium of instruction in their parochial schools) is English.

From shopping lists, to diaries, to letters to friends and relatives, English plays a vital role in the Old Order linguistic repertoire, though not at the expense of PG. Despite its restriction to oral, in-group domains of use, PG is one of the most salient markers of Old Order identity. Some Amish children, for example, refer to their language as *Amisch* rather than *Deitsch*. Indeed, maintaining German in both its Pennsylvania and High varieties connects Old Orders with a spiritual heritage that they cherish and hope to pass on to their descendants. An Amish writer describes the natural bilingualism of his community as follows.

> English is the language of our country. But we, the descendants of immigrants from German-speaking Europe, have clung to a language that has become largely our own. Over the years that our people have lived alongside English-speaking neighbors, we have naturally and gradually accepted numerous English words into our German dialect. The Pennsylvania Dutch we speak now is really a slowly changing language. It is somewhat different now than it was a hundred years ago, and it is not even exactly the same in different parts of the country.
>
> . . . The case of [the Jews in New Testament times] was much like ours today. They had the traditional Hebrew for their worship just like we use the German Bible in our homes and churches. They had the Aramaic, a language spoken in their homes, but hardly popular as a written language at that time, much like we use our everyday Pennsylvania Dutch. Then for their writings and correspondence, they had the common Greek, the easy-to-write language of world commerce and business, somewhat similar to the way we use the English language in our day. . . .

> Knowing two languages is a privilege God has provided for us, and we can put them to good use. Although we have knowledge of two languages, it would be wrong not to make an effort to express ourselves better in the English language. But it would be just as wrong to fail to keep and pass on the German to our children—that rich language our forebears left for us. It is a well-known fact that losing our mother tongue and drifting into the world usually go together.
>
> Anybody who speaks English around home when just family members are around, or while working or visiting with others who know Pennsylvania Dutch is putting in a vote to drop a rich heritage that will never again be brought back if we lose it. The value of that heritage is so great that we can't afford to lose it. (B. Blank 1986, 12, 13, 16)

With the beginning of the new millennium, the Pennsylvania German language moved into its third century of existence. Although it has now nearly disappeared from active use among the historical majority of its speakers, its future is secure as the vital in-group language of Old Order sectarians. To be sure, it is lamentable that the world of Rachel Bahn, Henry Harbaugh, Edward H. Rauch, and Pumpernickle Bill Troxell is now largely gone. Yet the efforts of groups such as the Grundsow Lodges and the Pennsylvania German Society, as well as newer organizations—the Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center at Kutztown University and the German-Pennsylvanian Association (Deutsch-Pennsylvanischer Arbeitskreis), to name two—show that it is possible to perpetuate a cultural heritage even if the language that once served as its vehicle has receded. In this way, the situation of PG resembles that of Yiddish in the "postvernacular" phase of its history (Shandler 2006). Although no longer widely spoken by the descendants of secular Ashkenazic Jews, who produced a great body of literature and other cultural products in the language, Yiddish thrives in relatively small but rapidly growing Haredi communities. The parallel between the Yiddish and Pennsylvania German sociolinguistic situations is clear. Yet, while interest in secular Yiddish culture is booming worldwide, on the Pennsylvania German side it is the Amish and not the poems of Rachel Bahn and Henry Harbaugh in the global spotlight.

One very important task in the twenty-first century is to identify and preserve texts written by native speakers of PG in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Most of these texts appeared in local Pennsylvania newspapers, as "dialect columns." Literally thousands of such texts exist, most of which have not been looked at since they first appeared, let alone analyzed by scholars. While some of the periodicals in which they were printed have been digitally preserved, others, including German-language Pennsylvania newspapers, remain tucked away in libraries, archives, and historical societies awaiting attention from researchers. The value of these historic materials written in PG is not only linguistic, providing us with a clearer sense of how the language developed over time, but also social and cultural. The writers of these texts were keen observers of the times in which they lived. Their views on the social and political currents of the day shed light on community life in

nineteenth-century rural America from the vantage point of one of the nation's oldest cultural groups. Since nearly all these writings were produced by nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans, most of whose descendants no longer use the language actively, it is critical that they be preserved for future generations.

Here again, a look to the Yiddish world is instructive. The successes of such laudable organizations as the Yiddish Book Center in Amherst, Massachusetts, show how the fruits of a culture associated with a language in a postvernacular phase may be rescued from history and shared with scholars and a curious public. Some years ago, an eminent Yiddish linguist remarked that people had been saying for over a hundred years that Yiddish is a dying language. His response: May Yiddish continue to die for another hundred years. Likewise, the reports of the death of Pennsylvania German are greatly exaggerated. While it may be moribund among nonsectarians, they have not lost it altogether; and among Old Order sectarians, the language is in a robust state of health. Though we have no way of knowing precisely what the future holds for the Pennsylvania German language, the next chapter of its history has yet to be written.

5 Language Use among Anabaptist Groups

DONALD B. KRAYBILL, STEVEN M. NOLT, AND EDSEL BURDGE JR.

Pennsylvania German language and culture has never been limited to Pennsylvania alone, and that fact is more striking today than ever before. Even as many historic Pennsylvania German–speaking Lutheran and Reformed populations surrendered Pennsylvania German speech during the twentieth century, sectarian Anabaptist groups retained the dialect as well as many folkways and cultural traditions of their forebears. By the late twentieth century, most Pennsylvania German speakers were members of these Anabaptist religious communities, and their memberships were not only growing but also spreading farther from the culture's historic hearth. Thriving communities of Pennsylvania German speakers are now found from Montana to New Brunswick and from Manitoba to Texas. Complementing Louden's chapter in this volume on the Pennsylvania German language, this chapter surveys these populations and their growth, spread, and contemporary language issues.

Anabaptist-related groups in North America are found in the Caribbean, Canada, Central America, Mexico, and the United States. Four families of church groups—Amish, Brethren, Hutterites, and Mennonites—trace their roots to the rise of Anabaptist movements in the context of the sixteenth-century Reformation in Europe. These groups immigrated to North America in several waves from the eighteenth to the twentieth century (MacMaster 1985; Nolt 2015; Schlabach 1988). In the early twenty-first century, some 200 Anabaptist-related church groups have an estimated North American population of 1.2 million (Kraybill 2010).[1] All of the Pennsylvania German speakers identified in our study are affiliated with Amish or Mennonite groups. Hutterites have never spoken Pennsylvania German, and no Brethren use the dialect today.

This chapter focuses on Pennsylvania German–speaking groups within the North American Anabaptist world. The ancestors of these groups were a small part of a large migration of German-speaking people who came to the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They brought various southwestern German dialects that melded into Pennsylvania Dutch.

By 2015, ten Anabaptist groups with populations of 500 or more as well as a few smaller groups were speaking Pennsylvania German.[2] The total number of speakers (children and adults) is about 322,035, as shown in table 5.1. This estimate of Pennsylvania German speakers is a conservative one because it includes only people affiliated with a group that uses German or Pennsylvania German or both in *church services*. Residual speakers, whose churches now use English for religious services may still speak some Pennsylvania German at home but are not counted here. Residual speakers are transitional and most likely will not perpetuate the dialect as the church-based speakers will. Typically, after Pennsylvania German is no longer used as a public worship language, it declines over several generations (Johnson-Weiner 1998).

Without exception the groups that continue to speak Pennsylvania German are the most tradition-minded churches within the North American Anabaptist world. All but two groups (Tampico Amish and Midwest Beachy)

TABLE 5.1. Pennsylvania German–Speaking Anabaptist Groups in North America in 2015

Group	*Estimated Population*
Amish[a]	278,805
Old Order Wenger Mennonites[b]	22,610
Old Order Mennonites of Ontario	6,500
Stauffer Mennonites[c]	4,260
Tampico Amish Mennonites	3,260
Old Order David Martin Mennonites	1,760
Hoover Mennonites	1,815
Old Order Reidenbach Mennonites	740
Orthodox Mennonites	1,580
Amish Mennonites (Midwest Beachy)[d]	705
Total	322,0353

SOURCES: Amish Studies website, http://www2.etown.edu/amishstudies/; *Raber's New American Almanac* 2015; Luthy and Donnermeyer 2013; directories of church groups, and informants in various settlements.

[a] The estimate for the Amish population includes all horse-and-buggy-driving groups except the Swiss dialect speakers.

[b] The estimate for the Wenger Mennonite population includes the related Oberholtzer Mennonite group ($N = 305$).

[c] The estimate for the Stauffer Mennonite population also includes two small subgroups: Weavers and Brubakers ($N = 185$).

[d] The estimate for the Amish Mennonite population includes only the six congregations that use Pennsylvania German in their worship services. (Other groups of Amish Mennonites no longer use German in their worship services.)

use horse-and-buggy transportation, and members of all the Pennsylvania German–speaking churches wear distinctive dress that separates them from contemporary society. They have perpetuated Pennsylvania German as the primary tongue of family life, the language of religious services and ceremonies, and a symbolic separator distinguishing their culture from surrounding society.

Language use is trimodal (speaking, writing, and reading), and people shift from one language to another depending on the mode, their linguistic skills, and the cultural context. Pennsylvania German is the default or primary *oral* language for the groups in this essay. It is the birthright language of family and community, the one spoken in the home, in conversations with coethnics, and in church. Most importantly, Pennsylvania German is the language of identity and ethnicity that bonds people into a particular community and sets them apart from English-based, mainstream society. Members of these Anabaptist groups also learn to speak English, the linguistic currency they use when interacting orally with outsiders.

English is the primary language used by these Pennsylvania German speakers when communicating in *writing* with coethnic members, whether leaving a note on the kitchen counter for a family member, sending a birthday card to a friend, or penning a letter for an Old Order publication. Some writers occasionally sprinkle German or dialect words and phrases into their English prose. When writing documents that describe religious beliefs or sacred ceremonies, leaders typically switch to German vocabulary with a scattering of Pennsylvania German phrases. Some religious documents have both English and German sections. A procedural manual for Amish funerals, for example, contains an English section that describes tasks required to ready a home for the service and to prepare the funeral meal, but a German-language section delineates the order of service for the ministers and the suggested hymns.[3]

The third component of language—reading—is yet a bit different. Most texts, from public newspapers to ethnic newsletters, periodicals, cookbooks, history books, and inspirational tracts, are read in English. Children use English textbooks in their parochial schools. At the same time, key religious documents, including the Bible, some historical texts, prayers, and hymns, are typically read in German. Some religious books have parallel columns of German and English on the same page. It is not uncommon for households to own a Bible in which Luther's German translation appears beside the English of King James. Almost nothing is read in Pennsylvania German.[4]

Other German Dialects among Traditional Anabaptist Groups

About a half dozen Mennonite groups (not covered in this chapter) speak *Plautdietsch*, a Low German dialect that should not be confused with Pennsylvania German (R. Epp 1993; Thiessen 2003). These groups, whose roots reach back to Russia and Poland, immigrated to North America, especially Cana-

da, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The total population of *Plautdietsch* speakers in North America likely exceeds 110,000. About 40,000 reside in Canada and nearly 60,000 in Mexico.[5]

The nearly 50,000 Hutterites, who live on large communal farms in western Canada and the United States, speak *Hutterisch*, an Austrian German–based dialect (R. Janzen and Stanton 2010). Although Amish are largely Pennsylvania German speakers, one Amish subgroup speaks a Swiss German dialect so different from Pennsylvania German that the Swiss-speaking Amish must switch to English when speaking with other Amish. "It's like Spanish to us when they talk Swiss so fast to each other. We don't have a clue what they are saying," explained a Pennsylvania Dutch–speaking Amish man when asked to characterize Swiss Amish speech. The Swiss Amish came to the United States in the 1850s and settled originally in Indiana (Nolt and Meyers 2007, 58–70, 101–20, 146–62).[6] They have 158 congregations in eight different states with a population of approximately 21,195.

The Amish

The Amish are the largest Pennsylvania German–speaking group. Excluding Swiss speakers, the Amish population (adults and children) is approximately 278,805. They live in the United States and Canada. Related groups, such as the Beachy Amish Mennonites, who drive cars and no longer use Pennsylvania German in religious services, are not considered "Amish" in this chapter.[7] Our description covers some forty different groups of Amish that forbid ownership of motor vehicles, speak Pennsylvania German, and identify themselves as Amish.[8]

Amish ethnoreligious groups share a common religion, history, German Swiss cultural background, and distinctive practices: using horse-drawn transportation, wearing distinctive clothing, and selectively adopting technology. They speak Pennsylvania German almost exclusively in their homes, use Luther's translation of the German Bible in worship, and terminate formal schooling at the eighth grade. Children learn English in elementary school and are able to speak it fluently with outsiders, whom they call "the English" because the Amish identify the outside world with the English language.[9] Ministers typically preach in Pennsylvania German, but scripture, prayers, and hymns are read from older German texts.

Amish life is organized into more than 2,000 church districts, each composed of about twenty to thirty-five nearby households. Amish communities are not geographically segregated, and a district's footprint almost always includes some "English" neighbors' farms and homes as well. The families in a district hold church services in their homes every other Sunday. When the group becomes too large to meet for worship in a home or barn, the district divides. The church district is the cultural, social, and religious hub of Amish society where members are bonded together by similar beliefs and a common way of life.

In the more than half-century since 1960, Amish population growth has been remarkable, propelled by sizable families (an average of six to seven children) and a retention rate of 85 percent or higher. The number of Amish church districts increased from 272 to 2,159 during this period, reflecting a greater than eightfold population increase, from 36,730 to an estimated 300,000. Table 5.2 shows Amish growth during the last five and a half decades, and distinguishes Swiss German–speaking from Pennsylvania German–speaking populations. The Pennsylvania German–speaking Amish numbered about 278,805 by 2015. The Amish population doubles about every twenty years.

Although the Amish are known for their rooted and stable communities, migration has long been a significant part of their experience. Throughout Amish history, families have regularly pulled up stakes and started new settlements (Luthy 1986), and during the forty-year period from 1969 to 2008 some 14,800 households moved.[10] These migrations include both intra- and interstate migrations but not residential changes within local settlements. Included in this enumeration are some families that may have moved more than once during the forty years. In the ten-year period from 1999 to 2008, some 6,302 households moved to a different settlement. If we assume six people per household, about 38,000 people moved in that decade. The largest number of household moves (801) occurred in 2006.

Focusing on interstate migration illustrates the shifting profile of the national Amish population and reveals the fluidity of Amish mobility. Between 1969 and 2008 approximately 9,900 households (nearly 60,000 people) moved from one state to another. Seventy percent of these moves occurred since 1989. The top gaining and losing states appear in table 5.3.

During the past two decades Kentucky, New York, and Wisconsin have witnessed considerable growth from migration. Historically, Ohio and Pennsylvania have held the largest share of the Amish population. Although these two states have experienced the largest losses from outbound migrations, they have continued to grow from some inbound migrations and the natural increase of their resident population. Their national share of the Amish population, however, has declined slightly.

Two states (Maryland and Delaware) with small populations saw a significant net decline because of migration. Delaware has had only one settlement (Dover) in the twentieth century, and the urban sprawl around Dover, among other factors, has prodded an exodus to other states. Similar land-price pressure and suburban spillover from Washington, DC, pressured some families to vacate the Amish settlement in St. Mary's County, Maryland, resulting in a net loss of seventy-four families.

Both push and pull factors spur migration. Push factors include suburban congestion and sprawl, rising land prices, tourism, and disruptive influences such as zoning disputes with municipal authorities, weak regional economies, occupational changes, and church conflicts.

TABLE 5.2. Estimated Amish Population Growth by Dialect Group, 1960–2015

	Pennsylvania German		*Swiss German*		*Total*
	1960	*2015*	*1960*	*2015*	*2015*
States[a]	21	33	3	8	33
Settlements	63	466	5	35	501
Districts	258	2,001	14	158	2,159
Estimated population[b]	34,830	278,805	1,900	21,195	300,000

SOURCES: *Raber's New American Almanac* 1960 and 2015; Amish Studies website, http://www2.etown.edu/amishstudies/; Luthy and Donnermeyer 2013; settlement directories, and informants.

[a] States include the provinces of Ontario and New Brunswick.

[b] Population estimates (adults and children) include all Amish groups that use horse-drawn transportation and are based on an average of 135 people per district, a conservative estimate. The average number of people per district varies by settlement and group. The 2015 estimates are based on figures tabulated in July 2015 by Edsel Burdge of the Young Center (amishstudies/etown.edu).

TABLE 5.3. Interstate Amish Household Migration, 1989–2008: Top Five Gaining and Losing States or Provinces

	1989–2008 Migration		
	In	*Out*	*Change*
States gaining households			
Kentucky	770	-398	372
New York	672	-373	299
Wisconsin	1,051	-828	223
Missouri	620	-465	155
Illinois	271	-139	132
States losing households			
Ontario	54	-109	-55
Maryland	43	-117	-74
Delaware	16	-195	-179
Ohio	634	-1,122	-488
Pennsylvania	513	-1,243	-730

SOURCES: Annual migration reports published in the monthly Amish magazine *The Diary, 1989-2008.*

Pull factors that entice families to new states include fertile farmland at reasonable prices, nonfarm work opportunities, rural isolation that supports a traditional family-based lifestyle, social and physical environments (climate, governments, services, economy) conducive to the Amish way of life, and proximity to family and other Amish communities.

Church leaders do not organize or dictate the establishment of new settlements. Typically, several families decide to relocate for some reason, with the hope that others will eventually join them. Sometimes all the families in a new settlement hail from the same mother community; in other cases, families arrive from different parent settlements. Not all new settlements thrive. Amish historian David Luthy (1986) described the collapse of 100 settlements between 1840 and 1960. In a later publication (2011), he traced the failure of 125 more settlements between 1961 and 2011 and offered explanations for their demise. Reasons included poor land and weather conditions, changing church affiliations, conflicts with local or state government, internal Amish church problems, or a general inability to attract enough newcomers.

The growth and redistribution of the Pennsylvania German–speaking Amish population in the half-century from 1960 to 2015 appears in table 5.4. If we assume an average of 135 people per district, the population grew from approximately 34,830 to 278,805, an eightfold increase (see table 5.2). Although the three largest states (Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana) retained their dominance throughout the five decades, their share of the Amish population declined from 73.4 to 60.3 percent. Five states (Wisconsin, New York, Michigan, Missouri, Kentucky) with only 5.8 percent (N = 15) of the Amish districts in 1960 rapidly increased their share to 25.0 percent (N = 499) of the districts by 2015. The top fifteen states and Ontario, with ten or more districts each, were home to 96.5 percent of the population. The other sixteen states and New Brunswick accounted for the remaining 3.5 percent.

Old Order Wenger Mennonites

The Old Order Wenger Mennonites are the second-largest Pennsylvania German–speaking group and the largest of the Mennonite groups that speak the dialect (Kraybill and Hurd 2006). Through the mid-nineteenth century, most Mennonites of Swiss–South German descent outside of Virginia spoke Pennsylvania German. In eastern Pennsylvania the dialect often linked them to their Lutheran and Reformed neighbors, whereas in the Midwest more segregated settlement patterns meant that the dialect often functioned as an Anabaptist boundary marker (Nolt 1998). Regardless of location, during the 1870s–1890s controversies over cultural change and religious adaptation unsettled Mennonite communities and birthed the Old Order Mennonite movement.

Although language use was not the only, or the most important, issue for those who championed traditional ways, the central place of German

TABLE 5.4. Pennsylvania German–Speaking Amish Church Districts, 1960–2015, Ranked by Number in 2015

	Districts		*Change*
State/Province	*1960*	*2015*	
Ohio	81	510	429
Pennsylvania	57	460	403
Indiana	52	275	223
Wisconsin	2	138	136
New York	2	123	121
Michigan	3	87	84
Kentucky	1	76	75
Missouri	7	75	68
Iowa	11	61	50
Ontario	9	38	29
Minnesota	0	36	36
Tennessee	1	22	21
Illinois	10	18	8
Kansas	4	12	8
Maryland	3	11	8
Delaware	4	10	6
Virginia	2	8	6
Nebraska	0	6	6
Oklahoma	2	6	4
Colorado	0	5	5
Maine	0	5	5
Montana	0	4	4
West Virginia	0	3	3
Arkansas	3	2	-1
Mississippi	0	2	2
Florida	2	1	-1
Idaho	0	1	1
New Brunswick	0	1	1
North Carolina	1	1	0
South Dakota	0	1	1
Texas	0	1	1
Vermont	0	1	1
Wyoming	0	1	1
Oregon	1	0	-1
Total	258	2,001	1,743

SOURCE: Zook, *Mennonite Yearbook* 1960; Raber's *New American Almanac* 2015; Luthy and Donnermeyer 2013; settlement directories, and informants.

NOTE: Excludes Swiss German–speaking districts in 1960 ($N = 14$) and 2015 ($N = 158$).

and Pennsylvania German among Old Order advocates was clear. Change-minded Mennonites often borrowed their ideas and programs, such as Sunday schools and revival meetings, from English-speaking Protestants. As well, progressive Mennonites championed weekly worship in English as a way to appeal to a rising generation educated in public schools. Tension over these and other innovations resulted in schisms and the rise of tradition-minded Old Order groups in several states and Ontario. Old Order Mennonites organized first in Indiana and Ohio (1872), then in Ontario (1889), next in Pennsylvania (1893), and eventually in Virginia (1901).[11]

Old Orders never questioned the practical value of knowing English, nor did they oppose public school education in English. But tradition-minded leaders did not want the sounds of a worldly language intruding into the heart of sacred ritual. They also saw the abandonment of German as a sign of upward social mobility and worldliness. As Old Order Mennonite preacher Menno S. Zimmerman (1854–1941) said, "Es ist nix letz mit die English Sproch, awer won die Deutsche leit mohl English warre welle, sel is Hochmut" (There's nothing wrong with the English language, but when German people want to speak English, that's pride).[12] For Old Order Mennonites, English was the language that opened doors to the cultural and commercial corridors of the dominant society—the world of power, prestige, and politics—and they wanted to keep that world at arm's length.[13]

In 1927 Old Order Mennonites in Pennsylvania divided over whether members should be allowed to own automobiles. The so-called Wenger Old Order Mennonites, whose official name is the Groffdale Mennonite Conference, chose to retain horse-drawn transportation. The growing use of English in churches was a secondary issue, with the Wengers again standing firmly behind German.[14] In 2015 the Wenger Mennonites claimed a population of about 22,610 in ten states in twenty settlements.

Sizable families and strong retention have produced robust growth in the twentieth century. Indeed, the Wenger population, growing at about 3.7 percent a year, doubles every nineteen years. Lancaster County, the parent Wenger community, claims one-fourth of the members, but migration to other areas has increased steadily since 1949. The growth of the Wenger Church, as well as the cost and scarcity of farmland in eastern Pennsylvania, has prodded many families to move to other states.

The exodus out of Lancaster County began in 1948 when a few Wenger people migrated to adjoining Berks County. Others moved to Union County in 1960, but the major movement came after 1970, as the Wenger population grew and Lancaster land prices soared, sending many newly married couples out of state. Outside of Pennsylvania, the Yates County settlement (1973) in New York has the largest Wenger community, followed by Morgan County, Missouri, which was established in 1970. Since 1990, new settlements have taken root in Montcalm County, Michigan (1992); Marshall County, Indiana (1992); Grant County, Wisconsin (1996); Chickasaw County, Iowa (2000); Linn County (2005), Chula County (2006), and Cedar County, (2010), Mis-

souri; Franklin County, New York (2010); and Van Buren County, Tennessee (2013).[15]

Despite the spread of the Wengers to other states, their practices are remarkably similar across the country. The semiannual ministers' conference, a gathering of ordained leaders from all the communities, is the highest authority in Wenger society. At this gathering, the ministers establish lifestyle regulations (*Ordnung*)—a cultural template—for all members in every state, producing uniformity unparalleled among the decentralized and highly congregational Amish. These semiannual meetings harmonize regulations and maintain fellowship among the more than fifty congregations that compose the Wenger fellowship. Thus, Wenger Mennonite clothing style, church house design, and use of technology is virtually identical from Missouri to New York.

Unlike the Amish, who worship in private homes, the Wengers hold worship services in church houses—starkly plain buildings devoid of electricity, carpeting, pulpits, musical instruments, stained glass windows, or steeples. Although the Wengers have electricity and telephones in their homes, they shun radios, televisions, video players, and computers. Farmers use steel-wheeled tractors to pull modern machinery on their small family farms.

Wenger clothing is plain and simple, but not as distinctive as that of the Amish. Unlike Amish men, Wenger men do not have beards. Both Amish and Wenger women wear capes (an extra layer of fabric over the upper torso), prayer coverings, and bonnets, but clothing styles differ—for example, Amish women wear dresses made of plain-colored fabric, whereas Wenger women wear dresses with modest prints. The black color of Wenger Mennonite horse-drawn buggies, a core symbol of Old Order Mennonite identity, also separates them from the gray carriages used by their Amish neighbors in Lancaster County. (In other parts of North America, depending on the particular Amish group or subgroup, carriage tops are black, gray, yellow, or white.)

Two small splinter groups—the John Martin group and William Weaver group—that speak Pennsylvania German separated from the Wengers and remain similar to them but were not enumerated for this study. The Jacob Oberholtzer group, with 305 people, is found in Casey County, Kentucky. That group plus the population of the Wenger Church yields a total of 22,610 Wenger-related Pennsylvania German speakers.

Other Pennsylvania German–Speaking Groups

Old Order Reidenbach Mennonites

In 1942 several families withdrew from the Wenger Mennonites because they felt that Wenger Mennonite participation in a government-administered program for World War II conscientious objectors compromised their separation from the world. In 1946 they formed the Reidenbach Mennonite Church in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The group was nicknamed the

"Thirty-fivers" because about thirty-five people were involved in the original division. The group is composed of several subgroups, identified by the leaders' names. The Reidenbachs have an estimated population of 740, most of whom live in Pennsylvania. Two small congregations have been established in Kentucky and one in Missouri.

The Reidenbachs are similar to the Wengers in some ways, but they are more exclusive theologically and separatist in their outlook. The Reidenbachs also have tighter restrictions on technology: no tractors, telephones, electricity, or rubber on carriage wheels.

Stauffer Mennonites

Another small Mennonite group that originated in Lancaster County and has also preserved the Pennsylvania German dialect is the Stauffer Mennonites. Nicknamed "Pikers" because their first church house was located along an old turnpike in Lancaster County, the Stauffer Church is a highly tradition-minded group. The Stauffers separated from the main Lancaster County Mennonite group in 1845, nearly fifty years before the Lancaster Old Order division in 1893.

The Stauffers do not use electricity, nor do they permit tractors for fieldwork. Their dress and horse-drawn carriages are more austere than other horse-and-buggy Mennonites, including the Wengers and the Reidenbachs. Moreover, the Stauffers shun excommunicated members more strictly than these groups.

The group's main branch, known as the Jacob Stauffer Church, has a population of 4,075. Two small splinter subgroups named after their leaders (Brubaker, Weaver) have about 185 people, yielding a total of approximately 4,260 Stauffer-related people. About 2,195 of Stauffers live in Pennsylvania, with the balance in seven other states.

Hoover Mennonites

The Hoover Mennonites, based in Scottsville, Kentucky, are one of several groups stemming from a 1944 division in the Stauffer Mennonite Church in Snyder County, Pennsylvania. Numerous people of Amish background have also joined this group. The group relocated to Scottsville in 1978. This horse-and-buggy church is the most technologically restrictive Mennonite group, forbidding any use of internal combustion engines. The Hoover Church has eight communities. Two are in Kentucky, two are in Missouri, and two are in Tennessee. The group also has about 300 people in two communities in Belize, for a total Hoover population of more than 1,815.

Old Order Mennonites of Ontario

The Old Order Mennonite movement took root in Ontario in 1889 (I. Horst 2001; D. Martin 2003). Their emergence was part of the larger Old Order movement among Mennonites in the 1870s and 1890s. Ontario Old Order Mennonites objected to the growing use of English and to Sunday schools

and other innovations in Ontario Mennonite churches. Canadian Old Order Mennonites, like the Wengers, use horse-and-buggy transportation, wear distinctive plain clothing, and speak Pennsylvania German. Most families trace their genealogical roots to Mennonites who moved from Pennsylvania to Upper Canada after the American Revolution. The Old Order Mennonites in Canada number about 6,500 people living in seven settlements in Ontario and one in Manitoba. The group has thirty-seven congregations and twenty-two meetinghouses, some of which are shared by two congregations. They have fraternal bonds, but no formal organizational ties, with the Wenger Mennonites.

Old Order David Martin Mennonites

This Pennsylvania German–speaking group branched from the Old Order Mennonites of Ontario in 1917 under the leadership of David Martin. It practices a stricter form of shunning than does the main group of Old Order Mennonites in Ontario. The Martin Mennonites use horse-and-buggy transportation and horse-drawn farm equipment. No electric lights are used in homes, but propane gas is allowed for kitchen appliances. Computers and advanced manufacturing technology are permitted in businesses owned by members. The Martin Mennonites have six congregations and a population of 1,760, all in Ontario.

Orthodox Mennonites

The founding members of this group separated from the David Martin Mennonites in 1957. In the 1980s a sizable number of people from the main Ontario Old Order Mennonite Church joined the Orthodox Mennonites, sharply increasing the size of the Orthodox group. Like other Old Order Mennonites, Orthodox members drive a horse and buggy, wear plain clothing, speak Pennsylvania German, and worship in meetinghouses. Orthodox Mennonite men are distinct in their wearing of beards; all Amish men have beards, but Old Order Mennonites do not, with the exception of the Orthodox Mennonites. The Orthodox Mennonite group has some 1,335 people in six congregations in Ontario. The Orthodox Mennonites also have three congregations in the United States—two in Kentucky and one in Pennsylvania. Their total North America population is about 1,580.

Tampico Amish Mennonites

Only two groups of Pennsylvania German speakers drive cars: the Tampico Amish Mennonites and a handful of Midwest Beachy Amish Mennonite congregations. Named for their origin in Tampico, Illinois, the Tampico Amish Mennonites have fifteen congregations in Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri. They trace their roots to the so-called sleeping preacher John D. Kauffman (1847–1913), an Indiana Amish Mennonite layman who preached while in an apparent trance. The authority of Kauffman's sermons was highly contested in Amish circles, and those who believed that his mes-

sages should not be dismissed moved to Illinois in 1907 (Nolt 2015, 204–5). The Tampico Amish Mennonites are a traditional, plain-dressing group similar in some respects to the Beachy Amish. Members own and drive automobiles. About 3,260 people are part of this group.[16]

Midwest Beachy Amish Mennonites (Pennsylvania German–speaking)

The Beachy Amish emerged in the 1920s in Somerset County and Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, under the leadership of Bishop Moses M. Beachy (1874–1946). Most of the members have Old Order Amish family roots. Most Beachy Amish Mennonite churches do not worship in German, but six congregations still do. These churches represent about 705 people and are located in Kentucky and Illinois. Members wear plain dress, and the men have Amish-style beards. They drive cars and use public utility electricity in their homes but typically do not permit television or radio. Members of these six Pennsylvania German–speaking congregations are the most traditional and plainest within the Amish Mennonite family.

Ten states and Ontario account for 93.7 percent of all Anabaptists who speak Pennsylvania German; the other twenty-one states plus Belize, Manitoba, and New Brunswick claim the remaining 6.3 percent. In fact, two states (Pennsylvania and Ohio), because of their large Amish population, have 47.1 percent of all Anabaptist Pennsylvania German speakers, as shown in table 5.5.[17]

Groups That Recently Lost Pennsylvania German

Wisler Mennonites, Horning Mennonites, and Markham-Waterloo Mennonite Conference

These three groups, with similar histories and contemporary practices, are rooted in the Old Order movement but have developed along more change-minded lines, most visible in their owning and operating automobiles. All three groups have given up German-language church services, and use of the dialect increasingly is confined to older members.

In 1907 Old Order Mennonites in the Midwest divided over the telephone, with the Wisler group adopting phones and subsequently accepting cars and other innovations. In 1927 Pennsylvania Old Order Mennonites experienced a similar division over automobile ownership, with the car-driving group (officially named the Weaverland Mennonite Conference) receiving the nickname Horning Mennonites. A 1939 division in Ontario resulted in the formation of the car-driving Markham-Waterloo Conference. At one time these car-driving conservatives were known as "black bumpers" because they required members to paint any chrome on their cars black to assure that their automobiles were not flashy status symbols. Today members dress relatively plainly but make full use of electricity, telephones, desktop computers, and modern farm machinery, although they are forbidden to use radio, television, and Internet connection. Some members complete high

TABLE 5.5. Pennsylvania German–Speaking Anabaptists by Location, 2015

Location	*Estimated Population*	*Location*	*Estimated Population*
Pennsylvania	80,495	Nebraska	810
Ohio	71,230	Oklahoma	810
Indiana	39,335	Colorado	760
New York	20,960	Maine	675
Wisconsin	20,060	Montana	540
Ontario	14,625	Belize	300
Missouri	13,180	West Virginia	225
Kentucky	12,640	Mississippi	150
Michigan	11,645	North Carolina	135
Iowa	9,480	Manitoba	100
Illinois	8,310	South Dakota	95
Minnesota	4,560	Florida	75
Tennessee	3,315	Idaho	75
Maryland	2,010	Texas	75
Kansas	1,580	Wyoming	75
Delaware	1,500	New Brunswick	20
Arkansas	1,096	Vermont	15
Virginia	1,080	Total	332,035

SOURCES: Amish Studies website, http://www2.etown.edu/amishstudies/; *Raber's New American Almanac* 2015; Luthy and Donnermeyer 2013; directories of church groups, and informants in various settlements.

school. In line with their Old Order heritage, these churches do not have Sunday school or operate formal mission programs, although members often support the mission programs of other churches.

Wisler, Horning, and Markham-Waterloo Mennonites no longer use Pennsylvania German in church services, but some members, mostly older ones, speak the dialect at home. In addition, some younger members understand the dialect but are not fluent. The Wisler Mennonite population is approximately 1,700 in eight congregations in four states. There are nearly 15,500 Horning Mennonite adults and children in forty-three congregations, twenty-seven of which are in Pennsylvania.[18] The Markham-Waterloo Conference has seventeen congregations and a population of nearly 2,970.

Beachy Amish Mennonite Church

The Beachy Amish, as noted, emerged in the 1920s in Somerset County and Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, under the leadership of Bishop Moses Beachy.[19] Since 1960 the use of Pennsylvania German in Beachy Amish Men-

nonite church services has vanished except for the six congregations (Midwest Beachy) described earlier. Many older members, however, especially those who live in places where they have Old Order Amish or Plain Mennonite neighbors who have retained the dialect, continue to speak Pennsylvania German at home and when they visit in the community. Many Amish Mennonite congregations support domestic and overseas evangelism and mission programs. The group has a population of about 22,464 in some 201 congregations in numerous states and several Canadian provinces. The heaviest concentrations are in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Kentucky, and Virginia. Elsewhere in North America, Amish Mennonite mission congregations have been established in Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Nicaragua.

The Telephone Chat Line

A new medium for oral Pennsylvania German communication is the Amish-Mennonite Conference Line, a for-profit conference call system, in which people listen to or participate in ongoing conversations and news reports in the dialect.[20] A companion line in English and archived recordings of topical conversations are also part of the system.[21]

The conference line began through the efforts of Gary Blosser, a member of the Tampico Amish Mennonite Church in Illinois. In 2005 he launched a weekly "German Visiting Call," which at the beginning of 2006 became the current Amish-Mennonite Conference Line, open all day every day, with the exception of Sunday morning so as not to conflict with worship services.[22]

Monitors enforce rules such as "No unclean or suggestive language or jokes about religious things" and "No playing of tapes or musical instruments of any kind." In addition, "only adults should speak on the line" and "No boy and girl visiting on the line and [any] women talking on the line should be kept to a minimum." So while many women call in to listen, the conversation is all but exclusively male.[23]

During the day an average of 50 to 150 people may be connected at any one time, but in the evening participation typically rises to 200 or 300, and during the evening news segment (usually focused on reporting accidents or death notices) listenership peaks at 500 to 600. Regular participants estimate that three-quarters of those who participate in the conference line as speakers or listeners are Wenger Mennonites. The rest are a mix of Amish, Tampico Amish Mennonites, and older members of Horning Mennonite, Beachy Amish, and assimilated Mennonite groups who enjoy speaking or listening to the dialect but lack local conversation partners. The latter group includes van drivers who provide long-distance transportation for horse-and-buggy folk. Many of these drivers grew up in homes where the dialect was spoken and like to remain abreast of news in Old Order communities. (Drivers are also the callers most likely to be on the line at two o'clock in the morning, keeping one another awake on all-night cross-country trips.)

One Wenger Mennonite explained the heavy conference line involvement

among his church members as a result of the fact that they "are the only people with the phone so close [in the house] who still speak Dutch. The Amish don't have the phone so handy in the house." As well, there is something of a snowball effect. Because the conference line is dominated by conversation and news from Wenger communities, it attracts Wenger listeners: "It's just not as interesting if you are not from our group."

The conference line has quickly become a vehicle for disseminating breaking news in some Pennsylvania German–speaking communities. More than 1,000 people listened to a conference line report the day after the 2006 Amish school shooting in Nickel Mines, Pennsylvania. Since then two other events have registered even higher levels of conference line participation: news of a 2009 murder in Ohio and discussion of the collapse of a 2009 Ponzi scheme that had ensnared some Wenger Mennonites.

The conference line engenders some debate in Plain Anabaptist circles. Supporters say it draws people together and keeps Pennsylvania German a vital language. Critics believe it encourages gossip and idleness, with some likening it to the addictive draw of video games in the "English" world.[24] The conference line's organizers are aware of these criticisms and urge participants, "Please do not let the conference line take you away from family time, Bible reading and prayer."[25]

Changes That Affect Language Use

Numerous social and cultural changes in the Pennsylvania German–speaking Anabaptist communities have influenced language use in the five decades since 1960. We briefly highlight some of these changes.

Growing Diversity

As we have noted, Pennsylvania German–speaking churches have established dozens of new settlements in an increasing number of states since 1960. Linguists have long identified regional variations and speech islands within the dialect. But increasing geographic dispersion, along with the constant creation of new settlements that draw migrants from various locales, suggests both greater dialect variation and more convergence in the years to come.

Occupational Change

Lack of exposure to mass media and Internet sources limits the influence of outsider language and vocabulary in Plain Anabaptist communities, yet there is no doubt that English has an impact on their speech and that a primary channel of that impact is the world of work. Although all of the Pennsylvania German speakers live in rural areas, the percentage of farmers has declined dramatically since 1960. In some Amish communities fewer than 20 percent of households earn their primary income from agriculture. The proportion of farmers varies by group and community, but likely more than

half of the Pennsylvania German households are employed in business and other off-farm jobs.[26] The rise of business ownership and outside employment has increased exposure to English. In the business world, owners buy raw materials and obtain services from English-speaking suppliers. Sales and marketing activities are typically conducted in English. Although some employees may speak Pennsylvania German at their work site and with co-ethnic employees, the world of business is largely a world of English. This exposure enhances the English facility of Pennsylvania German speakers and also encourages the use of technical and business-related English terms such as *hydraulic* and *computer*, to penetrate their Pennsylvania German vocabulary and be co-opted into the dialect.

Publications

There has been a dramatic increase in English publications produced and consumed by Pennsylvania German–speaking Plain communities since 1990. These include magazines, newsletters, periodicals, songbooks, cookbooks, devotional books, historical accounts, family histories, and memoirs and other first-person narratives. The flood of these materials has made English the default literary language in these groups because this reading now far outstrips the amount of time spent reading German-language devotional literature. In addition, many receive local newspapers at their homes, and those in business read trade magazines.

Parallel Translations

A growing practice by some Plain group publishers and authors is to translate religious documents into English and print parallel German-English texts on facing columns. The bias to German is still evident, however, in the lengthy explanations and rationalizations that accompany such works. For example, the introduction to *In Meiner Jugend: A Devotional Reader in German and English* (first printing 2000, reprinted 2008), says, "Unless we make a serious effort to become more familiar with the rich heritage of German reading material that has come down to us we will lose much of a blessing that could be ours. . . . By providing an English translation on each facing page, it is not our intent to have it replace or supplant the German. Quite the opposite. The English version should be used just as one would make use of a German-English dictionary—to clarify meaning of the German."

Similarly, in her introduction to *Our Heritage, Hope, and Faith* (a 570-page collection of documents, prayers, scripture selections, and hymns in both German and English, published in 2008), Amish woman Mary M. Miller explains that "these hymns and prayers are sacred to us. . . . We would not wish to lose this part of our heritage. Yet we must admit we are not as much at home in the German language as our forefathers were. Therefore it takes more of an effort, yes, a real dedication, to keep the true spirit of these songs, prayers, and our German heritage alive today. And to do this, we must understand what they are saying."[27]

Shifts in Ritual Oral Language

Traditionally Amish and Old Order Mennonite ministers preached sermons in German rather than in the dialect. This oral church German was filled with archaic vocabulary and was heavily dependent on the language found in Luther's Bible and early Anabaptist texts, such as the German edition of *Martyrs Mirror* and Menno Simons's writings. However, during the past fifty years, rising generations of ministers who are less confident in their use of German have begun preaching in Pennsylvania German. One Wenger Mennonite minister in the Lancaster settlement, ordained in 1968, is recognized as one of the last to have made a concerted effort to preach in German. But by 2010 even he had largely shifted to dialect preaching. Some insiders suggest that making Pennsylvania German the language of church is important for keeping the dialect the primary language in the home.

It may be the case that replacing church German with Pennsylvania German will strengthen the place of dialect speaking in Old Order Anabaptist groups. On Sunday mornings the congregations still sing German hymns, and Wenger Mennonite ministers still read the scripture in German, but at home some Wenger Mennonite ministers use an electronic dictionary-translator to search for the English meaning of German Bible verses. The shift to Pennsylvania German preaching is most pronounced in the Wenger group; preaching in the Stauffer Mennonite Church and some of the smaller and most conservative groups is still in German.

In the early twenty-first century, Pennsylvania German is a lively, dynamic language for well over 300,000 North American Anabaptists (table 5.6). These speakers are members of highly traditional Amish and Mennonite churches, which are growing in number and spreading geographically. Although more assimilated Amish and Mennonite groups have lost the dialect in recent decades, there is no indication that it is on the decline among Old Order and related groups. Instead, the deep connection between their ethnoreligious identity and the use of Pennsylvania German in everyday speech (and printed German sacred texts in worship) suggest that the dialect will remain a vital language for these groups. Although these speakers have never shown much interest in Pennsylvania German print sources, the dialect remains their first language for oral communication, both in face-to-face and telephone or conference line conversation with one another.

Despite their commitment to traditional ways of life, Anabaptist Pennsylvania German–speaking groups are hardly frozen in time. As members increasingly move into nonfarming jobs, which bring increased interaction with the English-speaking world, how will this shift influence language use? Will the impact be limited to the adoption of additional loanwords, or will some individuals, households, or entire communities abandon the dialect for the efficiency of English? To the degree that sectarian Anabaptists retain the dialect as their first language, to what degree does the language correlate with the retention of particular cultural traits or sets of traits? For example,

TABLE 5.6. Pennsylvania German–Speaking Anabaptist Populations in North America by Location and Affiliation, 2015

Location	*Affiliation*	*Settlements*	*Congregations*	*Estimated Population*
Arkansas	Amish	2	2	270
	Tampico Amish Mennonite	6	6	825
Belize	OOM (Noah Hoover)	2	3	300
Colorado	Amish	3	5	675
	Tampico Amish Mennonite	1	1	85
Delaware	Amish	1	10	1,500
Florida	Amish	1	1	75
Idaho	Amish	1	1	75
Illinois	Amish	18	52	7,280
	OOM (Stauffer)	1	1	235
	Tampico Amish Mennonite	1	1	425
	Midwest Beachy Amish Mennonite	3	3	370
Indiana	Amish	15	275	38,340
	OOM (Groffdale)	2	5	995
Iowa	Amish	23	61	8,785
	OOM (Groffdale)	1	3	600
	Tampico Amish Mennonite	1	1	95
Kansas	Amish	6	12	1,580
Kentucky	Amish	37	76	9,740
	OOM (Groffdale)	2	3	1,112
	OOM (Stauffer)	1	1	85
	OOM (Noah Hoover)	2	3	945
	Orthodox Mennonite	2	2	201
	OOM (Reidenbach)	1	3	220
	Midwest Beachy Amish Mennonite	3	3	337
Maine	Amish	5	5	675
Manitoba	Old Order Mennonite (Ontario)	1	1	100
Maryland	Amish	3	11	1,485
	OOM (Stauffer)	1	2	525
Michigan	Amish	35	87	11,345
	OOM (Groffdale)	1	1	300
Minnesota	Amish	23	36	4,533
	OOM (Stauffer)	1	1	27
Mississippi	Amish	1	2	150
Missouri	Amish	38	75	9,080
	Old Order Mennonite (Groffdale)	3	6	1,545
	Old Order Mennonite (Stauffer)	2	2	372
	Old Order Mennonite (Noah Hoover)	2	2	314

Location	*Affiliation*	*Settlements*	*Congregations*	*Estimated Population*
	Old Order Mennonite (Reidenbach)	1	1	36
	Tampico Amish Mennonite	6	6	1,833
Montana	Amish	4	4	540
Nebraska	Amish	5	6	810
New Brunswick	Amish	1	1	20
New York	Amish	48	123	16,765
	Old Order Mennonite (Groffdale)	2	8	3,934
	Old Order Mennonite (Stauffer)	2	2	261
North Carolina	Amish	1	1	135
Ohio	Amish	53	510	68,870
	Old Order Mennonite (Groffdale)	1	3	1,805
	Old Order Mennonite (Stauffer)	1	2	555
Oklahoma	Amish	3	6	810
Ontario	Amish	16	38	5,130
	Old Order Mennonite Conference (Ontario)	7	37	6,400
	Old Order Mennonite (David Martin)	1	6	1,760
	Orthodox Mennonite	3	6	1,335
Pennsylvania	Amish	51	460	68,155
	Old Order Mennonite (Groffdale)	5	22	9,620
	Old Order Mennonite (Stauffer)	2	8	2,194
	Old Order Mennonite (Reidenbach)	2	16	486
	Orthodox Mennonite	1	1	40
South Dakota	Amish	1	1	95
Tennessee	Amish	9	22	2,750
	Old Order Mennonite (Groffdale-Oberholtzer)	1	1	306
	Old Order Mennonite (Noah Hoover)	2	2	259
Texas	Amish	1	1	75
Vermont	Amish	1	1	15
Virginia	Amish	6	8	1,080
West Virginia	Amish	3	3	225
Wisconsin	Amish	50	138	17,665
	Old Order Mennonite (Groffdale)	2	8	2,395
Wyoming	Amish	1	1	75
Total		545	2218	322,035

SOURCES: Amish Studies website, http://www2.etown.edu/amishstudies/; *Raber's New American Almanac* 2015; Luthy and Donnermeyer 2013; directories of church groups, and informants in various settlements.

does the dialect more effectively bolster distinctive religious rituals and spirituality, while other aspects of community culture, which are less directly tied to language, become more open to change? All of these questions and more will remain precisely because Pennsylvania German persists as a living language in these thriving communities.

NOTES

The authors thank Cynthia Nolt for her editorial assistance and acknowledge the work of Stephen E. Scott (1948–2011) in collecting historical statistical material.

1. Baptized adult membership is about 809,000. The population (children and adults) estimate of 1.2 million is a conservative one based on multiplying the adult membership by a factor of 1.5. The estimate is conservative because the culturally traditional groups (including Pennsylvania German–speaking ones) within the larger Anabaptist fold have much larger families than the assimilated segments of the Anabaptist world.

2. Throughout this chapter we report estimated population numbers that include adults and children. Because of the number of unbaptized children (typically all children under eighteen years of age), Pennsylvania German–speaking Anabaptist group populations are always more than twice the number of baptized church members.

3. See *Das Leicht Büchlein für die Umischen Gemeinden in Lancaster County und die Umliegenden Gegenden* (The funeral booklet for the Amish Church in Lancaster County and the outlying regions), a twenty-four-page booklet written in 2002 and reprinted in 2006. The following sections appear in German: title, preface, Responsibilities for Ministers, Sermon (suggested verses and themes to cover), Graveside Service, Farewell, and List of Hymns. The twelve pages in English are directions and guidelines for the helpers (*fah-geha*) who prepare the facilities and handle logistics related to pallbearers, the funeral wagon, and the menu for the meal.

4. But see the example of W. Paul Hoover (1996, 171), in which an Indiana Old Order Mennonite fondly recalls the dialect poems of Henry Harbaugh (1817–67), the noted nineteenth-century Pennsylvania editor, German Reformed pastor, and pioneer dialect writer.

5. Some segments of the following Mennonite church groups speak *Plautdietsch*: Old Colony, Rheinlander, Sommerfelder, Kleine Gemeinde, Bergthaler, and Choritizer. The approximate number of Low German speakers in all of these groups by country is Belize (6,500), Canada (40,500), Mexico (58,000), and the United States (5,000) (Kraybill, 2010).

6. The Amish refer to the dialect as "Swiss" (*Schwize*), even though linguists debate its origin and note the many differences between it and the German dialect spoken in Switzerland today. On interaction between the Swiss dialect and Pennsylvania German, see Johnson-Weiner (1989) and C. Thompson (1994).

7. As shown in table 5.1, more than 700 Midwest Beachy members use Pennsylvania German in their church services; most Amish Mennonite congregations now use English in their services.

8. Our description covers numerous Old Order Amish groups as well as New Order Amish; see Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner, and Nolt (2013).

9. Amish in the sizable Geauga County (Ohio) settlement call outsiders "Yankees," perhaps owing to the New England–descended populations that dominated northeastern Ohio culturally at the time the Amish arrived in 1886. Otherwise, the use of "the English" is universal among Amish as a means of tagging outsiders and the outside world—even when particular outsiders are not, literally, English or English-speaking. For example, Amish in northern Indiana typically include members of the region's Spanish-speaking Mexican immigrant population under the rubric of "the English."

10. The migration data reported in this chapter are from "Annual Migrations," a report that appears annually in *The Diary*, a monthly Amish magazine.

11. Old Order Mennonites in Virginia do not speak Pennsylvania German because the Mennonites in that state had anglicized before 1901 when the Old Orders formed there.

12. See A. Hoover (1982, 593–94). By focusing their argument on pride and obedience, Amish and Old Order Mennonites insisted on German usage without suggesting that German was in some way intrinsically superior to English; it was simply, but nonnegotiably, their language. See also comments on the importance of retaining Pennsylvania German offered by Amish minister Benuel Blank (1986) and Tampico Amish Mennonite writer Dan Headings (2004a; 2004b).

13. Pennsylvania German was used in public political campaigns in eastern Pennsylvania during the 1800s and in some cases through the early 1900s. Politicians canvassed in the dialect and distributed German and dialect literature as late as Franklin Roosevelt's election; see, for example, Don Yoder (1985, 55). So, in a technical sense, fluency in English was not a prerequisite for involvement in politics in eastern Pennsylvania.

14. Old Order historian Amos Hoover provides evidence in *Whether by Word* (2006) that the use of English was an issue in the 1927 division, although not the primary one. The Wenger name stems from their first bishop, Joseph O. Wenger (1868–1956). They are also known colloquially as the "Team Mennonites," because they use a team—a horse and carriage—for daily transportation.

15. In 1973 the Old Order Mennonite churches in Indiana merged with the Pennsylvania-based Wenger Mennonite Conference. However, the Indiana Old Orders have retained aspects of their pre-1973 *Ordnung* that differ in some ways from Wenger practice. The Montcalm County, Michigan, and Marshall County, Indiana, settlements are branches of the Elkhart County, Indiana, Old Order community that joined the Wengers in 1973 and are not settlements stemming from Pennsylvania migration.

16. Three congregations affiliated with the Tampico Amish Mennonites do not speak Pennsylvania German. Those three are not included in the congregation and population count.

17. More information on these other Pennsylvania German–speaking groups may be found in Scott (1996) and Kraybill (2010).

18. Historically the Horning Mennonite Church in Virginia never used German because Virginia Mennonites had anglicized completely before the Old Order movement emerged in that state.

19. Cory Anderson (2012) provides an overview of the Amish Mennonites of North America.

20. Material in this section is drawn from interviews, participant observation, and printed material in the program booklet distributed at the Amish and Mennonite Conference Call Gathering held on February 23–25, 2007, in Tampico, Illinois.

21. Participants frequently refer to the conference line as the "chat line" or the "Dutch chat line." However, conference line managers are aware of the negative and risqué connotations of chat lines in wider society and therefore strongly object to the term's use, insisting that participants refer to the program as the "conference line." Most callers (speakers or listeners) participate in the conference line's general, unstructured conversation. Of particular interest is the news report each evening at 7:30 Central Time. Participants fax news to the moderator, who reads it and then asks if anyone has anything to add or knows more about the story or incident. In addition to the general conversation line and the evening news, the conference line also has occasional topical discussions on history, hymns, and doctrine, which interested participants access through special codes announced on the conference line's main number. The number of people calling in to these specialty topics is a very small fraction of all conference line participants.

22. The line closes on Saturday night at 10 p.m. and does not open again until 1 p.m. Sunday.

23. From the "Conference Rules" section of the program booklet distributed at the Amish and Mennonite Conference Call Gathering held in February 2007 in Tampico, Illinois.

24. During their precommunion church counsel meetings, Wenger Mennonite bishops discourage members from spending time on the conference line, but participation is not a point of discipline within the conference.

25. From the "Conference Rules" section of the program booklet distributed at the Amish and Mennonite Conference Call Gathering held in February 2007 in Tampico, Illinois.

26. This estimate is based on informants in various groups, occupational listings in church directories, and field observations. Complete occupational data are not available for some groups.

27. Several interlineal or parallel-column translation hymnbooks have been published, including editions of the *Ausbund* (2014), the 1860 *Eine Unparteiische Lieder-Sammlung* (2005) (the so-called Baer book), the 1892 *Unparteiische Liedersammlung* (2003) (the so-called Guengerich book), and the 1804 *Ein Unpartheyishes Gesang-Buch* (Ein Unparteiisches Gesang-Buch 2011). Also noteworthy has been a major project translating the *Ausbund* (*Songs of the Ausbund* 1998 and 2011).

6 Religion

JOHN B. FRANTZ

Religion played a major role in the communities that Pennsylvania Germans formed, the literature that they read, the music they sang, the art they created, and the structures that they built. When they arrived in Pennsylvania, they entered a different environment from that which they had experienced in Europe, where the ruler determined their religious affiliation. Pennsylvania's founder William Penn promised them that participation in religious organizations was voluntary. They also appreciated that they were not taxed by the government to support pastors of a different faith and church buildings they did not use. Freed from coercion, persons belonging to a strikingly diverse array of religious groups who had been oppressed in Europe came to Pennsylvania and worked out their salvation individually, in congregations, and in communities.

German and Swiss immigrants to Pennsylvania fall into at least two religious categories. Frederic Klees (1950, 72) presents the larger group as the "Church people" whose religious affiliations in Europe were with the large legally established "state churches"—Lutheran, Reformed, and Roman Catholic, although few Catholics lived in colonial Pennsylvania. Moravians initially led an evangelistic movement but eventually formed a church. In contrast, many sociologists, folklorists, and historians referred to a smaller group of the immigrants as sectarians. Not intending to use the term pejoratively, Klees defined the members of these groups as people who withdrew from the state churches. Objections to the religious bifurcation of the religious groups into Church and Sect have been voiced on the grounds that "sect" implies a disengagement from society, a negative judgment of the Anabaptist community as coercive, and a sharp separation from the churches (Grimsrud 2007, 226–34; J. Hostetler 1993, 5–8). Some alternatives that scholars have used include "folk society," "redemptive community," "commonwealth," and *Gemeinschaft*, but they do not centralize religion as a factor across the Pennsylvania German spectrum (S. Bronner 2005; J. Hostetler 1993, 3–24; Kraybill 2001, 343). The Church-Sect typology circulates as an analytical tool or is often clarified to indicate degrees of sectarianism (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner, and Nolt 2013, 49). Groups identified as sectarian also went by the descrip-

tion of "Plain people" covering Mennonites, Amish, Dunkers (the German Baptist Brethren), Seventh Day German Baptists (at Ephrata), Schwenkfelders, Inspired, and the New Born (Klees 1950, 61). Most lived apart from what they considered the "sinful world" in more or less self-contained, highly disciplined rural communities. In addition, there was a small group of Separatists who were religious in their own ways and were not affiliated with any organized religious group.

Notable in the religious history of Pennsylvania Germans as the following survey indicates are the many religious communities and churches that came from Europe and the formation of additional organizations of believers that emerged on American soil. While early non-German neighbors tended to consider German-speaking immigrants as a unified group despite their varied Old World backgrounds, the array of religious affiliations among the Pennsylvania Germans confused observers. Research on religion among the Pennsylvania Germans interprets the effect of the early immigrant and settlement experience on later developments in addition to assessing the influence of theological and social exchange as the Pennsylvania Germans migrated in and away from the Philadelphia cultural hearth. Attracted to the freedom to practice their religion, the Pennsylvania Germans since the seventeenth century have exhibited patterns of both diversification and unification.

The Reformation

Most of the major denominations that were present in colonial Pennsylvania emerged during the Reformation. Reformers protested against what they considered the unbiblical teachings and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. Historian of the Reformation Roland Bainton (1952, 25) identifies four basic principles on which most of the reformers agreed. First, they believed that the Bible was authoritative, not the church or its officials, especially not the pope. A Saxon monk, Martin Luther, translated the Bible into the German language so that ordinary people could read it. Second, according to reformers, God saved Christians from the consequences of their sins not because they did good works but through the faith He provided by means of His grace (love and mercy). Third, they insisted that living a Godly life did not require that Christians live as priests and nuns. Instead, they were to do good to others in whatever vocation that God had called them to undertake. The reformers envisioned a "priesthood of all believers." The fourth principle that the reformers taught was that only Baptism and the Lord's Supper, also known as Holy Communion or the Eucharist, were biblical and therefore the only sacraments. The people who adopted these four principles became known collectively as Protestants. Probably not all Protestants could have articulated these principles, but in various ways they lived them.

Beyond these basics, reformers disagreed on several important points. Despite Luther's dramatic break with Catholicism that he initiated by issu-

ing in 1517 ninety-five theses, he preached a conservative brand of reform. In accord with Catholic teaching, Luther insisted that Christ's body and blood were present physically in the bread and the wine of the Lord's Supper, although he did not explain how the bread and the wine came to be Christ's body and blood (Lohse 1986 34, 69–71). He retained the Catholic Church's emphasis on liturgical (formal) worship, but he used the German language rather than Latin. Luther also kept the Catholic Church's traditional symbols on and in church buildings. Luther's numerous literary and musical compositions promulgated his interpretation of Christianity. Many German and Scandinavian rulers made Lutheranism (called Evangelical in Europe) the legally established religion in their lands (Lohse 1986, 90). Emigrants from those lands brought their Lutheranism with them and, thus, ensured that Lutheranism became the largest single denomination among the Pennsylvania Germans.

While Luther spoke and wrote about his beliefs in Saxony, Ulrich Zwingli, chief preacher at the cathedral in the Swiss canton of Zurich during the 1520s, also advocated religious reform. Zwingli took the Reformation further than Luther. In cooperation with the Zurich city council, Zwingli removed images from the city's churches, forbade music, smashed the cathedral's organ, and abandoned use of the traditional liturgy. The Zwinglian church in Switzerland was austere. Most importantly, Gäbler (1986, 165–68) states that, unlike Luther, Zwingli rejected the concept of Christ's bodily presence in the elements of the Lord's Supper. He insisted that the service was a memorial of Christ's death and that He was only spiritually present in the bread and the wine. In an attempt to unite the forces of reform, in 1529 Luther and Zwingli met at a colloquy in Marburg, but the two could not agree (Gäbler 1983, 136). This issue was extremely important because it has divided Protestants from Roman Catholics and most Protestants from Lutherans, even into the twenty-first century.

John Calvin most notably continued Zwingli's efforts to effect reform. Calvin had fled from Catholic France and settled in the independent French-speaking city of Geneva that he attempted to transform into a City of God. However, Calvin's worship services were not as austere as Zwingli's. Although Zwingli had banished music from Zurich's churches, Calvin permitted it as long as it was restricted to singing psalms (Bouwsma 1988, 225). Historian D. G. Hart (2013, 20, 74) declares that theologically Calvin is best known for his understanding of the doctrine of predestination that he expressed in his four-volume publication, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, wherein he declared that at the beginning of time, God determined who would spend eternity with Him in heaven or in hell. This doctrine grew out of Calvin's belief in the absolute sovereignty of God. Calvin's doctrines spread to Switzerland, France, the British Isles, the Netherlands, and later to New England (Bainton 1952, 121).

The followers of Zwingli's and Calvin's teachings emerged as the Reformed Church. They were reformed according to the word of God. The Reformed

Church was legally established in several Swiss cantons, the Netherlands, Scotland, and in parts of what is now Germany, especially the southwestern region of Germany known as the Palatinate. Although the Reformed often were called Calvinists, church historian Bard Thompson claims that in the Palatinate, where the German Reformed Church emerged in the 1560s, it was influenced by Luther's assistant, Philip Melanchthon, who agreed with Calvin and Zwingli that Christ was spiritually, not physically, present in the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper but disagreed with Calvin's interpretation of predestination. Melanchthon taught that God calls but does not condemn (B. Thompson 1953, 163). The German Reformed Church's doctrinal statement, the Heidelberg Catechism promulgated in 1563, reflects these views (K. Barth 1964, 40–46, 107–8).

Although Lutheran and Reformed Church settlers composed most of the German-speaking inhabitants of colonial Pennsylvania, those known as Anabaptists were also present. The name Anabaptist, means to rebaptize, which is what they advocated for those followers who had been baptized as infants. According to Mennonite historian John C. Wenger (1961), Anabaptists first appeared in Zurich during the early 1520s. They initially believed that Zwingli supported their positions, only to discover he did not agree with their belief that infant baptism was unscriptural. When they began to rebaptize each other, they attracted the attention of authorities. Zwingli held several disputations with them, but the Anabaptists remained firm in their convictions, which led to their severe persecution, and even death. Anabaptists also maintained that the civil government should not be involved in religion. They lived and dressed plainly. Primarily as a result of their evangelical efforts, Anabaptism spread into other Swiss cantons, especially to Basel and Bern, to various principalities in what became Germany, into the Netherlands, and to other areas of Europe (C. Redekop 1989, 13–29).

Independently of Swiss Anabaptist evangelism, a former Roman Catholic priest, Menno Simons, began to question the Catholic Church's doctrine concerning the physical presence of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He also doubted the practice of infant baptism. In 1536, he renounced his ordination to the Catholic priesthood and was baptized as an adult Anabaptist in the following year. Although he was condemned by the authorities, Simons traveled throughout Germany and the Netherlands, advising officials and strengthening Anabaptist communities. Simons was also a prolific writer whose works circulated widely. Due to Menno Simons's growing prestige, as early as 1545, the Countess Anna of Oldenburg began referring to Anabaptists as Mennonites. As time passed, the name was used more frequently. By the early eighteenth century, when approximately 5,000 Anabaptists emigrated to Pennsylvania, they were referred to as Mennonites (J. Wenger 1961, 23–35, 42–52).

In the late seventeenth century, the Mennonite community experienced internal divisions. Jacob Ammann became a source of one of the schisms. Ammann was born in Switzerland and probably arrived in Alsace after 1693

along with other Swiss Mennonites. Ammann emphasized his support for the wearing of plain clothes and the use of hooks and eyes instead of buttons and his opposition to men's trimming of their beards. He did not tolerate lax discipline and threatened to punish anyone who opposed him. Historian Steven Nolt (1992, 32, 36, 38) argues that the issue of shutting out transgressors completely or imposing the *Meidung* ("avoidance" in German), also referred to as shunning, caused the breach among Mennonites. In the mid-1690s Ammann and his followers, identified as Amish, separated from the larger Mennonite religious community (J. Hostetler 1980, 31–49).

The Schwenkfelders, in contrast to the Amish, are not well known outside of Pennsylvania, although they also emerged from the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century. Not easily classified, the Schwenkfelders were not Lutheran, Reformed, or Anabaptist. Historian of the so-called Radical Reformation George H. Williams (1962, 106–9) characterizes their leader Casper Schwenkfeld as an "evangelical spiritualist." He describes Schwenkfeld as a well-educated Silesian nobleman and a contemporary of Luther. He converted to Lutheranism in 1518 and by 1522 was a major advocate of Luther's reforms in Silesia. He agreed with Luther's insistence on salvation by faith but also supported the Anabaptist contention that civil government should remain separate from church matters. In the mid-1520s, Schwenkfeld broke with Luther and advocated a middle way between Catholicism and Lutheranism. He believed in the humanity of Christ and yet internalized much of contemporary Christianity, including the Lord's Supper. He temporarily suspended outward observance of the sacrament, insisting it must remain spiritual until Christians could agree upon its meaning (M. Kriebel 1968, 14; G. Williams 1962, 109). Schwenkfeld spread his views through his evangelism, a series of disputations, and letters; however, his beliefs isolated him from other reformers. Following his death in 1561 only a handful of followers kept the faith as he taught it. Groups of Schwenkfelders, numbering fewer than 210 persons, emigrated to Pennsylvania between 1731 and 1737 (S. Schultz 1946, 358, 411–13). With no community tract available to them such as that established by the Moravians in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the Schwenkfelders settled into family homesteads stretching from Philadelphia to what is now Berks and Lehigh counties.

Pietism

Protestant leaders also bickered among themselves about the extent of reform. Lutherans argued with the Reformed, and both persecuted the Anabaptists. Some religious leaders began to turn inward toward more emotional expressions of Christianity. They initiated a movement known as Pietism that could be considered a second reformation. Historian A. G. Roeber (1993, 63) claims that "no other phenomenon so dominated eighteenth-century German Protestant life as Pietism did." It takes its name from its leaders' insistence on pious living rather than adherence to divisive theological dog-

mas. In his account of the Protestant Evangelical Awakening, William R. Ward (1992, 57) identifies a conversion experience of new birth as necessary for Pietists.

In Pennsylvania, Pietistic Count Zinzendorf insisted on moral behavior, emphasized spiritual rebirth, organized conventicles, included music in worship, energized lay members, and above all exalted religious feeling over dogma. He claimed that "no one could be convinced of the Gospel through reason alone" and that "certainly religion lies in the heart and only in the heart." Zinzendorf insisted, "The heart was the seat of religious experience," and "Christians feel God in their hearts" (Atwood 2004, 55, 44). Intensely Christocentric, Zinzendorf stressed to an unusual degree Christ's suffering on the Cross and the wounds, especially the side wound that Christ received. It is here that Zinzendorf deviated from most other Pietists. Historian Gillian Gollin (1967, 15, 14), in a study of Moravians, writes, "What had once been only analogies now had come to be considered mystical revelations." Zinzendorf came to think of the Trinity as a family with God as the father, the Holy Ghost as the mother and Jesus as their only son. He thought of the Church of God on earth as "Christ's bride who had been born in the Savior's side wound."

Under Zinzendorf's leadership, Herrnhut became the center of Moravian religious life and industry. It rivaled Halle as the center of Pietistic benevolence and evangelism (Hamilton and Hamilton 1967, 29, 35, 39, 107). By 1749, Moravianism "was a vigorous international movement and Zinzendorf was a celebrity across Europe" (Atwood 2004, 74). From Herrnhut, Zinzendorf and his missionaries went to many areas of Europe and to other parts of the world. As they traveled, they spread their particular brand of Pietism. Zinzendorf aroused opposition in Germany. In an innovative interpretation of Zinzendorf's opposition, historian Aaron Fogleman (2007, 95) attributes much of the opposition to gender issues. Zinzendorf stressed that the New Testament speaks of a "special love" that "the Savior has for the female sex." Anti-Moravian European writers described with disdain the Moravian custom of marriage by lot. In this custom, men issued proposals of marriage to church authorities or, if they had no proposal to make, asked them to recommend a marriageable woman (Beckel 1938; Nitzsche 1958). Authorities submitted the proposal to the decision of the lot.

Gender also invited attention from Halle Pietists who disapproved of the expanded role that Zinzendorf extended to the laity, especially women. Strict Lutheran churchmen denied his claim to be one of them. University theologians objected to what they considered his innovations. The continued immigration of Moravians from Bohemia, Austria, Denmark, and elsewhere alarmed political authorities. Civic officials feared Zinzendorf would set up additional communities and worried that his involvement with peasants might cause unrest (Weinlich 1956, 102, 104–96). Fearing that the authorities would force the Moravian settlers to leave the community at Herrnhut, he set up one of his communities in Pennsylvania. The first Moravian mission-

aries arrived in the colony in the 1730s, and additional Moravians followed during the next decade (Hamilton and Hamilton 1967, 52).

Although most Pietists remained within the Lutheran and Reformed churches, other Pietists lost hope in the churches' ability to reform and separated from the established churches. The Church of the Brethren grew out of a separatist movement. Historian Donald Durnbaugh (1997, 11–13, 54–75) finds that some of the spiritually awakened gravitated to the Duchy of Wittgenstein, in and around the village of Schwarzenau, where in 1709 they covenanted with God and baptized one another. They combined Pietistic emphases on biblical evangelism and new birth with Anabaptist emphases on discipline and adult baptism using full immersion in streams of running water. In Schwarzenau, they enjoyed temporarily an unusual degree of tolerance. Similar groups of Pietist Baptists developed in other areas, including Krefeld, Solingen, Friesland, and the Netherlands. They became known as the German Baptist Brethren. Between 1719 and 1740, most of the Baptist Brethren emigrated to Pennsylvania where they were referred to as Dunkers because of their method of baptizing by immersion.

The Community of True Inspiration is another of the Pietist separatist groups that emigrated to Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century and was distinguished from other German Pietist groups by its belief in contemporary divine inspiration through chosen "instruments" (*Werkzeuge*) or through new prophets as described in the Hebrew Bible (Hoehnle 2015). Historian Craig Atwood's (2004, 35) research reveals that the Inspirationists originated in France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685. Persecuted there, the group found shelter in the German duchy of Wetterau. Its members believed that they received God's direct inspiration, which they claimed enabled them to see visions, to prophesy, and to evangelize. Some of the Inspirationists exhibited extreme convulsions at their meetings. They caused disturbances by jumping, falling, and shouting prophecies of doom. Christopher Sauer who had immigrated in 1724 convinced more than 100 of the Inspirationists to come to Pennsylvania (Schrader 2002, 188–90). Research on the group includes its cultural development and migration to Iowa as the Amana Society in 1855 (Hoehnle 2003; Shambaugh 1908).

Another group of separatist Pietists was the *Neu-geboren* (Newborn). Historian Jeff Bach (2003, 17) mentions that like the Inspirationists, its leader, Matthias Baumann, believed that he saw "impending final judgment." Baumann taught that the only way to salvation was through "a traumatic spiritual death and rebirth which incorporated an actual interview with the heavenly Being." He claimed that thereafter the people who went through this process were truly "free and incapable of sin" (Pendleton 1994, 106–8). German authorities arrested him in 1702 and again in 1706. He then emigrated, probably with some of his followers, to the Oley Valley (present-day Berks County) of Pennsylvania, where he organized the sect called the Newborn (Bach 2003, 17).

Radical Pietist Communities

Growing out of the Reformation were groups referred to as "dissenters" or "noncomformists" because they took the path of forming a separate religious community rather than working to change the dominant church. The first of the dissenter groups to come to Pennsylvania was a contingent of forty celibate mystical Pietistic Lutherans who arrived in 1694. They called themselves "The Contented of the God-Loving Soul." Outsiders referred to them as the "Hermits on the Wissahickon," so called because of their residence on the north side of the Wissahickon Creek that flows into the Schuylkill River near Germantown. Their initial leader was John Jacob Zimmerman, a Pietistic Lutheran clergyman. Subsequently, he planned what he called the "Chapter of Perfection" and its expedition to Pennsylvania. There in the "New World," they would await the coming of the millennium. As the group was about to depart from Rotterdam, Zimmerman died. The members elected John Kelpius to succeed him. Settling in Germantown, they cleared a portion of the village for a garden, orchard, and herbarium. On a higher point of the ridge, they constructed a multipurpose log building that they called their "Tabernackle" (Steinmetz 1941, 8–9). On the roof they built a watchtower and observatory from which they could notice movements in the heavens that they believed would foretell the approaching millennium, after which Christ would reign for a thousand years.

The intellectual foundation of the Contented of the God-Loving Soul was complex. It may have included Rosicrucianism, although historian Gordon Alderfer (1951, 5) doubts that the society as a whole can be identified as part of the tradition. Historian Elizabeth Fisher (1985, 311) describes how they borrowed from kabalistic writers, one of whom claimed that Christian kabalism could illuminate obscure portions of scripture. An apologist ascribed to the kabala the ability not only to connect Judaism and Christianity but also to overcome the differences that divided Christianity, one of the Pietists' major objectives (311, 302). The Hermits added the teachings of Jacob Boehme, who wrote that in the beginning God had no consciousness of Himself and turned to the "Virgin Wisdom," or the Heavenly Sophia. She was God's revelation of Himself (309). According to the New Testament book of Revelations (12:6), she "fled into the wilds." Kelpius believed that the salvation of the church and of individuals depended on their flight into the wilderness. Fisher explains that Pietists often used the wilderness "as a metaphor for the mystical union with God" (24). Hence, some later writers referred to the group as the "Society of the Woman in the Wilderness" (Steinmetz 1941, 9).

Few twentieth-century writers have appreciated the contributions of the Contented of the God-Loving Soul. Stoeffler (1965, 115) referred to the group as a "community of religious dreamers." Historian Stephanie Wolf (1976, 212) categorizes it as "a strange Pietistic group." An early twentieth-century writer, Lucy Bittenger (1906, 32), went so far as to charge that it was nearly without influence on the religious life of the province. Kelpius most clearly

fits the stereotype of a contemplative mystic, as he lived quietly in his cave. According to Steinmetz (1941, 4), he was a prolific composer whose letters were circulated in Europe and America, whose religious poems were set to music and published in German and English hymnals, and whose tract entitled *A Short, Easy, and Comprehensive Method of Prayer* was published in German and English and reprinted several times, as recently as 1951. Elizabeth Fisher (1985, 326) notes that Bernhard Koster conducted Lutheran worship in German and English in Germantown and Philadelphia and that crowds of both flocked to his services. After Kelpius's death in 1708, the group gradually disbanded. Only a few lingered along the Wissahickon (Steinmetz 1941, 12). Nevertheless, the Hermits on the Wissahickon deserve to be remembered not only as a distinctive chapter in the Pennsylvania Germans' religious history but also for the good works of its members.

If the Contented of the God-Loving Soul had maintained its existence, Conrad Beissel would have joined it when he arrived in Pennsylvania in 1720. Slightly more than a decade later, he became the leader of a celibate pietistic monastic community on the Cocalico Creek in Lancaster County. Alderfer (1985, 11, 19–24) in his description of Ephrata depicts his early life. Beissel was born in 1691. His father died two months before his birth possibly of alcoholism, and his mother died eight years later. If he had any formal higher education, there is no record of it. In adolescence, he was apprenticed to a baker from whom he learned to play the violin, which enabled him to fiddle and dance at weddings. Such experiences enlarged his personality so that he drew other people to him, especially women. Beissel had a conversion experience in 1715. As a journeyman baker, Beissel traveled to various cities and towns, including Strasbourg and Heidelberg, where he came in contact with radical Pietists.

Historian Jeff Bach (2003, 5, 26–33) identifies as sources of Beissel's religious thought the writings of Boehme, George Gichtel, and Heinrich Horsch. From Horsch, Beissel adapted an allegorical and typological interpretation of the scriptures; nevertheless, with the Pietists, he emphasized the importance of religious experience, individual revelation, and the written word. Gottfried Arnold, as transmitted by Gichtel, taught him the ascetic practices of the early Christians that he observed personally among the rural Mennonites and Dunkers. Beissel came to observe the seventh day as the Sabbath primarily through the influence of members of the German and English Philadelphia movement that was named for the biblical city of that name in which the early Christians showed extraordinary love for each other. Beissel learned of celibacy from various radical Pietists, especially Gichtel.

In 1724 Beissel was baptized into the Dunker congregation in Germantown and subsequently moved west to the Conestoga region. There, he became the leader of a small Dunker congregation, a portion of which split from the Germantown Dunkers in 1728, if not before. In the early 1730s a community formed around him along the Cocalico Creek at what he called Ephrata (Bach 2002, 18–19). By the 1740s and 1750s, the community included

about 300 celibate residents on the premises and numerous married couples, called householders, who lived in their own homes around Ephrata. Many had belonged to Dunker congregations; some were former Mennonites, but numerous religious groups were represented. Worship services were held frequently, especially love feasts, including on the Sabbath, and in the mornings and evenings, even at midnight. The love feast or agape, a custom invoking the practices of the New Testament church, included feet washing, a supper, and communion.

The residents of Ephrata wore distinctive clothing. The women wore long white robes with hoods. The men wore garb similar to that of Capuchin monks, and some were tonsured. The attire was intended to cover as much of the body as possible in order to avoid arousing sexual desires (Bach 2003, 76–90). Men and women expressed their community through common songs. Beissel, who must have possessed innate musical talent, set his and others' words to music to more than a thousand tunes (J. J. Stoudt 1964, 281). After about 1740, Beissel directed the choirs. Practices often lasted about four hours and ended in procession through the meadow (Alderfer 1985, 115).

The arts also received serious attention at Ephrata. *Frakturschriften* ("broken," calligraphic, writing) was a specialty. It did not begin at Ephrata but probably in the Rhineland of Switzerland and the Palatinate (Alderfer 1985, 125–26). According to fraktur scholar Frederick Weiser, examples were likely to have appeared first in Pennsylvania at Ephrata, although later folk artists of other religious groups also produced them. Most were drawn by the sisters and were used to illuminate manuscripts, book plates, massive wall charts, and hymnals. Bach (2003, 142–44) stated that scholars disagree about whether the designs were mere decoration, which is historian Donald Shelley's interpretation (1961), or were full of religious symbolism, as John Joseph Stoudt (1937) claims. There is another option, according to Bach, which is that "some but not all, of Ephrata's fraktur helped to shape the community's sacred world."

The growth of the community required physical expansion. Bach (2003, 115–39) describes the construction at Ephrata. Building began in the 1720s and continued through the 1740s. Bach's illustrations reveal that, instead of the Georgian architecture that was prevalent among the English, Ephrata's men used the Germanic style with which they were familiar, featuring steep roofs and many narrow dormer windows (124, 134). They built separate dormitories for the women and men; a meetinghouse for worship; a bakery; a barn; a stable; and lumber, linseed oil, and grist mills (131). Most of the men farmed the outlying fields to produce food for the residents, while many of the women spun the flax and wool into threads that men wove into cloth. In 1743 the brothers imported a printing press from Frankfurt and published numerous works, including the Mennonites' *Martyrs Mirror* (Alderfer 1985, 128).

Beissel and his followers encountered opposition from several sectors. Relations with the Germantown Dunkers cooled in the late 1720s. Having settled initially on unoccupied land that they did not yet own, they faced the

wrath of government officials. As Seventh Day Baptists, they worked on Sunday, which was against provincial law and attracted attention. The devotion of the various women to Beissel led to unproved charges of immorality in the cloisters. Nevertheless, the Ephrata settlement survived even Beissel's death in 1768 and continued into the early nineteenth century, when the last of its celibate members died (Alderfer 1985, 44–51). Ephrata served as a model for somewhat similar Sabbatarian settlements that survived Ephrata (Bach 2003, 22).

Organized Denominations

Zinzendorf's attempt to unite religious groups in his congregation of God in the Spirit stimulated religious leaders of most Pennsylvania German religious groups to encourage their people to remain separate and to adhere more profoundly to their own particular doctrines and practices. As a result, they began to hold annual meetings, published heritage tracts, and became more organized (Frantz 1976, 266–78). By the mid-eighteenth century, a denominational pattern emerged among the Pennsylvania Germans. Since at least 1732, Lutherans in Philadelphia, Providence (Trappe), and New Hanover had been asking the Pietist Halle Missionary Society for pastors. Not until 1741 did it respond. That was the year in which Zinzendorf sailed for Pennsylvania (Glatfelter 1980–81, 2:96–97). Halle's superintendent, Gotthilf August Francke, selected Henry Melchior Muhlenberg to serve these congregations. Muhlenberg had studied at the universities at Göttingen and Halle, worked at the Halle institutions, and served a pastorate near Herrnhut. He was young (only thirty years old), energetic, and forceful. Immediately after arriving in November 1742, he ejected rivals, confronted Zinzendorf in Philadelphia, and aided Lutherans elsewhere in their contests with Moravians (Glatfelter 1980–81, 2:97, 99–103). Until he died in 1787, he led Pennsylvania German Lutherans in Philadelphia, in the interior of Pennsylvania, and in other colonies by preaching, administering the church's sacraments, and settling disputes. Because he could not accept all of the requests for his services, he pleaded with Halle's officials to send more pastors. Although they never sent enough to serve all who wanted their ministry, those whom they did send eased the shortage immeasurably. The arrival of Halle recruits enabled Muhlenberg to place Pietist Lutheran pastors in locations that Moravians had controlled, including Philadelphia, Lancaster, and the Tulpehocken region and elsewhere (Glatfelter 1980–81, 2:27–33). In 1748 Muhlenberg organized the newly arrived pastors and leading laymen in a ministerium that served as their administrative body until the development of regional synods in the late eighteenth century (Glatfelter 1980–81, 2:24).

The Reformed responded similarly. John Philip Boehm was alert to the Moravian threat to his people. Because the German Reformed homeland, the Palatinate, was still recovering from repeated French invasions, no assistance could be had from that source. Hinke (1916, 102–7, 37–45) cites docu-

ments that indicate that since 1728 Boehm had requested help from officials of the Dutch Reformed Church, little of which was forthcoming until the Moravians arrived in Pennsylvania. In 1742 Boehm sent to the Dutch a copy of a pamphlet against the Moravians, for which they complimented him mildly, and sent additional anti-Moravian material for him to circulate. Not until 1746 did they send a pastor. They instructed their appointee, Michael Schlatter, to inspect congregations, to find out how many members they had and how much they paid their pastors if they had any, to organize congregations where there were none, and to form an administrative body, most of which Schlatter did accomplish.

The smaller groups also became more coordinated. Mennonites already had organized congregations into conferences, the Franconia and Lancaster, and would form more as they expanded into the interior. In 1747 they commissioned the Seventh Day Baptists to publish a reminder of their sufferings in the *Martyrs Mirror*. The Dunkards met together in 1742, the first of their annual meetings. Schwenkfelder leaders traveled throughout the Perkiomen Valley reminding their people of Schwenkfeld's teachings.

Gradually, the religious life of the Pennsylvania Germans became more stable than it had been during the early years of settlement. Moravian leaders gave up their ecumenical ambition and settled into Pennsylvania's denominational landscape but remained closely tied to European Moravians. With greater difficulty the churches adapted to Pennsylvania's environment. Aided significantly by their European counterparts and reinforced by an increased number of immigrants of Lutheran and Reformed background, the churches were able to overcome sectarian competition. By 1750, Church people constituted about 90 percent of the Pennsylvanian Germans (Weiser and Heaney 1976, xx).

An increase in the quality and number of religious leaders contributed to social stability among the Pennsylvania Germans. The sectarians selected pastors from within. Most lacked formal education, received no salaries, and supported themselves, usually by farming. Having tolerated charlatans during the early years of settlement, after the 1740s qualified pastors arrived regularly but still in insufficient numbers. In addition to European subsidies, some church members contributed to their pastors' salaries. Worship among the sectarians and Church people was plain in their early years of settlement. Durnbaugh (1997, 103–4) describes Dunker worship as "one hymn chases another and quotes a critic as observing that Dunkard preaching and praying took place with great clamor, as if God were hard of hearing. Mennonites and Amish noted the zeal and liveliness of Dunkard worship. They administered the Lord's Supper and held foot washing and baptismal services as frequently as possible."

Research is spotty about the liturgies of the churches. Pastors apparently had set forms to follow, which allowed members to participate. Hinke (1916, 92) reports that the Dutch sent to the Reformed their Palatinate Liturgy of 1563. Muhlenberg reported to Halle churchmen that he had compiled a lit-

urgy for use in Pennsylvania (Muhlenberg 1942, 1:193). Jobie Riley (1977, 138), who studied Pennsylvania German pulpit rhetoric, wrote that it is likely that the sectarians' sermons were more extemporaneous than those of the churches' pastors. Muhlenberg noted in his diary that he preached biblical sermons that were appropriate for the particular Sunday in the church year (Muhlenberg 1942, 1:69). There may have been little difference between Lutheran and Reformed sermons because "both regarded themselves as variations of the same evangelical faith" (Weiser 1976, 1:xx). Muhlenberg reported to Halle that the only difference that his parishioners noticed was that one began the Lord's Prayer with "*unser Vater*" (our Father) while the other began it in the reverse order (Muhlenberg 1942, 1:194).

Among the signs of outward progress among religiously inclined Pennsylvania Germans was the construction of places for worship. Early settlers worshiped in houses and barns and in the open air (Glatfelter 1980–81, 2:152–53). Nolt (1992, 58) states that most Amish continued to meet in their homes and barns for several centuries, rotating their services from one member's home to another. Schwenkfelders also met in their homes, but in the nineteenth century they began to build meetinghouses (Erb 1987, 78–81). Although Mennonites arrived in Germantown in 1683, they did not build a meetinghouse there until 1708 (MacMaster 1985, 47). Subsequently, they built others elsewhere as they moved inland. They were plain, both outside and in. Women and men sat on opposite sides. Normally, there was a table or desk in the front with the preacher's Bible on it (J. Wenger 1966, 75). Durnbaugh (1997, 104–5) states that Dunkers waited longer to build, but by 1770 they had four meetinghouses. Catholics built Philadelphia's St. Joseph's Church in Philadelphia in 1734 (E. Bronner 1982, 50). Glatfelter (1980–81, 2:161–170) lists more than fifty buildings that the Lutherans and Reformed constructed between 1720 and 1750. Most congregations constructed their first buildings between 1743 and 1748. In the countryside, Lutherans and Reformed often shared buildings, called "union churches," which was reasonable because neither had pastors who preached to the same congregation every Sunday, and they lived near each other. They attended each other's services, and frequently intermarried, a custom they might have brought from the Palatinate, although Glatfelter doubts this explanation (163). What the Church people did bring with them was the custom of having churches in which to marry, baptize their children, and receive the Lord's Supper, and from which they were buried (152). The result, particularly in central Pennsylvania, western Maryland, and the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, was a lasting "religious landscape" formed by meetinghouses and churches that marked Pennsylvania German regional culture (Clouse 2011).

Churches and sects differed on discipline. In the sectarians' comparatively small communities, it was strict. Sectarians separated believers from unrepentant transgressors. The Amish "shunning" involved the denial of social and family fellowship, while Mennonites forbade only church contact until the transgressor repented, which was their custom in Europe (Nolt

1992, 17–18). Dunkers disciplined a women who "married outside the church" (Durnbaugh 1997, 117). MacMaster includes the charge that, whereas sectarians practiced Christianity seven days a week, Church people displayed their religion on Sundays (MacMaster, Horst, and Ulle 1979, 25–26). Nevertheless, Pietist pastors attempted to set rules. Arthur Core (1968, 24) notes that Otterbein required his Lancaster parishioners to meet with him before partaking of the Lord's Supper. Muhlenberg (1942, 1:97–137) complained that when he attempted to discipline his Lutherans, they told him that he was too strict and that they would get another pastor.

What the future held for Pennsylvania German Church people and, to a lesser extent, the sectarians was an open question in the post-Revolutionary period. Only German Catholics and Moravians maintained their ties with European bodies. The German Reformed Church broke its ties with the Dutch church in 1792 (D. Dunn 1961, 53). The German Lutherans drifted from Halle (Roeber 1993, 326). Would the Germans' religious institutions maintain their European heritage in the "New World," or would they develop into what they had not been? Abdel Wentz (1955, 73) notes that Pennsylvania German church leaders charged that the Americans' close association with the French during the War for American Independence spread rationalism among them. The newly organized German Reformed synod warned against the infiltration of Deism (J. Good 1911, 153–56).

Revivalism

German Reformed pastor Philip William Otterbein came to Pennsylvania in 1752 and enforced strict discipline in his congregations at Lancaster, Tulpehocken, Frederick, York, and Baltimore (Core 1968, 16, 24). From each location, he evangelized throughout the surrounding areas. In Baltimore he met future English Methodist Francis Asbury, who was organizing classes led by laymen. They were American counterparts of the conventicles with which Otterbein was familiar in Europe (Core 1968, 3–31). Otterbein and his colleagues conducted what were called "big meetings" in the Pipe Creek region of Maryland, near what is now Westminster; in the Antietam area, near present day Sharpsburg and Shepherdstown; in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia; and in Pennsylvania. Otterbein organized classes to provide spiritual care while he was elsewhere. Although Otterbein did not deliver his sermons in the style of a typical revivalist, some of his associates did. Although Otterbein never formally left the Reformed Church, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries some of his followers coalesced in what they called the Church of the United Brethren in Christ (Core 196836–38).

Another group formed around Jacob Albright, who was at least a nominal member of the Bergstrasse Lutheran Church, near Ephrata. His direct descendant, historian William Albright (1942, 30–32), describes him as disturbed about the condition of his soul; seeing the death of several of his children as God's punishment, he determined to lead a new life. In 1796 he be-

came an independent evangelist and preached in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia (49–50). Similar to Otterbein, he was not a typical revivalist, but his profound sermons and calm and deliberate delivery made him an efficient preacher (57–58). As his followers increased in widely scattered areas, he too resorted to the class system. In 1800, he organized a class in Berks County, near the Colebrookdale Iron Furnace; then another in Bucks County, near Quakertown; and another in Northampton County. In the years that followed, the number of classes multiplied, drawing members of Reformed, Lutheran, as well as other churches and the unchurched (Albright 1942, 60–75; see also A. Wentz 1955, 92).

The "Albrecht Leute" (Albright People), as they were called initially, quickly in 1803 formed an ecclesiastical organization called the Evangelical Association (W. Albright 1942, 66–67, 85, 97–98, 101). Albright's death in 1809 seemed not to be an impediment to their organization. Attempts to merge the Evangelical Association and the United Brethren in Christ floundered over the issue of a settled ministry of the United Brethren and the itinerancy that was the requirement of the Evangelical Association. Not until 1946 did they merge and become the Evangelical United Brethren Church. Members frequently were called German Methodists. In 1968 they became part of the United Methodist Church (Ahlstrom 1972, 921, 441; Behney and Eller 1979).

Also evangelizing among the Pennsylvania Germans during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was Jacob Engel, who became the leader of a group called the River Brethren. Engel had a conversion experience late in his adolescence that led him to be baptized by the Mennonites. Not long afterward, he began to feel that he had not been baptized according to the New Testament teachings. Engel considered the only truly scriptural practice was by immersing, the manner in which John the Baptist had baptized Jesus. Other Mennonites also became dissatisfied with their baptism. On an unspecific date in the late eighteenth century, they baptized each other, as had the Pietistic Dunkers in Schwarzenau almost a century earlier (Wittlinger 1978, 21–23). If oral tradition can be relied upon, Engel, like other evangelists of his time, traveled from his Lancaster County home in Donegal to preach to his Susquehanna River valley neighbors and probably to others farther afield. It is likely that at least some of his newly baptized associates assisted in effecting conversions. In time, perhaps as early as 1808, they became known as the River Brethren and later as the Brethren in Christ (Wittlinger 1978, 25–27).

A more typical revivalist was Reformed pastor John Winebrenner. Although Winebrenner's ancestors were Palatine Germans, English religious trends had influenced him (Kern 1974, 7–8, 9, 24–25, 40). As pastor of German Reformed congregations in and around Harrisburg during the early 1820s, he preached sermons that aroused intense emotional feeling. Worshipers shouted and groaned, which delighted Winebrenner, though he admitted that some did groan too much. As Winebrenner conducted evangelistic camp meetings and other services, revivals broke out in New Cumberland,

Linglestown, Shippensburg, Lancaster, Lebanon, and Elizabethtown. Winebrenner wrote that "hundreds and multitudes happily converted to God." By 1830, he had organized his followers into a new denomination that he called the "Church of God" that still is prominent in the Harrisburg area (Kern 1974,8, 14, 25–26, 45–46). By about that date, the most prominent Pennsylvania German denominations had been formed. In subsequent years there would be tensions, divisions, and reunifications, but the basic pattern was set.

The Church of God, United Brethren, and Evangelical churches constitute, according to folklorist Don Yoder, "The Bush Meeting Dutch." The "bush" in the social label means woods, because their camp meetings often were held in rural, often forested areas. They were "among the first native-born American churches" (D. Yoder 1961b, 14–18). They continued to hold revival camp meetings well into the twentieth century, singing their own hymns that Yoder labels "Bush Meeting Spirituals," a few of which, he notes, were "tolerated" in "recent Reformed Church hymnals" (D. Yoder 1955–57, 22–33).

Religious Unity and Diversity in the Pennsylvania German Diaspora

Numerous European religious groups took advantage of the free, voluntary environment in Pennsylvania. Historian of colonial Anglicans William Perry (1969, 2:256) quotes Pennsylvania's governor George Thomas, who declared in the mid-eighteenth century that the Pennsylvania Germans imported into the colony "all the religious whimsies of their own country and divided further after their arrival." They helped to make Pennsylvania the most diverse colony in British America. One observer noticed so many religious groups in Pennsylvania that he could not name all of them (Mittelberger 1960, 21).

Historian Mark Häberlein (2009, 139–45, 152, 157) describes the diversity in the central Pennsylvania region, of which Lancaster became the center. There "cooperation between Lancaster's Lutheran and Reformed pastors was . . . facilitated by the Pietistic inclinations of leading clergymen within both denominations." According to historian William Pendleton (1994, 14–17, 106–9), the same degree of diversity existed in the area between the Schuylkill River and the Blue Mountains from which many Pennsylvania Germans emanated.

Historian William Pencak, who presents the history of Jews in Pennsylvania, reports that a small number of Jews also came to the colony from Germany during the eighteenth century. Most Jews were merchants who settled in Philadelphia and Lancaster, while a few settled in smaller communities. He and Häberlein disagree about the degree of tolerance that they experienced in the colony. Pencak (2005, 217, 222–23, 189–218) describes an attempt by Philadelphia Jews to construct a synagogue on Sterling Alley next to a German Reformed Church. That congregation forced them to move elsewhere. He charges that "attacks on Jews were pretty much free shots." In contrast, Häberlein (2009, 169–70) observes that obvious anti-Semitism was

rarely apparent in Lancaster and in other Pennsylvania German communities. Oral tradition indicates that because they were able to communicate in German and understand the Pennsylvania dialect, many German Jews, more so than other urban merchants, were willing to move into the countryside to serve the Protestant settlers (Barrick 1985). There also might have been cultural exchange between Jews and the German-speaking Protestants in folk arts such as illuminated manuscripts and language (Costello 1980; Richman 2001, 57–58).

During the twentieth century, the churches strove for unity. The German Reformed merged twice. Carl E. Schneider (1935) describes how the German Reformed, numerically strong in Pennsylvania, merged first in 1934 with the Evangelical Synod, which was strong in the Midwest, to form the Evangelical and Reformed Church. In 1957 that denomination merged with the Congregational-Christian Churches, especially prominent in New England, to form the United Church of Christ (Gunnemann 1977).

Unlike the Amish and Mennonites, the Lutherans and Reformed and even the Dunkers, now called the Brethren, and Schwenkfelders have become less separable. Their names and church affiliations indicate that they are Pennsylvania German, but they are difficult to distinguish from the general population. They neither dress nor speak distinctively, although they might occasionally have a "Pennsylvania Dutch" church service. By the late twentieth century, both the Pennsylvania German Reformed and Lutherans had become "acculturated," which facilitated their merger with similar ecclesiastical bodies of different ethnicity. As the Reformed merged in 1957 with descendants of eighteenth-century New England Congregationalists to form the United Church of Christ, descendants of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania German Lutherans united with nineteenth-century Scandinavian Lutheran immigrants to form the Lutheran Church in America (ALC) in 1962 and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) in 1988.

Nonetheless, religion is still crucial to Pennsylvania German identity because of the association of many churches with the German cultural experience going back to William Penn's Holy Experiment. Many observers have noted the value placed on hard work that is traced to religious ideas of a Protestant work ethic. The Pietistic heritage of Pennsylvania Germans has reportedly informed the social trait to be hospitable and helpful to one another. Among some Pennsylvania Germans, religion creates a concern for their environment, especially the land that they cultivate so carefully. And although Pennsylvania Germans are often viewed as a collective bound by a shared cultural heritage of language, food, agriculture, and architecture, religion is often a source of ethnic-regional differentiation.

7 The Amish

KAREN M. JOHNSON-WEINER AND JOSHUA R. BROWN

Not all Amish groups had their American start in colonial Pennsylvania, despite popular depictions of the Amish not only as a branch of the Pennsylvania Germans but as the contemporary representations of all Pennsylvania Germans. The Amish remain distinctly different from the so-called nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans (those of Lutheran and Reformed descent), and even their "shared" in-group vernacular, Pennsylvania German or *Deitsch*, has differences (cf. S. Keiser 2012). Yet, over time, the two groups have merged in some ways in the American consciousness.

In his early collections, photographer George Tice (1970) seamlessly blends both nonsectarian and sectarian Pennsylvania Germans as representatives of the rural, farming culture in southeastern and central Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Dutch Gift Haus on Route 78 in Shartlesville, flanked out front by large statues of a seated Amish man and woman (fig. 7.1), sells hex signs and distlefink wind chimes just yards from the site of the eighteenth-century massacre of the Hochstetler family, an Amish family living in the Northkill settlement caught on the colonial border during the tensions of the French and Indian Wars. (In this event, seminal to contemporary Amish identity, the mother and two children were killed after their house was set on fire, while the father and two sons were held as captives.) The two groups have been thus intimately linked in Pennsylvania heritage and tourism. However, as nonsectarians lost markers of their Pennsylvania German identity and became more closely allied with mainstream American society, the Amish, with their strict adherence to symbolic markers of identity for separation from the world, became the standard-bearers of Pennsylvania German authenticity in the eyes of many mainstream moderns. Indeed, research and publications on the Amish, with an extensive range outside of the Pennsylvania homeland, represent some of the most important work done on Pennsylvania Germans in the diaspora (cf. Dundore 1955 and chapters 10–13, on the arts and material culture, in this volume for examples).

Although some scholars have sought to connect Pennsylvania German studies with the Amish (cf. Frey 1949 and D. Kriebel 2007), the research traditions of Pennsylvania German studies and Amish studies generally treat

them as separate fields. The field of Amish studies has largely focused on sociological and religious understandings of a contemporary ethnicity. In contrast, that of Pennsylvania German studies has largely been historical with a focus on the colonial and New Republic eras. Important work to be completed in Amish and Pennsylvania German studies is on the merger of these groups' representations, namely the incorporation of Amish representations into formerly "Fancy" practices, for example, *Fersommlinge* and folk festivals. In so doing, the representations of the Amish in the context of Pennsylvania German studies are depicted as being continuous with Pennsylvania German tradition. In many ways, then, the "new" Pennsylvania German studies will be a field of research that seeks to actively understand Amish studies through interdisciplinary work and to integrate their history, language, and culture, as well as religion, into the Pennsylvania German experience.

As the Amish have largely been described in the context of modernity, they remain contemporary representations of Pennsylvania Germans, yet stand at odds with many contemporary societies. Modernity has brought humans the ability to interact with people and cultures from around the globe. We can google plaguing questions and receive answers in mere seconds. We can learn and grow and meet online. Yet these features also decontextualize our role in local social circles. In stark contrast are the Amish, who actively seek to preserve those local social circles. They visit with each other face-to-face, write letters (with paper and pen) to those far away, carefully control the use of telephones, and limit access to the worldwide web. Attempting to establish and maintain "redemptive communities" in which they can lead lives they hope will make them worthy of salvation, the Amish cherish tradition

Fig. 7.1. Amish roadside attraction in Shartlesville, Pennsylvania. *Photograph by Joshua R. Brown*

and family, negotiate carefully with progress and modernity, and interact with each other in unique ways to create a culture very different from that of the dominant "English" world around them.

With their population growing as a result of large families and high retention rates, the Amish today number around 300,000 in thirty-one U.S. states and three Canadian provinces. Their core values are expressed during their baptism, when they reject self, the devil, and the world. They voluntarily give up their own individual desires for the solidarity of the group. In individual church communities—independent congregations linked by history, family, and affiliation—the Amish live a faith expressed in the clothes they put on in the morning, the food they prepare, the work they do, and the furniture in their homes.

The Amish today are not a homogeneous, monolithic group. One finds not only many different Old Order Amish groups but also different types of Beachy Amish (who drive cars and use electricity) and the New Order Amish or "Amish Brotherhood," which emerged in the 1960s and encourages Bible study and a more personal, individual faith. In fact, names like "Old Order," "Beachy," and "New Order" obscure the true extent of Amish diversity. Each Amish church is a distinct and self-defined community, separate not only from the "English" or non-Amish community that surrounds it but also from most other Amish ones as well.

Anabaptist Beginnings

Like their ancestors, the first Anabaptists, who rejected both the Catholic Church and the state-led Protestant Reformation, the Old Order Amish consciously attempt to create a new society in which, living according to biblical precepts, each member of the church is unconformed to the world (Romans 12:2). Those first radical reformers wanted stronger religious devotion. They wanted adults to make the conscious decision to join their movement and insisted on believers', or adult, baptism. They envisioned a return to the early apostolic church, a voluntary church of believers that neither sought to control the state, like the Catholic Church, nor was controlled by it or allied to it, like the newly formed Protestant churches. Further emphasizing the separation of church and state, they rejected oaths of allegiance and embraced pacifism and nonresistance. At a time when baptism correlated to citizenship, and conscription in the military was important for the impending wars of religion that followed the Reformation, their ideas were profoundly threatening. Not only would they not go to war; they would not even take up arms in their own defense. Those who joined the new church, signifying their rejection of the old church by being baptized again, did so at great peril. Ulrich Zwingli, leader of the state church in Zurich, denounced these "rebaptizers," or Anabaptists, charging that they had brought division into the church, and in 1524 Zurich's city council outlawed the rebaptizing of those baptized as

infants. The Anabaptists, in renouncing the city council and the teachings of the state church, were branded seditious.

Widely persecuted, those first Anabaptists developed a strong sense of group solidarity. Anabaptist literature from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is replete with accounts of government-sanctioned torture and execution to encourage believers to remain strong in the face of persecution. As many as 2,500 were executed, and many others were imprisoned and tortured (*The Mennonite Encyclopedia* 1955–90; C. Snyder 1995). Yet, for the early Anabaptists and their descendants, nonconformity and nonresistance in the face of the persecution was evidence of faith. Persecuted for their religious beliefs, they fled from their Swiss homeland and hid—or found religious tolerance—in neighboring regions.

Despite persecution or maybe because of it, the Anabaptist movement spread. Some Anabaptists came to be called Mennonites after Menno Simons, a Dutch priest turned Anabaptist preacher whose teaching helped shape Anabaptist views of baptism, nonconformity, and pacifism. Yet, as the Mennonites established communities in different parts of Europe, their practices changed in response to the different social and political conditions in which they found themselves. One convert and religious leader, Jakob Ammann, left his home in Steffisburg, in the canton of Thun in Switzerland, for Alsace, where other Anabaptists had found religious tolerance (Nolt 2003). Yet, even as he was free to practice his faith, Ammann was astounded by the friendliness that existed between the Mennonites and their non-Mennonite neighbors. In 1693 Ammann argued that the Mennonites were becoming too much a part of the world, that they were following too closely fashions in dress and interacting with and even marrying non-Mennonites. The majority of Mennonite preachers and congregations rejected Ammann's call for greater separation from the world, and so Ammann excommunicated them. The conservative minority became known as Amish Mennonites or, simply, Amish.

Despite some unsuccessful efforts on Ammann's part to mend the rift (cf. Roth 2002), the Amish Mennonites, under guidance of their leader, began to differ in practice from the Mennonites. For example, the Amish congregations demanded stricter separation from the world and the shunning of wayward members. Additionally, they advocated communion twice a year and feet washing as a ritual during communion. Even clothing styles began to mark the two groups, for Jakob Ammann preached against the trimming of beards and prohibited the wearing of fashionable dress. The Amish became known as the "hook and eye" folks for their unwillingness to use buttons (Kraybill 2001, 8). Within decades of the schism, the two factions were evolving separately.

In response to continued persecution in Europe, many Amish immigrated to the New World, where they sought to own their own land, as well as to worship as they wished and without military conscription. The Pennsylva-

nia colony, heavily advertised by its founder William Penn, was very alluring, and around 500 Amish came to Pennsylvania before the American Revolution. A second wave of Amish immigration in the nineteenth century (1815–60) brought a much larger group, around 3,000. Because the last remaining Amish congregations in Europe had rejoined the Mennonites by the early part of the twentieth century, there are no Amish left in Europe today.

Beliefs and Rituals

The church is the one pervasive force in Amish existence. The standard German word for church is *Kirche*, which, like its English equivalent, refers to the building in which services are held or to the services themselves. The Amish word for church, however, is *Gmay*, from the German *Gemeinde*, meaning community. For the Amish, the church is not the building in which one meets or even the meetings themselves but rather a redemptive community formed of those dedicated to putting the teachings of Christ into practice. The *Gmay* is separate from the world, for God's people must be separate from the world "that they may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke" (Philippians 2:15). The Amish understanding of the true Christian church as an "alternative community" sets them apart from the mainstream (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner, and Nolt 2013, 24). Their belief, reinforced by centuries of persecution, is that the Christian way will not be chosen by the majority of society, and thus they remain "a peculiar people" (Titus 2:14), separate from the world and prepared to suffer at its hands.

Sustained by its moral guidelines of the *Ordnung*, the Amish *Gmay* allows Amish families to live as a community within a community, surrounded by the "English," or non-Amish, yet apart from them. The *Ordnung*, the discipline of the church, encodes the church community's beliefs and so governs nearly every aspect of Amish life. Yet it is more than simply a collection of rules. It binds the individual to the *Gmay* and protects the *Gmay* from the outside world. As Amish historian Joseph Beiler wrote, "It creates a desire for togetherness and fellowship. It binds marriages, it strengthens family ties; to live together, to work together, to worship together, and to commune secluded from the world" (J. Hostetler 1989, 84–85). To the Amish, obedience to the *Ordnung*—to all of the *Ordnung*—indicates one's love for the church. One cannot follow it halfway; one is either in the church or outside of it and thus in the world.

The contemporary *Ordnungen* of today's Amish churches have evolved over the years, reflecting changing conditions in the life of each *Gmay*. When their *Ordnungen* are similar enough, two congregations may "fellowship"—that is, ministers of one may preach at services in the other, and marriages can occur between their members. Between communities whose *Ordnungen* differ, however, there is little social or religious interaction. Although *Ordnungen* are normally not written, they are clarified, developed, modified, and reaffirmed twice a year at *Ordnungsgmay* before fall and spring communion.

The *Ordnung* specifies what is sinful and worldly and, hence, not to be tolerated. Not everything set down in the *Ordnung* has a biblical basis; however, what cannot be scripturally supported is justified by the feeling that to do otherwise would be worldly and disruptive to the community.

The Amish place high value on the authority of the Bible, particularly on Jesus' Sermon on the Mount in the New Testament (Matthew 5–7). Additionally, they draw inspiration from *The Martyrs Mirror* (first published in Dutch in 1660), which contains the stories of those "baptized only upon confession of faith, and who suffered and died for the testimony of Jesus, their Savior, from the time of Christ to the year A.D. 1660." In reading about the trials of early Anabaptists persecuted for their beliefs, the Amish remind themselves of the sacrifices of their religious ancestors and keep their narratives alive for their own daily struggles in the English world as a result of their resistance to the demands of mainstream society, including adherence to zoning laws and regulations governing labor. In fact, a historical account of the Amish parochial school issues begins poignantly with the story of the Hochstetler family massacre, compelling readers to remind themselves of the struggles that Amish have found themselves in, whether between warring factions, as for the Hochstetlers, or between government agencies and truancy officers, as for the twentieth-century Amish school proponents (Kinsinger 1997). Similarly, the Amish also draw strength from hymns written by imprisoned Anabaptists as they sing from their hymnbook, the *Ausbund*. Finally, the Amish adhere to a formal expression of religious beliefs specific to the Anabaptists, the Dordrecht Confession of Faith, which was penned by Dutch Mennonites in 1632. Made up of eighteen articles, the Dordrecht Confession is used to prepare young people for baptism and church membership. In effect, this document provides the means for transitioning into a fully communal relationship with the body of believers in the Amish church.

Baptism is the defining moment in the life of any Amish person. The Amish believe that children cannot understand the commitment of baptism, which is, in their eyes, a covenant with God. Only adults may engage in this life-changing process, and they are urged to think carefully before taking this important step. The Amish do not believe, as some Christian denominations do, that baptism brings salvation; to assert that one is saved is the ultimate in *Hochmut*, or pride, for this is something only God can know. The Amish put their faith in God, strive to obey the word of God, which is equated with the rule of the *Gmay*, and hope for the best. Baptismal candidates (generally eighteen to twenty-two years of age) come forward and make their promise to reject self, the devil, and the world; water is poured on their heads, and they are brought into the fellowship with a holy kiss from either the bishop or his wife.

In baptism, Amish young people vow to maintain until death the *Ordnung* of the church. After baptism, the new church members have all the privileges and responsibilities of members of the *Gmay*. They will join in the reaffirma-

tion of church guidelines, the *Ordnung*, at *Ordnungsgmay* or council church. Two weeks later, they will join in fellowship with other church members to prepare for communion. In sharing communion, the Amish require that all members of the church community be in accord with each other. At the conclusion of the eight-hour communion service, members wash each other's feet, a reenactment of Jesus' example of humility.

The *Ordnung*, by creating community norms that all members of the community pledge at baptism to support, ties the community together. The Amish liken it to a *Zaan*, a fence, against the outside world; obedience to the *Ordnung* is a symbol of love for the church. Breaking the *Ordnung* threatens the community and may bring upon the offending individual the *Bann*, or excommunication, and *Meidung*, social shunning.

Shunning and excommunication are perhaps the hardest parts of Amish life—certainly the hardest part for outsiders to understand. If a member violates the baptismal vows, falls into sin, breaks the *Ordnung*, or refuses to heed the counsel and concern of the fellowship, then the individual must be excommunicated. Excommunication is viewed not as denying hope of salvation to the individual—only God could do that—but rather as a last attempt to convince the erring member to return to the church. If the individual does not repent, then, as the *Bann* declares, that individual has, by his own actions, taken himself outside the fellowship. *Meidung* adds to excommunication the pain of social avoidance; it requires members to cease all social and business relationships with the shunned person. Most Amish believe that the *Bann* and the *Meidung* contribute in a positive way to the unity and purity of the church by minimizing the threat posed by the offending individual and helping the *Gmay* to remain distinct and socially intact.

Ultimately, all church members seek to be resigned, to submit to God's will as expressed in the Bible and the *Ordnung*, and to achieve *Gelassenheit*, a term that, according to Sandra Cronk (1977), incorporates the personal attributes of *yieldedness* and *powerlessness*. To achieve *Gelassenheit*, to trust in God so completely that one questions nothing that befalls one, is the ultimate goal of every Amish individual. This humility and yieldedness of the individual are at the core of Amish identity and are expressed in a variety of ways, including but not limited to the size of head coverings, the presence or absence of indoor plumbing, and the color of buggies.

Social Organization

Although the *Ordnung* sets the guidelines, much of what is expected or allowed is learned daily by example and conversation in Amish society. Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner, and Nolt (2013, 14) note ten features that all Amish church communities have in common: rural residency, a German-based language for in-group interaction, formal education limited to eight grades, church services conducted in homes, small local congregations of worship, lay ministers, church-regulated dress (cf. Scott 1997), selective use of technol-

ogy, horse-and-buggy transportation (cf. Scott 1998), and nonparticipation in the military. Encoded in the *Ordnung*, these features are reinforced in a variety of ways in everyday life.

A primary means of reinforcing the basic features of Amish life is the worship service, which occurs in homes, usually every other week. Following an established rotation, each family takes its turn to host the service, preparing its home and cooking the communal dinner that the congregation will share. The written liturgy is archaic German, and spoken liturgy is Pennsylvania German. Church members are expected to marry within the church community or another baptized person in a fellowshipping congregation. Only in this way can the community ensure that families will adhere to the congregation's *Ordnung* and raise children to meet the expectations of the church community.

While the church service brings the community together in regular face-to-face interaction, the organization of Amish society further reinforces community ties. The Amish world is ordered on several levels (Kraybill 2001). The most intimate is that of the family and extended family, which play an important role in the visiting and daily interactional behavior of the Amish. Families also make up the *Gmay* or church district, which is the communing body of believers and generally consists of about twenty to forty households. The size of the church district is limited by the distance that can be easily traveled with horse and buggy and by the number of families. Several districts together are referred to as a settlement.

Most daily life goes on within the church district, which is the central unit of Amish authority. The church district is governed by a three-part ministry whose officials are chosen by a combination of democracy and faith. There is a deacon, whose responsibilities include assisting in marriage arrangements and seeing that the material needs of all in the community are met. Two to three ministers are responsible for preaching and counseling. Finally, there is a bishop, who performs marriages, baptisms, excommunications, and funerals. When a new minister (or deacon or bishop) is needed, all members of the church are consulted. Each is asked to nominate someone (a baptized male, married, and settled enough to be a stable leader). Those receiving two or more nominations (depending on the size of the congregation) take part in a lottery. In order of their age, each chooses a hymnal, and the one choosing the hymnal containing a slip of paper on which is written a Bible verse rises to church office. Each Amish person, thus, has a say in the spiritual stability of the church and, by extension, in the stability of the community as a whole.

As intimated earlier, each congregation has its own *Ordnung*, though some are more similar than others. When two or more congregations have similar *Ordnungen*, then they are in the same affiliation. Currently, there are around forty affiliations of Amish in North America (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner, and Nolt 2013, 139). The Amish do not have a national-level authority for religious matters.

The physical boundaries of the community are reinforced by language and dress. Pennsylvania German (*Deitsch*) is used for communication within the group (cf. Kraybill, Nolt, and Burdge, chapter 5 in this volume, and Louden, chapter 4 in this volume). To talk to outsiders, one uses English. Young children, who often do not begin to learn English until they enter school, are bashful in front of outsiders who communicate in a strange tongue. In many communities the Amish use English as the sole means of oral communication with other Amish only in schools; English ceases to be spoken when school is not in session, even if the break is just for recess. In other settlements, however, as members increasingly work for non-Amish employers, the role of English in the lives of the Amish is changing.

Dress, one of the most powerful symbols for the Amish, also distinguishes members of the *Gmay* from outsiders. Dress is highly complex, signaling not only one's membership in a particular group but also the responsibilities and privileges of different ages within the group. Plain clothing is not thought of as "Christian clothing" but as Amish clothing. Plain clothing is not believed essential to salvation, but to carry out the full will of God, nonconformity in dress is essential. Besides, the Amish think that if one's mind is on one's appearance, then it is not on things that matter. Before the nineteenth century, Amish styles were not, in fact, too different from those of the outside world. As ready-made clothing appeared, the Amish, sensing danger in letting the outside world dictate fashion, increasingly began to incorporate rules about dress in their *Ordnungen.* Plain dress now identifies the community of believers and gives the wearer a sense of belonging.

Although the dress of each Amish community differs from that of others, particularly if the communities do not fellowship with each other, some features are common to all. There is, for example, no tattooing or ear piercing. No jewelry is allowed except for medical purposes—copper rings for arthritis, for example. Women's hair is never cut, and a man's beard (which is allowed to grow after baptism or after marriage, depending on the group) is never trimmed—and he never grows a mustache (which would be too reminiscent of seventeenth and eighteenth century military styles). Men's hair length is an indication of group conservatism; the longer it is, the "lower" or more conservative the church community. In all groups, hooks and eyes are generally used for men's jackets. All Amish use buttons, but their use is generally restricted to children's clothing and work clothes. Women use straight pins to fasten their dresses (although some now use snaps on everyday dresses). Men's trousers are broadfall without a zipper but are generally held with buttons or hooks. Groups differ in whether suspenders are used and, if they are, whether there are two straps or one and, if two, whether they cross in an X or form an H in the back. Hats, like hair, distinguish one group from another. The wider the brim, the more conservative the group, and ministers wear hats with wider brims than those of others in the congregation. A boy gets his first hat when he starts wearing trousers. Among the most conser-

vative Amish groups, this is after being toilet trained—until then the young Amish gentleman is dressed like his sisters (minus the prayer cap).

Most affiliations have their own style of prayer cap, or head covering, for women. In some Amish groups, girls wear caps at all times. In others, only older girls wear caps all the time. The more conservative the group, the more of the head the cap will cover. The bonnet covers the cap and, again, differs from group to group. The cape and apron worn by all Amish females were originally for extra modesty. A cape is piece of fabric pinned to the waistline and drawn up over the shoulders. The color may match that of the dress, be a different solid color, or be black or white, depending on the group, age, and context (e.g., going to church or going to town). Hemlines are generally mid-calf but are longer in more conservative groups. Patterned fabric is never used, and in more conservative groups dark colors predominate.

There are other physical symbols marking one Amish group from another and from the outside. The Old Order Amish forbid automobile ownership. The Beachy Amish allow members to own cars, but they must paint them black; for this reason, the Beachy Amish (especially in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania) are also called the "Black Bumper Amish." Even here, however, there is variation and a lack of uniformity; some progressive Beachys allow darker-colored cars instead of all black (C. Anderson 2012; J. R. Brown 2011). Like Beachy Amish cars, buggy styles vary from group to group (fig. 7.2). In Lancaster County, the buggy tops are gray, while in Mifflin County, one can see white, yellow, and black buggies. Some buggies have rear windows and windshields, while others have neither. The buggies of the Swartzentruber Amish and the Troyer Amish are nearly identical, but the Swartzentruber Amish refuse to affix the orange slow moving triangle and, instead, outline the back of the buggy with gray reflecting tape.

Fig. 7.2. Amish buggy in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

The symbols of dress, transportation, behavior, and language unite the Plain people. They are of little meaning to the outside world; but, then, the symbols of the outside world mean little to the Amish. Amish children learn the symbols of their people and the values they represent not in school but through active participation in the life events of the community. The school, in fact, may play a rather marginal role in the community; it is where the child learns English, arithmetic and the other skills needed to survive in a world in which the Amish are a minority (cf. Dewalt 2006; S. Fisher and Stahl 1997; Johnson-Weiner 2007). The important lessons—how to manage the farm and the household, how to raise the children, how to be responsible and work hard—are generally learned at home, where children participate in work, play, and ceremony to the extent of their abilities. Young children take care of younger ones, and the older ones delight in being able to go on husking parties or to quilting bees. A "frolic" or work party in which members of the community come together to raise a barn, build a house, or butcher hogs is a time for learning not only how to perform tasks and enjoy them but also how to join in fellowship with others. As a result, the individual's place within the larger community fabric is further solidified. His or her work, although never praised, is important to the group. Commitment to faith is often shown without words. Prayer before and after meals is silent. Confronted with actions of which they disapprove or about which they can do nothing, the Amish often respond with silence. When asked to comment on their own actions or those of others, the answer is usually short and to the point: "That's just our way."

Conflict and Change

Although outsiders often believe that it is somehow stuck in time, Amish society is changing and dynamic, and the differences between affiliations can be striking. The Amish readily and actively engage with their faith each day, as they confront new technologies and changes in the dominant, surrounding society (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner, and Nolt 2013, 7). Traditionally, the Amish have tilled the earth. After all, as one Amish text put it, "Farming allows us to be part of the cycle of life, death, and renewal that God planned in his wisdom. In our daily contact with creation, we cannot help but stand in awe and wonder of God" (*1001 Questions and Answers on the Christian Life* 1992, 139). Key to understanding today's changing Amish world, however, is that fewer and fewer Amish are farmers (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner, and Nolt 2013, especially ch. 15).

Since the mid-twentieth century, as farmland has become increasingly scarce, especially in the larger settlements, the Amish commitment to an agriculturally based lifestyle has been challenged. The most conservative groups, who see work on the small family farm, with the shared labor and multigenerational interaction it fosters, as essential to an Amish life, have severely limited technology. Rather than change their *Ordnung* to permit

new occupations and social interactions, members of these communities have often chosen to move to regions where they can find cheap, available farmland. This has led to the founding of new settlements in states that had never before seen an Amish population, including Vermont, Maine, Montana, Colorado, and Wyoming (*Amish Population by State* 2016). Other Amish church communities, however, determining that, "the old patterns . . . [are] no longer viable" (Olshan 1993,145–46), have moved away from farming, permitted greater and more varied interaction with the non-Amish world, and adopted and adapted a variety of new technologies. These changes have had considerable impact on Amish lifestyle in the twenty-first century.

In short, the use of, or resistance to, technology and new patterns of social interaction reflects distinctly different Amish responses to changing social conditions and plays a key role in the construction of multiple and very diverse ways of being Amish. The result has been considerable differences in how Amish family life is maintained, how children are educated, how gender is constructed, and how material and career success is interpreted (Johnson-Weiner 2014). Indeed, historian Shawn F. Peters (2003) suggests that internal ideological differences may be more challenging to the Amish than external forces. He notes that, in the aftermath of the historic *Wisconsin v. Yoder* Supreme Court case in 1972, the Amish community in New Glarus, Wisconsin, suffered increased internal dissension and many, including defendant Jonas Yoder, moved away. As Peters (2003, 167–68) put it, "Over time, the colony centered in New Glarus had attracted both conservative and more progressive members of the faith. Though bound together by many core religious beliefs, conservatives and progressives sometimes failed to see eye to eye on such potentially divisive issues as the acceptability of modern technology."

Settlements composed of groups that have accommodated technology and the world differently can teach us much about migration, history, and identity. The Anabaptist community residing within the Kishacoquillas "Big" Valley, for example, supports churches along a wide continuum. Each group employs different symbols of identity and rituals to show group affiliation, while at the same time—in the geographic confines of a narrow Appalachian valley in central Pennsylvania—showing their differences from other affiliations (J. R. Brown 2010; Page and Brown 2007).

In her study of technological change in the Arthur, Illinois, Amish settlement, anthropologist Judith Nagata (1989, 125) found that "one result of Amish involvement in a highly specialized production with a growing emphasis on extreme commercialization lies in a changing ethic that pervades many aspects of their behavior." The Amish, she argued, had surrendered "some of their economic distinctiveness [and] are constantly walking the narrow tightrope between accommodation and separation" (142). They were still, Nagata asserted, committed to "most of the underlying principles . . . notably the core-value of separation," but, clearly, nonconformity was taking on new meaning. Nagata noted, in particular, changing religious atti-

tudes, commenting that "more conservative Amish," or "hard-core" Amish, "are generally intolerant of economic innovations." In contrast, she asserts, "those Amish who are more liberal in their support of technical innovations" support more "spontaneous and personal prayer," favor expanded education, and encourage more discussion of the faith (125). Although Nagata's study was completed decades ago, the implications of her research still resonate today.

Often one sign of dissatisfaction with the more conservative leaning of a group is a search for some assurance of salvation through attendance at prayer meetings or Bible study groups of more liberal churches. Assurance of salvation is a common rhetorical device in sermons, church publications, and hymnals of more progressive Anabaptist groups, even when those groups have strong familial and historical ties to the Old Order Amish (J. R. Brown 2011). For the Amish, to assert that one can be sure of salvation is not only tantamount to boasting but is also disruptive to the community. The Amish believe in the fundamental teachings of the Bible, but they are not fundamentalists.

A century ago many would have predicted that the Amish would not survive as a distinct cultural group. Even more recently, some scholars have written about the collapse of the Amish (especially in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania) due to pressures of popular culture (Glassie 1968b, 4). Nevertheless, today, scattered in clusters throughout thirty-one U.S. states and Canada, nearly 300,000 live the Amish way, double the population of only twenty years ago (*Amish Population Trends, 1992–2013: 21-Year Highlights* 2014). Amish communities are not exempt from deviation and rebellious individuals. Donald Kraybill's book, *Renegade Amish* (2014), for example, depicts the formation and trial of a cultlike Amish faction that terrorized other Amish who did not conform to their particular beliefs. Additionally, there are always those who choose not to join the Amish church. The percentage of Amish who do not join the Amish church or who leave after being baptized varies considerably. A survey of the Holmes County settlement found that nearly 40 percent of New Order Amish left the community, while only 2.6 percent left the far more conservative Andy Weaver group. In general, the more conservative the community, the higher the retention rate (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner, and Nolt 2013, 162–63). The Amish survive, in part, due to selective and carefully considered change (Kraybill and Olshan 1994), yet the enduring question about Amish survival remains. The assumption of modernization theory that popular culture displaces folk communities warrants further attention, particularly in the Amish context. Indeed, the social patterns of the Amish need further elaboration (S. Bronner 2005). Early Amish scholar John Hostetler claimed that the Amish lived in a redemptive community with a social contract that bound together the members of the group. His student Donald B. Kraybill added the idea of social capital to account for the maintenance of harmony through that social contract. In light of the

many Amish affiliations, schisms, and the Bergholz hate crimes (Kraybill 2014), further examination of how the Amish handle dissent is needed.

The costs of being Amish are high. As pacifists, they are easy prey for some. In several communities, for example, Amish have been injured by speeding motorists or by rocks thrown at their carriages. Many Amish went to jail in their struggle for separate schools; and, more recently, others have been jailed or fined for their resistance to zoning laws or traffic regulations (e.g., refusal to affix the orange slow-moving-vehicle triangle to their buggies). The Amish appreciate the necessity of government and view rebellion as un-Christian, yet they will not allow the government to assume the functions of conscience. They pay taxes, yet they will not collect social security or any other kind of financial benefit from the government. They generally do not go to court on their own initiative to settle disputes, for to use any kind of coercion, legal or otherwise, must be avoided. Like the martyrs in the *Martyrs Mirror* and the family of the Hochstetler massacre, members must suffer injustices rather than resort to physical force or legal remedies.

But if the costs of being Amish are high, so too are the benefits. From our own observations, the Amish life is one with many earthly rewards. The Amish child is born into a welcoming family and is taught early on his or her importance to the family and to the community. The Amish acquire from the community a sense of who they are, where they have come from, and where they are or should be going. They know that their needs will be taken care of and that they will contribute to their community. They see the value of work and have the joy of working first with parents and grandparents and then with children and grandchildren. In times of need, the entire community is there for support. If someone is sick or a barn burns down, then the community will come together to donate labor, money, and social and spiritual support. The Amish learn the joy of working together, and every opportunity, from a quilting bee to a silo filling, is a chance for visiting and recreation. As John Hostetler (1983, 46) points out, "They enjoy the satisfaction of harvest, the simplicity of their home furnishings, orderliness on their farms, and perhaps not least of all, the pleasure of a good meal."

The durability of these simple, everyday enjoyments have often proved astounding to many. In advising the graduate research of Gertrude Enders Huntington, one of the first to engage in scholarly study of the Amish, noted cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead challenged Huntington to investigate Amish meal menus. They must indulge in pickles and sours at some point in their lives, Mead argued; everything (food and otherwise) was far too sweet (Getrude Huntington Papers 2011).

The Amish world is made of dense networks, continually reaffirmed and nurtured. In many ways it rejects mainstream society's values and aspirations. At the same time, many in the mainstream idealize the Amish way of life, labeling it "peaceful" and "plain" and fitting the Amish into our cultural stereotypes: pioneers; individualists; wise, mysterious, spiritual folks;

back-to-land environmentalists. The Amish seem to provide mainstream North Americans a living picture of the past in the face of a challenging future. But because the rules, practices, and values of the Amish life differ profoundly from those of the dominant society, they challenge those in the mainstream to come to terms with their own religious beliefs and secular lives.

Mainstream society cannot forget that the Amish are fellow citizens, with virtues and vices like anyone else. The Amish do not study their religion, read learned texts, debate biblical scholarship. Theirs is a lived faith, expressed in the actions of dressing, cooking, lighting lamps, and pumping water. Amish persons acquire from their church community a sense of who they are, where they come from, and where they should be going. Their quiet dignity in the face of rapid change and increasing individualism outside their religious fencing continues to puzzle, attract, and challenge outsiders.

Because of the perception of the Amish as an unusual community in American life, they have been largely approached sociologically by the outside world, although there are historical treatments of Plain groups, often intended for a Mennonite audience. Some of these works on the Amish have a popular as well as scholarly component, which has had an influence on cultural inquiry. In the twenty-first century, cutting-edge work on the Amish includes the following examples of interdisciplinary research.

Work on *popular and media studies* includes Valerie Weaver-Zercher's study of Amish-themed romance fiction, *Thrill of the Chaste* (2013), which offers important insights into cultural appropriation, evangelical outreach, and the interaction between text, reader, culture, production, marketing, and consumption. Susan Trollinger's *Selling the Amish: The Tourism of Nostalgia* (2012) explores Amish country tourism. In need of further exploration is the changing nature of those representations, especially in the context of other groups. Most often when such comparisons exist, the Amish are portrayed in the context of related groups and not with other sectarian religious ethnicities, such as the Hasidim. Additionally, literary scholars interested in exile and émigré narratives may find interesting connections by engaging with texts written by ex-Amish (e.g., Furlong 2011; Garrett and Farrant 2001). The significance of baptism, for example, stands out not only as major symbolic life event for each Amish person but also for the ex-Amish in their narratives about choosing to leave the faith.

Some works on the Amish may concern *gender studies*. Although several texts written by Amish women relate their experiences (Davis 1997; Stoltzfus 1994), these publications are not meant to engage critically with gender and feminist theories (cf. J. R. Brown 2017; Cong 1998; Johnson-Weiner 2001). Indeed, some critics state that the romanticization in both popular and scholarly texts about the Amish wash over women's issues, crime, and domestic abuse (cf. K. Schmidt, Umble, and Reschly 2002).

Interdisciplinary work on the Amish also includes research on *changing practices*. The field of Amish studies has benefited from several memoir-type books on the work of doctors who have served the Amish, as well as from

studies on genetics. Important work on the coping of Amish communities with medical technologies and legal ramifications—topics often seized upon by mainstream media—are areas of great scholarly promise. James Cates's recent book, *Serving the Amish* (2014), provides a timely manual for professionals, including social workers, who have Amish clients. Yet, as more conservative groups increasingly run afoul of various regulations concerning zoning, the impact of fracking on farming, food production, and child labor, the facilitation of Amish and non-Amish interaction is broadening. Examination of the Amish as a contemporary ethnicity with relations to Pennsylvania German traditions is a prominent trajectory in "new" Pennsylvania German Studies. In studying the Amish beyond their practices, but in their representation and mediation to outsiders, the increasing "colonization" outside of the Pennsylvania homeland and the changing nature of survival of the group are important to understanding the role of Pennsylvania Germans in the twenty-first century.

8 Literature

SHEILA ROHRER

The topic of Pennsylvania German literature is often confined to a discussion of the body of works written in Pennsylvania German. However, as Earl J. Robacker (1943, 2) notes in *Pennsylvania German Literature*, this area of study is "complicated by the fact that three languages are involved: English, High German, and the Pennsylvania German dialect." Robacker goes on to develop a survey of the literature in all three languages from 1683 to 1942; nevertheless, the emphasis of his text is on Pennsylvania German writings (Haag 1988; Reichard 1940). This chapter seeks to enlarge upon the work of Robacker and others by looking primarily at English-language texts by or about Pennsylvania Germans in context with contemporaneous German and Pennsylvania German dialect works. Additionally, I focus on writings from the eighteenth century through the modern period, including contemporary works of Mennonite poetry, Amish romance novels, and children's books. I define literature in its broadest sense as the "body of written works of a language, period, or culture" (*American Heritage Dictionary*). As such, I include both popular and traditional "literary" forms of prose and poetry.

Writing in the Colonial and New Republic Eras

Linguists believe Pennsylvania German developed during the mid- to late eighteenth century (M. Gingerich and Good 1989; Haag [1982] 2001; Louden 2016). However, literature in Pennsylvania German, principally an oral language, did not occur until the 1830s to 1840s (Haag 1988; Robacker 1943). Therefore, the writings in the colonial period are in German, English, and other European languages and dialects (Erben 2002). Much of the literature from the earliest period of German migration to Pennsylvania (1683–1730) takes the form of descriptive travelogues and promotional tracts—the primary method for circulating information about the colony to Europeans. Not only did Pennsylvania's proprietors actively recruit German-speaking settlers, but religious leaders interested in creating settlements of spiritually like-minded colonists in America also wrote promotional tracts and pamphlets. They painted idealized pictures of the colony, emphasizing the

availability of cheap, fertile land and the promise of religious toleration (Beiler 2004). Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651–c. 1720), the son of a German government official and founder of Germantown, the first permanent German settlement in Pennsylvania in 1683, deserves special attention when examining these early writings. Armed with an elite European education and a law degree, Pastorius arrived in Pennsylvania as the land agent for a group of Frankfort Pietists. Pastorius took on several different roles in Pennsylvania, including author, gardener, scribe, and translator, while also acting as a liaison to William Penn. He wrote several books and pamphlets including promotional materials, the first antislavery tract, treatises on horticulture, the law, and medicine, children's primers, poetry, and a commonplace book titled the *Alvearialia* or "The Beehive." Much of his work is in manuscript form and, in recent years, has become the focus of scholarship looking at the role of print culture and manuscript writing in early America, as well as the ways in which unity was or was not achieved among Pennsylvania's diverse groups of immigrants. Pastorius's work also provides an opportunity for comparative studies in looking at the ways in which knowledge was transferred across the Atlantic to the New World (Erben 2002; Robacker 1943).

Another early promoter of Penn's colony is Pietist Daniel Falckner, who journeyed to Pennsylvania in 1694. He returned to Europe shortly before 1700 with a report about Pennsylvania and the state of the German settlers. He published *Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania* (1702) at the behest of Pietist leaders in Halle, who were considering sending settlers to Pennsylvania. Like other writers trying to entice potential immigrants, Falckner emphasizes Pennsylvania's fecundity, where fruit was plentiful and "grew like weeds," and the colony's religious toleration in which "all sects except the Jews . . . are granted the free exercise of their religion" (Beiler 2004, 20). As historian Rosalind Beiler (2004, 20) notes, "religious toleration was a critical incentive in the earliest years of German-speaking migration when a range of Protestant groups, including Mennonites, Quakers, and Pietists, were being harassed, imprisoned, and banished from many German states." Falckner's and Pastorius's affiliations with persecuted sects provided them with a vested interest in securing settlements in Pennsylvania that offered religious freedom. Their German-language promotional literature, as well as the writings of other religious leaders, proved to be an essential component in generating German migration to Pennsylvania.

Printing presses that operated in Pennsylvania during the colonial period churned out German-language newspapers, religious materials, and almanacs. The first German-language newspapers include Benjamin Franklin's short-lived *Die Philadelphische Zeitung* (1738) and Christopher Sauer's *Der Hoch Deutsch Pennsylvanisch Geschichts Schreiber* (est. 1739). Christopher Sauer (1695–c. 1753/58) arrived in Philadelphia in 1724 and eventually settled in Lancaster County with his family. A tailor by trade, he assumed several other occupations, including printer. In addition to the German newspaper, Sauer published a yearly almanac (*Der Hoch-Deutsch Americanische Calendar*, 1738),

bibles, and a book of hymns for Conrad Beissel, the founder of the mystical Pietist community at Ephrata, Lancaster County (Adam 2005; Robacker 1943). In a world with few means of spreading information and poor transportation networks, newspapers served as a vital means of communication for all colonial inhabitants, as well as a medium for cultural and ideological expression. In this context, German-language newspapers became the most widely read material (after the Bible and hymnals) in Pennsylvania German households. By 1800, German newspapers had sprung up in Reading, Hagerstown, Hanover, York, Easton, and Lancaster; and before the Civil War all areas in eastern Pennsylvania had them (R. Wood 1942, 133–36). These newspapers continued to play a pivotal role in the maintenance of Pennsylvania German traditions and customs, and in the nineteenth century they served as the primary medium for dialect writing.

The religious writings of the colonial period provide evidence of the variety of sects and groups that made Pennsylvania their home. John Kelpius (1673–1708), a mystical philosopher and Pietist born in Transylvania, emigrated to Pennsylvania with a band of followers in 1694. A millennialist who believed that the rapture was near and would occur in Pennsylvania, Kelpius built a cave and a meetinghouse—the Tabernacle—along the banks of the Wissahickon (now Philadelphia's Fairmount Park) in which to worship and wait for the divine event. His followers became a self-sufficient community practicing astronomy, botany, and horticulture and attracted local attention for their peculiar dress and hermetic lifestyle. Kelpius kept a journal, in Latin, the *Diarium*; a travel account of his Atlantic crossing; and manuscripts of hymns and verses (Robacker 1943, 28). Other religious writings from this period include the works of Conrad Beissel (1691–1768), the charismatic religious leader of the semimonastic group at the Ephrata Cloister in Lancaster County. Beissel encouraged his followers to lead an ascetic, celibate lifestyle, although some of the members were married. The community became known for its music, *Frakturschriften* (a German form of calligraphy), and its printing press, which published poems, mystical pieces, hymns, and music, including Beissel's treatise on music *Das Gesäng der einsamen und Verlassenen Turtel-Taub, nemlich der Christlichen Kirche* (1747). Beissel also published the German edition of the *Martyrs Mirror* (1748), the text that documents the stories and testimonies of Christians, particularly Anabaptists, who suffered religious persecution after the Reformation (Robacker 1943, 30).

Early American novelists used Pennsylvania Germans as their subjects. Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810) draws upon the lore of the mystical group of Johannes Kelpius (see chapter 2 in this volume, on religion) for his novel *Wieland* (1798), one of the first pieces of fiction to include Pennsylvania German characters. Brown, a writer and editor, was born into a Philadelphia Quaker family and was familiar with the history of the Wissahickon religious sect. *Wieland*, an early example of a romantic gothic novel, tells the story of siblings Clara and Theodore Wieland whose father was a German

immigrant who created his own religious sect. Set before the Revolutionary War, the novel serves as a negative critique of religious fanaticism and German pietism. Literary critic Sydney Krause analyzes the strong anti-German sentiment found in the novel. The Wielands' father, for example, exhibits "all the *sturm und drang* of German prototypes" and takes a vow of obedience to German Pietism that ultimately leads to his death and tragedy for his children. Furthermore, Brown's German characters maintain their language and cultural traditions, making them seem exotic in the larger Anglo world of Philadelphia (Krause 2004).

Fifty years after Brown's *Wieland*, George Lippard (1822–54), a novelist, journalist, and social activist, has more of a Pennsylvania German perspective in his novel *Paul Ardenheim: The Monk of the Wissakikon* (1848). Lippard, born near Yellow Springs, in West Nantmeal Township, Chester County, grew up in Germantown. Reared by his German-speaking grandfather, he lived near the Wissahickon and the sites of Revolutionary War battles that serve as the settings and inspirations for his writings. An extremely popular writer during the antebellum period and a friend of Edgar Allan Poe, Lippard promoted socialist political ideals and used his literature as a means to effect social change. He wrote gothic tales and historical romances and was one of the most widely read authors in antebellum America. He founded a secret benevolent society, Brotherhood of the Union, a forerunner to labor organizations, which survived until 1994. Like Brown, he knew the legends and superstitions surrounding Johannes Kelpius and the Wissahickon sect and incorporated them into his gothic tale *Paul Ardenheim*. Lippart's story follows a series of strange occurrences in which he connects the American Revolution to events that occurred in seventeenth-century Germany and links George Washington to the Monk of Wissahickon. In contrast to Brown's negative depiction of Pietism, Lippard considers Kelpius's vision of a unified brotherhood to be a belief worthy of emulation. As such, he weaves together the secular ideals of the American Revolution with the religious ideals of the Wissahickon monks (Seecamp 1970).

The customs of the Moravians also served as an area of interest for nineteenth-century writers. Charlotte B. Mortimer, the daughter of a Moravian minister, authored *Bethlehem and Bethlehem School* (1858), a work about her experience as a student at the Moravian Female Seminary in Bethlehem, and *Marrying by Lot* (1868), a fictional tale about the Moravian custom of choosing marriage partners by a lottery (Robacker 1943, 57). Wolcott Balestier (1861–91), a New York writer, penned *A Victorious Defeat* (1886), a romantic novel that also revolves around the Moravian custom of marrying by lot. The plot focuses on a love triangle involving a young Englishman, Owen March, and John Keator, a Moravian minister, who both love Constance van Cleef. The lottery decrees that Constance should marry John Keator, but he renounces her so she can be free to marry March, the man she really loves (Robacker 1943, 110).

Dialect Literature

The most significant body of Pennsylvania German writings emerges after the Civil War, according to Robacker (1943, 72), "in an effort to employ the lowly, everyday dialect as a language of culture, and thus perpetuate the memory of a way of life which seemed in great danger of being lost." In other words, fear that their unique cultural and ethnic identity was slipping away amid societal changes including mass immigration, industrialization, and urbanization provided the impetus for putting the Pennsylvania German language into literary forms. For the most part, highly educated, professional men—teachers, lawyers, ministers, and doctors—penned most of the Pennsylvania German dialect literature for a Pennsylvania German–speaking audience (Haag 1988, 49–54; Robaker 1943, 80–81; R. Wood 1942). The writers sought to prove that the dialect could serve as a vehicle for literature and counter the belief that the language was inferior to German and English. They argued that the dialect was a more authentic expression of their "folk" culture and was "wonderfully resourceful in expression, and capable of sublimest pathos" (Haag 2010). The nostalgic themes of much of the Pennsylvania German dialect literature—reflections upon childhood memories and ruminations on farm and rural life, religious traditions, and customs—reflect this desire to preserve their way of life. According to Henry Hess Reichard, Pennsylvania German literature provides a "picture of how the Pennsylvania Germans live, think and feel" (Haag 1988, 25). Earlier dialect works consist of short stories, anecdotes, and poetry. Letters to the editor that appeared in local German newspapers were especially popular. And, as Holger Kersten (2000) explores in his study, the Pennsylvania German letter writers were not unique but part of a larger phenomenon in which dialect letter writing exploded in the last decades of the nineteenth century. African Americans, Native Americans, and Irish Americans, as well as Germans, sought to legitimize their language and culture through newspaper writings. Dialect writing gave these authors the opportunity to present another facet of American life that otherwise would have remained obscured to the dominant culture. Like the Pennsylvania German letter writers, other dialect writers used satire and gentle humor to comment on American life, society, and experience.

One of the more prominent letter writers is Thomas Hess Harter (1854–1933), who was born in Centre County. His popular *Boonastiel* letters and book of the same name are some of the more famous works of Pennsylvania German literature. The lighthearted, humorous letters offered commentary and criticism on Pennsylvania German culture, politics, and contemporary American life (Haag 1988, 114; Robacker 1943, 99–100). Edward Henry Rauch (1820–1902), a Lancaster County journalist and newspaper publisher, is another well-known Pennsylvania German letter writer. He wrote under the pen name "Pit Schwefflebrenner." A strong advocate for the preservation of the Pennsylvania German culture, Rauch, an ardent Republican, also expressed

his political viewpoint in his writings. Similar to other nineteenth-century dialect writers, Rauch received much criticism for using English words in his dialect works, a practice that was seen as a less authentic representation of the language and contributing to negative perceptions and stereotypes of the "dumb Dutch" (Haag 1988, 20–21, 40; Robacker 1943, 94). However, Kersten (2000, 108) argues that writers who employed dialect forms incorporating English did so as a deliberate discursive strategy; in other words, their work can be seen as a "meeting point of two linguistic systems," a device that gave Anglo audiences a different perspective and aesthetic. Rauch's *A Pennsylvania Dutch Handbook* (1879), which aimed to educate English speakers in Pennsylvania German culture and the dialect, seems to support this assertion (Robacker 1943, 111–12).

Pennsylvania German dialect authors begin to publish books of poetry and prose in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Henry Harbaugh (1817–67), a minister and religious scholar, who also wrote works in English, published his poetry in the *Guardian*, a monthly church periodical that he edited until his death. His book of poems, *Harbaugh's Harfe*, published posthumously, is a nostalgic look at Pennsylvania German family, school, and church (Robacker 1943, 77). Known as the "father of dialect verse," Harbaugh's first poem "Das alt Schulhaus an der Krick" (The old schoolhouse at the creek) (1861) quickly became the best-loved and most reproduced dialect poem (Haag 1988, 33). Rachel Bahn (1829–1902), one of the few women dialect writers of this period and relative of Harbaugh, published *Poems* in 1869, a collection of 131 English works that are "religiously reflective in tone" and 10 dialect poems that focus on the themes of nature and the seasons (Robacker 1943, 80). Another writer who published in both English and the Pennsylvania German dialect is Louise Adeline Weitzel (1862–1934). Born in Green Bay, Wisconsin, she moved to Lititz, Lancaster County, as a young child. A member of the Moravian Church, she served as a correspondent and associate editor of the *Lititz Express*. Preston A. Barba (1883–1971), known for his Pennsylvania German column "'S Pennsylfawnisch Deitsch Eck" published in the Allentown *Morning Call*, printed Weitzel's work. Her Pennsylvania German dialect poems were collected in a book—*Shpectakel* (1931). She also published an English book of poetry, *A Quiver of Arrows* (1908).

The dialect poetry of the nineteenth century focuses on the themes of nature, the seasons, holiday celebrations, everyday experiences of the ordinary person, and the pleasures of simple, rural living. Harbaugh, Bahn, and other Pennsylvania German poets were contemporaries of Longfellow, Whitman, Whittier, and Emerson—nationally recognized authors of their time. Writers of this period focused on uniquely American places, nature, events, and people, and significantly the "common man." Additionally, they had a desire to connect current experience with America's historical past. In fact, John Greenleaf Whittier wrote a poem, *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim* (1872), about Germantown founder, Francis Daniel Pastorius. Whittier's poem draws parallels between New England's mythologized Pilgrims and Pennsylvania's Ger-

man sectarian immigrants, who, in a similar mission, are "pilgrims from the Fatherland" seeking to "understand the New World's promise." It is within this larger context that Pennsylvania German literature was created. These nostalgic themes persist after the Civil War. According to Robacker (1943, 88), by 1890 dialect poems demonstrate little deviation from traditional themes. When looking at the historical context, the propensity for Pennsylvania German dialect writers to create works of reminiscence and nostalgia is not really surprising. As noted earlier, the dynamic cultural changes of the period—westward settlement and the closing of the "frontier," mass immigration, urbanization, agitation for social reform, and technological advancements—produced a yearning for the "way things used to be" or the "simple life." Regional novelists during this period also wrote nostalgically about what they perceived to be vanishing cultures and ways of life—authors such as Bret Harte and Owen Wistar, who featured the West and cowboys, and Mark Twain, who wrote about the Mississippi region.

Local Color

Local color, a type of regional writing that flourished after the Civil War, focuses on vernacular cultures and celebrated America's ethnic and cultural diversity (Hill 2009, 27). Setting, dialect, customs, and the way of life of a particular area are prominent features of this genre. The genre also offered women a relatively acceptable public voice in which to express their perspectives and contest social norms, including Sarah Orne Jewett and Harriet Beecher Stowe, who wrote about New England, and Kate Chopin, who wrote about the South. Local-color writers played an important role in bringing America's different ethnic and cultural groups to a national audience. Most Pennsylvania German dialect writers, for example, lacked a readership outside of their localities (Robacker 1943, 92). Furthermore, the dialect presented an obvious barrier to potential English-language readers. Local-color writers, such as Elsie Singmaster (1879–1958), who wrote about the Pennsylvania German residents of Millerstown (present-day Macungie), and Helen Reimensnyder Martin (1868–1939), who wrote about Lancaster County's Amish and Mennonite sects, engaged a national readership. In fact, a prominent theme that develops in Pennsylvania German literature during the twentieth century is a tension between writers from the Pennsylvania German community attempting to dispel stereotypes and misconceptions and non–Pennsylvania German writers or those with tenuous ties mediating this ethnic group for a diverse array of purposes.

The creation of the Pennsylvania German Society (PGS) in 1891 illustrates the community's sense that it had a unique cultural identity that needed to be preserved and protected. The society's mission was stated as "the collection and preservation of all landmarks and records relating to the early German and Swiss immigrants to Pennsylvania, and the development of a friendly and fraternal spirit among all united by the ties of a common ances-

try" (Robacker 1943, 75). Shortly thereafter, in 1899, the *Pennsylvania German Magazine*, "devoted to the history, biography, poetry, folklore and general interests of the immigrant Germans and their descendants in Pennsylvania," was established (Robacker 1943, 75–76). Some of the first attempts to explain Pennsylvania German culture to outsiders include a series published by the PGS called *Pennsylvania: The German Influence in Its Settlement and Development, a Narrative and Critical History* (1898); *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-Called Pennsylvania Dutch* (1901) by Oscar Kuhns; and *The German Element in the United States: With Special Reference to its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence* (1909) by Dr. Albert Faust (Glatfelter in Hill 2009, ix–x). These efforts not only aimed to educate non–Pennsylvania Germans but also served to place Pennsylvania German history into the larger American narrative.

Additionally, leaders in the Pennsylvania German community wanted to combat the negative prototype of the backward, uneducated, and unsophisticated German rube—the "dumb Dutchman." As such, the PGS targeted the local-color writings of Helen Reimensnyder Martin (1868–1939). Born in Lancaster, Martin was the daughter of an immigrant German father who was a Lutheran pastor. She studied at Swarthmore and Radcliffe colleges and married Frederick C. Martin in 1899. She held progressive viewpoints and advocated for women's and children's rights. In an era when women lacked political and civil rights, Martin turned to writing as a means to express her social and ideological positions. She published thirty-five novels and short stories from 1896 to 1939. The Pennsylvania Germans and their culture serve as the subject of several of her books in which she created negative stereotypes that became fixed in the reading public's imagination (Hill 2009, xiii; Robacker 1943, 124–25).

In her study of Martin, Beverly Seaton (1980) argues that Martin used the Pennsylvania Germans as a device to critique society and advance her feminist ideology because they were an ethnic group that remained unfamiliar to most Americans. Thus, she could "safely" express her controversial message in the public sphere. Her best-known work, *Tillie: A Mennonite Maid* (1904), features many of the stereotypes that characterize her works—Pennsylvania German women who are drudges oppressed by a patriarchal society and tyrannical Pennsylvania German men who are brutish, ignorant, and greedy. Tillie, like all of Martin's female protagonists, escapes her repressive culture by getting an education and making her own money. Martin's novels were extremely popular (*Tillie* was reprinted at least twenty times), and two of her books that did not feature the Pennsylvania Germans, *The Snob* (1929) and *The Parasite* (1925), became movies.

Writing in the same period as Martin, Elsie Singmaster, born in Schuylkill Haven, Schuylkill County, also used the local-color genre in her fictional tales of the Pennsylvania Germans. Like Martin's father, Singmaster's father, the Reverend John Alden Singmaster (1852–1926), was a Lutheran minister. She studied briefly at West Chester State Teacher's College and Cornell Universi-

ty and received an undergraduate degree from Radcliffe College in 1907. After three years of marriage to Harold S. Lewars, she became a widow in 1915 and lost her only child at birth a mere two months after her husband's death. Between the years 1905 and 1950, she published more than 300 articles and about forty books (Hill 2009, xi; Robacker 1943, 127). Most of her books that feature the residents of Millerstown were published between 1905 and 1920, the highpoint of local-color writing (Hill 2009, 30). In addition to the works about Pennsylvania Germans, she also wrote several books dealing with historical topics, including the Battle of Gettysburg, the Protestant Reformation, and the American Revolution. Susan Colestock Hill (2009, xii) explains that Singmaster wanted to portray her Pennsylvania German friends and family in a fair, credible manner. Therefore, gentler and more sympathetic characters people her writings compared to those found in Martin's books. Many of Singmaster's Pennsylvania German stories focus on children and young adults. In fact, her children's book, *When Sarah Saved the Day* (1910), is the first to feature Pennsylvania German children as characters (Robacker 1943, 128). Singmaster's first adult novel using Pennsylvania German characters is *Katy Gaumer* (1915). In this work, as in subsequent stories, Singmaster chose to create resolute, morally strong characters who are concerned with maintaining family values and traditional American ideals. Additionally, her female protagonists are women like herself—fulfilling traditional roles yet challenging the social norms of the times (Hill 2009, 13–14, 19).

After World War I, Singmaster focuses on writings about the Amish and Mennonite sects living in Lancaster County. Her volume of short stories, *Bred in the Bone* (1925), highlights the peace and simplicity of sectarian living, and her female Anabaptist characters are the "quintessential regional heroines"—rural, living close to nature, and self-sacrificing for their families and communities (Hill 2009, 41). Indeed, Singmaster seems to have viewed Lancaster's Plain sects as modern-day Pilgrims when she writes to her publisher at Houghton Mifflin about their simple way of life: "You New Englanders simply would not believe your eyes if you could see some of our Amish and Mennonite people" (Hill 2009, 15). The desire to reach back to America's idealized agrarian past—an era untainted by modernity—with representations of the Amish and Mennonites becomes a repeating theme in Pennsylvania German literature throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In the "The Courier of the Czar" (1924), a tale that won the O. Henry Short Story Award, Singmaster sets up the conflict between modernity and the simple life with a story about Improved Mennonite sisters, Tilly and Betsey Shindledecker. The women, who lead a quiet, plain life, read only traditional Anabaptist materials—the Bible, the *Martyrs Mirror*, hymnals, and almanacs. But when a "worldly" doctor comes to treat Tilly's failing eyesight, he leaves behind a copy of Jules Verne's *The Courier of the Czar*. Betsey reads the book, a novel filled with war, adventure, and violence, to Tilly. The sisters take pleasure in the book, creating a moral and spiritual dilemma in which they seek to find redemption through confession of their guilt to church members.

For readers outside the Anabaptist community, it would be hard to connect or relate to the sisters' lives and predicaments. However, according to Hill (2009, 15), Singmaster mediates the "strangeness" by introducing universal themes into her stories. This literary ability made Singmaster's works popular, believable, and relatable to readers of her time.

Hill (2009, 30) argues that local-color writers were among the first to merge the nation's "official" myths of origin and identity with "unofficial folk experiences." The attention to detail and a sense of accuracy in the descriptions of the characters and settings gave local-color stories a sense of realism and an air of authenticity. The relatively unknown Pennsylvania Germans provided inspiration and plenty of material for a number of writers during this period. In addition to Singmaster's novels, other works include *Hearts Contending* (1910), a regional tale of the Blue Mountains in Berks County, by Katherine Riegel Loose (1877–1961), writing under the pseudonym of Georg Schock; *Hearts' Haven* (1910), a novel of the Rappist community in Harmony, Pennsylvania, by Katharine Evans Blake; *The House of the Black Ring* (1905 and 1916), a mystery story with a Pennsylvania German setting, by Fred Lewis Pattee; *The House of Bondage* (1910), a tale with a rural Lancaster County setting, by Reginald Wright Kauffman; and *Patchwork* (1920), a story about the everyday life of Lancaster County's Amish in Lancaster, by Anna Balmer Myers (Robacker 1943, 131– 33).

The Folk Movement

The popularity of the local-color genre waned in the 1920s as Americans began to view the stories as anachronistic and irrelevant (Hill 2009, 29). Rapid technological innovations, American involvement in World War I, and the Great Depression produced social and cultural upheaval that created uncertainty and complicated everyday life. With World War II looming on the horizon, Americans looked for ways to reaffirm their ideals and stand in unity against Hitler and the Nazis. Within this context, Americans developed a renewed interest in the nation's diversity and its folk cultures (Hill 2009, 43). This interest can be seen in the founding of magazines like *Antiques* (1922) and the *American Collector* (1934). Preston A. Barba's weekly Pennsylvania German column in the Allentown *Morning Call*, "'S Pennsylfawnisch Deitsch Eck," was reprinted and distributed around the country. In 1935 the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society was established, and in 1939 the periodical *American-German Review* appeared (Robacker 1943, 145). Pennsylvania Germans participated in the national folk movement with the creation of the Grundsow (Groundhog) Lodge movement in 1934, a fraternal organization devoted to the preservation of Pennsylvania German culture and tradition that meets each year on February 2—Groundhog Day. The annual reunions called *Fersammlinge* (gatherings), which feature traditional Pennsylvania German food, music, and entertainment, increased in southeastern Pennsylvania after World War I.

This widespread folk movement served as a vehicle in which to portray America's past and its ideals. By celebrating America's ethnic and cultural diversity, Americans reconstructed their past, their origins, and reaffirmed the ideals of democracy, toleration, and freedom. Likewise, regional writers from this period portrayed localized settings and cultures more naturalistically and less "sentimentally" than earlier local-color authors. Pennsylvania German writer Cornelius Weygandt (1871–1957), a friend of the renowned poet and author Robert Frost, authored more than eighteen books. Born in Germantown, Pennsylvania, Weygandt, a professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania, drew upon his Pennsylvania German heritage for his book, *The Red Hills* (1928), a series of ten essays about his personal experiences. A second book, *The Wissahickon Hills* (1930), details the flora and fauna of Pennsylvania (Parker 2001; Robacker 1943, 148). In *The Foolscap Rose* (1934), Joseph Hergesheimer (1880–1954), also born in Germantown, uses the prominent Rittenhouse family of his birthplace to tell a tale about decadent living among the wealthy.

Ann Hark (1891–1971) stands out as an important woman regionalist writer. She authored several pieces using Pennsylvania German themes that were published in periodicals such as the *Ladies Home Journal*, the *Country Gentleman*, and the *Smart Set*. Her works include *Hex Marks the Spot in Pennsylvania Dutch Country* (1938), a collection of essays in which she seeks to provide accurate information about Pennsylvania German symbols and customs, such as hex signs; powwowing; and language, food, and religious traditions (Robacker 1943, 149–50).

Literature by and about Amish and Mennonite Groups

Like many of the nineteenth-century writers, these authors sought to counter negative images of the Pennsylvania Germans as country bumpkins who were opposed to progress. They wanted to bring a truer picture, an "insider's view," of Pennsylvania German culture to the public. One such author, Joseph Yoder (1872–1956), a Mennonite author, wrote his book *Rosanna of the Amish* (1940), a semifictional account of his mother's life and his own, to counter the negative images about Old Order Amish culture (Kasdorf 2002, 137; Nolt 2003). Beginning in the 1930s, the Amish began to capture the attention of a national audience on a grand scale with articles and short stories appearing in widely circulated magazines, journals, and newspapers, in addition to popular books. Before this time, writers often grouped the Amish together with other German sectarians or with the Pennsylvania Germans in general. Other than language and a simpler mode of dress, the Amish appeared to be little different from their "English" neighbors in the nineteenth century. Industrialization, urbanization, and the technological developments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, set the stage for the emerging cultural divide between the Amish and the non-Amish (Kraybill 2001). Amish resistance to modern technology and shunning of higher edu-

cation led to misrepresentations and negative stereotyping of the Plain sects in some writings, including the works of Helen Reimensnyder Martin, as noted earlier.

Joseph Yoder's reading of the novel *Straw in the Wind* (1937) by Ruth Lininger, an unflattering depiction of an Amish community in Indiana, directly inspired him to pen his own works, *Rosanna of the Amish* (1940) and *Rosanna's Boys* (1948). Yoder, born into an Amish family in Belleville, Pennsylvania, in the Kishacoquillas Valley, received a traditional Amish education supplemented by one of the "singing schools" that became popular during the 1890s. He also graduated from the Brethren Normal School (now Juniata College) and attended Elkhart Institute (now Goshen College) in Indiana and Northwestern University in Illinois. Yoder taught English and music, worked as a college recruiter for Juniata College, and organized and conducted singing schools for Mennonites throughout Pennsylvania. A lifelong bachelor, he married Emily Lane late in life at the age of sixty. Kasdorf (2002) classifies Yoder's *Rosanna* books as auto-ethnographies, an exceptional designation as the Amish are reluctant to take on such a public voice. According to Yoder, his Irish-American mother, Rosanna, is orphaned as a child and adopted by an Amish woman. Rosanna grows up in the Amish community and marries Crist Yoder—the author's father (21–22). As Kasdorf explains, Yoder's constructed identity is dualistic yet complimentary—the merry Irish side explains his departure from Amish tradition and provides him with a contrast to highlight the differences in the austere Amish culture (29–30).

At this time, most Anabaptist writing in Pennsylvania consisted of religious, devotional, and historical literature (Kasdorf 2002, 153). Yoder's works represent a significant departure from tradition and, as I explore later in this chapter, presage the later twentieth-century writings by Mennonite poets exploring their own cultural identities. Yoder justified his writing by claiming that such works were necessary to dispel misconceptions regarding the Plain sects, including the stereotypes of the laboring female drudge and autocratic male leader. Utilizing the narrative of his mother's life and his childhood, Yoder creates characters who are smart, quick, and imbued with plenty of practical knowledge. He places their resistance to modernity within a religious context; yet, he also acknowledges that higher education is subordinated to the needs of the community (149–51). Yoder's later writings, however, become more critical of church authority, female subjugation, and religious doctrines, including the *Meidung*, the Amish custom of shunning wayward believers (169–73).

In many ways, the Amish have become the most noticeable of the Pennsylvania Germans; this is true, too, for Pennsylvania German literature. Much of modern Pennsylvania German–themed literature is Amish literature. Although negative portrayals of the Amish persist, an evolution in their depiction occurs during the 1930s and 1940. Their image changes from "country bumpkin" to "noble American," as writers begin to portray them as picturesque, archetypal agrarians (Umble and Weaver-Zercher 2008, 13). To the

outside world, the Amish appear to be independent of the modern technology that has wrought so many social and cultural changes. They till the soil much like eighteenth- and nineteenth-century farmers and use horse and buggies for their transportation. Their rural lifestyle and plain dress make them seem like contemporary pilgrims living out American principles of religious freedom and self-reliance. As such, much of the literature about the Amish reveals more about the creators and readers than about the Amish culture. In other words, as David Weaver-Zercher argues in *The Amish in the American Imagination* (2001, 4), America's fascination with the Amish moves beyond mere "observation and commodification" to provide something to a "nation that has somehow lost its way." Perhaps, as writers of this literature suggest, solutions for America's cultural ills can be mined from the simple, uncomplicated Amish way of life.

Many Americans during this time period initially learned about the Amish through idealized portrayals in children's literature. Given the inherent pastoral nature of much of children's literature, the Amish provide an ideal model for nostalgic adults wishing to reclaim a more innocent and primitive past. David Walbert, in *Garden Spot* (2002), traces the ways in which mediators have portrayed the Amish as innocent and childlike as a means to preach about family values without seeming "holier than thou." In other words, the wisdom of children—"out of the mouth of babes"—is viewed as innocent and can be inspiring without feeling patronizing (Nodelman 2008; Walbert 2002, 98). Marguerite de Angeli's children's books, *Henner's Lydia* (1936) and *Yonie Wondernose* (1944), a Caldecott Honor award winner, epitomize the "simple life" by presenting an idealized version of Amish agrarian life. De Angeli (1889–1969) was born in Lapeer, Michigan; however, her family moved to Philadelphia in 1902 where she spent most of her youth. Her Philadelphia background heavily influenced her work, as many of her subjects include traditional southeastern Pennsylvania ethnic groups, such as the Pennsylvania Germans and the English Quakers. She wrote and illustrated twenty-eight of her own books, as well as illustrating the works of other authors. According to her autobiography, she spent a few weeks in Lancaster County researching the Amish by visiting a one-room schoolhouse, sketching the countryside, and conversing with Amish families in their homes (de Angeli 1971). Both books feature de Angeli's own color and black-and-white illustrations. *Henner's Lydia* tells the story of Lydia, a "little Pennsylvania Dutch girl," and her father Henry, "Henner" Stoltzfus, who live on a family farm in Conestoga Valley, Lancaster County. In *Yonie Wondernose*, de Angeli writes about the same Amish family; however, the child protagonist in this book is Lydia's brother, Johnny, or Yonie.

De Angeli's text and illustrations depict perfect, self-sustaining farms—complete with cows for milk, horses for labor and transportation, chickens for eggs and meat, orchards for fruit, and gardens for vegetables—and Henner Stoltzfus functions as the archetypal Jeffersonian yeoman farmer. Written during periods that covered the Great Depression and World War

II, de Angeli's books certainly offer a nostalgic portrait of a seemingly more prosperous and peaceful time. Her descriptions in *Henner's Lydia* of "apples so juicy that the cider starts to run out" (49) and dinner tables laden with "big apple dumplings . . . bean soup with crackers in it . . . platter[s] of salt pork, and baked potatoes . . . dishes of chowchow, two kinds of jelly, and apple butter too" (51) make farm life seem like a paradise on earth. Images of a cellar lined with "shelves and shelves . . . filled with canned fruits and canned vegetables of every kind [and] crocks and crocks filled with apple butter and meat pudding" (54), as well as attic rafters filled with smoked sausages and hams visually reinforces the abundance but also represents the reward that comes from traditional agricultural labor. Furthermore, the foodstuffs presented in both books are simple, rustic dishes emphasizing a preference for the simplicity of rural life over city living. As noted by David E. Shi in *The Simple Life* (1985, 3), the preference for the plain over the fancy is a common theme of the agrarian myth. Intrinsic to this aesthetic, he argues, is a value judgment against materialism and the acquisition of unnecessary luxuries. The accumulation of wealth can "smother the purity of the soul," ruin the cohesion of the family, and destroy community life. According to Shi, the notion that simple living is pure, virtuous, and ethical has been an American ideal dating back to the Puritans and continues to influence American culture.

The image of "the little red schoolhouse" in *Henner's Lydia* also serves as a symbol of traditional agrarian life. De Angeli published this book a year before Lancaster County's controversial school consolidation program in 1937. At the time of this text, Lancaster's one-room schools were integrated, and both Amish and non-Amish children attended them. As part of a modernization effort, Lancaster's rural progressives began to close one-room schools and send children to larger, "consolidated" elementary buildings. Many farmers, including the Amish and other Plain sects, resisted these efforts. They viewed the consolidation movement as a threat to their agrarian way of life and an assault on their traditional values of community, religion, family, and even language (as all instruction would be in English, not Pennsylvania German). The Amish resistance, via civil disobedience by keeping their children out of the new schools, resulted in a lengthy and bitter legal battle that gained national media attention.

Almost overnight, the "little red schoolhouse" became an icon of America's rural past symbolizing the values of equality, self-reliance, democracy, and independence—a concrete image that provided a vivid, stirring contrast to the mechanization and modernization of the 1920s and 1930s. In the wake of the controversy, many pictorial spreads, magazine articles, feature stories, and children's books featured Lancaster County's Amish and the fight to keep the one-room schoolhouse (Walbert, 2002, 38; D. Weaver-Zercher 2001, 50–79). De Angeli's book presciently anticipates the discourse, as she devotes eleven pages of her story to the "little red schoolhouse." Lydia's school is filled with traditional American iconography—the non-Amish teacher's name is Miss Lincoln, a portrait of George Washington flanked by two Amer-

ican flags watches over the classroom, and the students are learning about Christopher Columbus. Grades one through eight meet in a single room and "nearly all the children are related." Imbued with the symbols of American independence and democracy, de Angeli's schoolhouse is not about Amish culture; rather, the schoolhouse stands for traditional family values, such as community, family ties, and self-reliance.

Meaningful representations of the role of Amish religion are missing from de Angeli's books. She makes no mention of church doctrines, such as nonconformity, separation from the world, and ritual shunning of wayward believers—the very things that enable Amish culture to survive. She provides only cursory inferences to Amish religious beliefs in *Henner's Lydia* and none at all in *Yonie Wondernose*. Even the Amish bishop in *Henner's Lydia* is stripped of his religious authority when he is likened to a "splendid Santa Claus" figure, complete with white hair, rosy cheeks, crinkly blue eyes, and "pocket candy." By excluding the role of the church in Amish life, David Weaver-Zercher (2001, 14–17) argues, the Amish can be portrayed as humble, virtuous, and noble without the notion that these qualities can be achieved only with Amish-style discipline and social control. In other words, these books reveal more about American views regarding the ideal family life than about Amish culture. Other idealized works about Amish life and children from this period include Ella Maie Seyfert's *Little Amish Schoolhouse* (1940) and Katherine Milhouse's *Lovina* (1940) (Robacker, 1943, 151).

Contemporary children's books continue to portray the Amish as model agrarian citizens in tension with a hypermodern society. Hypermodernity, as Valerie Weaver-Zercher (2013, 10) explains, is "characterized by a high velocity of technological change, information transfer, consumption, social change, individualism, global capitalism, and even identity formation." In her study of Amish romance novels, Weaver-Zercher links the increasing popularity of Amish-themed fiction since the 1990s to the parallel rise of hypermodernity (134). She maintains that "the speed, anomie, and digital slavery" (10) of modern society have driven some people into the pages of Amish fiction as an antidote to complicated "crazy" lives. Two notable children's works exemplifying this discourse are Patricia Polacco's *Just Plain Fancy* (1990) and Jane Yolen's *Raising Yoder's Barn* (1998). The books are widely cataloged in libraries and cited as teaching tools in several culture, history, and community-building curriculums (Bestwick, 2015; J. Cooper et al. 2012, 42–46; Raum, 2001, 122–23). Close-knit families and strong community networks characterize both tales, which are set on bucolic Lancaster County farms.

The Michigan-born Polacco (1944) usually writes stories inspired by her Russian Jewish and Irish heritage (Greasley 2001, 415–17). In *Just Plain Fancy*, however, she explores Amish culture in her portrayal of young Naomi Vlecke's struggle with plain living in modern-day society. Polacco introduces the conflict at the beginning of the tale when Naomi begins to question Amish traditional ways during an emblematic buggy ride with her father. As her father steers their horse into the farmyard, she asks, "Why don't we have

a car like the English?" Her father replies, "It is not our way, child. We are in no hurry" (3). This simple statement and iconic imagery affirms the book's pastoral mode. As Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner, and Nolt (2013, 130) argue, "The horse became the default symbol of Amish life as cars became popular with other Americans in the early twentieth century. The horse embodies four key Amish values: tradition, limitation, nature, and sacrifice." These tenets offer direct opposition to progress, consumption, technology, and individualism.

As such, the Amish model a society in which fragmentation of families and communities does not exist. This pastoralism gives readers an alternative narrative to their own hectic, complex lives. Despite the fact that the "biggest change" in Amish society in the past century has been a shift away from farming to nonfarm work (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner, and Nolt 2013, 157), children's narratives continue to focus on farm-related settings and activities. *Raising Yoder's Barn*, for example, illuminates this appeal to tradition. Yolen (1939), a New York City native, gives a lyrical voice to Samuel Stoltzfoot, an eight-year-old Amish boy, who narrates the story of a barn raising, another iconic representation that anchors the Amish to the past. Yolen's protagonist finds happiness and pleasure in a community bound by agriculture and "old-fashioned" ways. "My brothers and I worked hard all summer in a field with furrows straight as a good man's life," Samuel begins the tale, "Our sickles swung against the wild mustard that crept on the growing grain" (1). As this passage illustrates, Samuel metaphorically finds his identity and satisfaction in simple living.

The highly stylized illustrations typically found in children's picture books further joins the Amish to an imagined past. More than fifty years after de Angeli filled her pages with Amish schoolhouses, barns, and farms, Polacco and Yolen employ similar conventional imagery. Horse-drawn buggies provide transportation; children happily feed farm animals; and plainly garbed people work in the fields using old-fashioned tools. "English-driven" automobiles make an occasional appearance, but cell phones and computers do not grace the pages. Polacco uses watercolors and pastels to create bright, clear pictures set against a white background (Silvey 1995, 531), an artistic rendering that in *Just Plain Fancy* sustains the simple, unambiguous rural setting. Her whimsical illustrations, however, perpetuate the popular notion that the Amish are a static, homogeneous group. For example, her renderings of the buggies and Amish clothing more closely resemble midwestern groups rather than Lancaster County Amish. As Kraybill and his colleagues (2013, 138) explain, there are more than sixty-five identifiable Amish affiliations and subgroups in North America. Although they share a core set of beliefs and traditions, Amish groups differ in appearance, customs, religious practices, and adaptation to technology. The precedence of idealism over accuracy reaffirms the importance of pastoralism in these works.

Yolen's book, illustrated by artist Bernie Fuchs (1932–2009), also delivers a highly pastoralized representation of the Amish. Fuch's impressionistic rural landscapes, rendered in warm browns, oranges, and yellows, have a

sepia-toned nostalgic quality. The people are foregrounded and sometimes appear supernaturally illuminated. On one page, a young Amish girl gazes at the reader from the lower right corner of the page. Her white head-covering glows like a halo, and buttery yellow curls frame her face like a Botticelli angel. Other times, Amish characters look out at the reader with welcoming, broad smiles. Father, son, brother, and neighbor work side by side—a paradigmatic example of family harmony and communal cooperation. This idyllic representation serves as a vivid counterpoint to the technologically driven, digital world in which most American children live. As Yolen notes on the back cover, "The Amish are a particular religious group who live in yesterday." As such, the narrative feels suspended in time and place and ignores the fluidity of Amish culture. Given that adults commonly believe children's literature should be didactic and protective (Nodelman, 2008, 157–58), the primary purpose of Amish picture books is to provide a moral lesson, not to teach about the Amish.

This blissful commodification often leads to misunderstandings about the relationship between the Amish and modernity. The Amish are not untouched by technology, and the digital age brings new challenges in maintaining their separation from mainstream culture. According to Kraybill and his colleagues (2013, 8), the Amish blend "progress and tradition [to] protect their way of life . . . many Amish people are quite modern in some ways, even as they reject certain trappings of contemporary life." The simple life depicted in Amish fiction obscures the real tensions within Amish communities as they negotiate hypermodernity. Although Polacco gently alludes to ritual shunning, and Yolen unabashedly celebrates Anabaptist communal values, Amish religious beliefs and guiding worldview are not explicitly delineated in either story. Rather, the meaning devolves from the pastoralism depicted in the books and how simple living can foster durable relationships. Comments on amazon.com illustrate this notion: Yolen's book has an "innocent, simple quality," according to one reader, while another person writes that it is "a wonderful book to help teach children the meaning of community and our role in that community." Polacco's story engenders similar feedback: it is the "perfect bedtime antidote to the frenzied pace that even our children must keep." Such simple, uncomplicated representations of the Amish maintain the iconic imagery most Americans associate with Plain sects and keep unpleasant realities at bay.

Amish-themed children's books connect to an expanding twenty-first-century quilt of mainstream Amish fiction. Amish science fiction, supernatural, and mystery novels are threaded onto this literary fabric. However, Amish inspirational romance novels, coined "bonnet books" for the plainly garbed women depicted on the front covers, garner the most attention. More than 200 bonnet books have been published between 2009 and 2012. The top-selling authors, Wanda Brunstetter, Beverly Lewis, and Cindy Woodsmall, together have sold 24 million books, and they frequently appear on mainstream and Christian best-seller lists. The novels, written and read pri-

marily by evangelical Christian women, follow a heroine's betrothal, courtship, and marriage. However, unlike other contemporary romance novels, Amish fiction has a conservative aesthetic that focuses on purity (not eroticism) and affirms traditional gender roles. Writers combine standard tropes and devices with conventions unique to Amish fiction. This special formula appeals to a conservative readership that includes many Mennonite readers (V. Weaver-Zercher 2013, 4–5, 65). Most novels feature rural settings, some Pennsylvania Dutch dialogue, a chaste heterosexual love story, and a redemptive ending. Personal faith narratives are central to the stories, Valerie Weaver-Zercher (2013, 40, 113) explains, because the novels serve a devotional purpose that allows readers to reexamine their own spiritual paths.

Like quilts suspended midair on the Amish clotheslines dotting Lancaster County's rural backroads, Amish fiction flaps starkly against modern-day sensibilities. Weaver-Zercher (2013, xiii) argues that "hypermodernity and hypersexuality" are driving the genre's popularity. The chaste heroines, lack of profanity, and simple living in the stories appeal to evangelicals seeking an alternative to today's oversexualized, overcharged culture. According to Weaver-Zercher, readers perceive that the Amish have withstood the siren call of hypermodernity (11–13). Many readers find the chance to "go back in time" via Amish fiction alluring. In fact, she calls the novels "textual carriages" for their ability to take readers into an imagined world. Thus, the same threads of rurality and innocence that characterize the children's picture books also run through Amish romance novels—a pastoralism that belies the real issues facing agricultural communities.

Poetry Movement

A cross-cultural poetry movement among Mennonite writers is another noteworthy segment of contemporary literature. Pennsylvania German Mennonites and Mennonites with a Dutch Russian ancestry, primarily those living in the Midwest, West, and Canada, make up this poetical cohort (Graybill 2007, 13). Beginning in Canada during the 1960s, the movement gained momentum when the Canadian government funded ethnic writers (A. Hostetler 2003, 181). These earlier Canadian writers greatly influenced their American counterparts in the 1970s, including Warren Kliewer and Elmer Suderman, whose major works were published in *Mennonite Life* and other journals. Of particular interest, the first writers to make an impact outside the Mennonite journals were women. Jane Rohrer, Anna Ruth Ediger Baehr, and Jean Janzen, whose works appeared in *American Scholar* and *Poetry*, took inspiration from their Mennonite backgrounds and wrote poems that countered stereotyped images of Anabaptist women (A. Hostetler, 2003, 177–78).

The 1990s saw an explosion of Mennonite poetry books published by university presses. Julia Kasdorf, born in 1962 in Lewistown, Pennsylvania, is often referred to as the "unofficial" Mennonite poet laureate (Graybill 2007, 20). The author of *Fixing Tradition* (2002)—Joseph Yoder's biography that was

discussed earlier in this essay—Kasdorf has also published several books of poetry. In *Sleeping Preacher* (1992), she juxtaposes the two worlds of New York and Big Valley, Pennsylvania, to address community and storytelling; and in *Eve's Striptease* (1998), the author speaks about the journey of a maturing young girl and explores the conflicting relationship between her role as an artist and her Mennonite heritage (A. Hostetler 2003, 128). Traditionally, Mennonite culture is a gendered hierarchy in which women are subordinate to men and have been taught to have a "silent" public voice (Schmidt, Umble, and Reschly 2002, 4–11). Mennonites also stress conformity and discourage individualism in favor of community needs. Kasdorf continues her examination of the conflicts she experienced growing up in a Mennonite community as a female and the restrictions placed upon artists and writers in *The Body and the Book: Writing from a Mennonite Life: Essays and Poems* (2001) (Graybill 2007, 20). Kasdorf, whose father was raised as Old Order Amish but joined the Conservative Conference Mennonite Church as a young man, lived in Pittsburgh as a young girl and attended the Mennonite Church. Her education includes time spent at Goshen College and MA and PhD degrees in English from New York University. She taught at Messiah College and directed the creative writing program at Penn State University (A. Hostetler 2003, 128).

Why have so many Mennonite writers turned to poetry? According to Ann Hostetler (2003, 188), editor of *A Capella: Mennonite Voices in Poetry*, poetry does not attract as much attention as other artistic forms and provides more authorial distance. In Mennonite communities that traditionally discouraged artistic expression and maintained doctrinal separation from the world, poetry gives writers a medium to address taboo topics with less controversy and less notice. Thus, Mennonite poets are more open to exploring the tensions between their Anabaptist backgrounds and mainstream culture. *A Capella* includes American and Canadian poets and male and female writers. Although they come from different ethnic and geographic backgrounds, their shared Mennonite heritage connects them. Some common threads running through the poems include negotiating the cultural tug of war related to individual expression and maintaining traditional Mennonite values (Hostetler 2003, 20). An interesting dichotomy, however, exists within this literary discourse, as their work can be viewed as both breaking and strengthening the chords of tradition (Graybill 2007, 20).

In some ways, contemporary Mennonite writers are using poetry to preserve their heritage much like the earlier Pennsylvania German dialect writers. However, some noteworthy differences exist. Few women, for example, wrote dialect poetry in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and the Pennsylvania German dialect writers were not sectarians. Additionally, the early dialect poets were limited to traditional print media to disseminate their writings. Contemporary Mennonite writers have taken full advantage of the Internet to publish their works, engage in networking, and connect with other writers. A large body of works by both American and Canadian

writers can be found online in the DreamSeeker series of Cascadia Publishing House, a Mennonite press publishing new poets, including those with Pennsylvania German heritage (Graybill 2007, 21). The Online Center for Mennonite Writing at Goshen College also offers numerous links to Mennonite writing, blogs, discussion boards, magazines, and journals.

Reading and Writing Pennsylvania German

In regards to the Pennsylvania German language, Old Order Mennonites and Amish are the last active speakers of the dialect, but few of them write in Pennsylvania German. Literature in Pennsylvania German, however, is being kept alive through the efforts of organizations such as the Pennsylvania German Society (PGS), the German-Pennsylvanian Association, the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies at Millersville University, and the Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center at Kutztown University. The PGS provides Earl Haag's dialect column "Der Alt Professor," and most issues of its journal *Der Reggeboge* contain dialect pieces. The German-Pennsylvanian Association also issues a biannual international Pennsylvania German–language journal *Hiwwe wie Driwwe*, (Over here as over there). The Pennsylvania German Society, the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, and the Grundsow Lodges have also sponsored classes in the dialect. In an effort to encourage new dialect writing, the Kutztown Folk Festival sponsors an annual Pennsylvania German–language writing festival in which contestants can submit short stories, poems, skits, and other short literary works.

In the twenty-first century, literary scholarship has shifted from a narrow reach within the cultural hearth of southeastern Pennsylvania to a wider identification and interpretation of literary expression throughout the Pennsylvania German diaspora. Amish newspapers such as the *Budget* (out of Sugarcreek, Ohio) and *Die Bottschaft* (from Millersburg, Pennsylvania) feature hundreds of correspondents from around the country who write news, sometimes with a literary flourish, of local communities. Once they are publishing primarily in newspapers, some contemporary dialect writers self-publish. Deitsh Books, for example, in New Philadelphia, Ohio, features children's books created by native speaker David Miller and his daughter Reanna. A prominent distributor promoting Pennsylvania German–dialect writers, including self-published ones, is Masthof Bookstore in Morgantown, Pennsylvania. Started as a newspaper by Michael Werner in Ebertsheim, Germany, *Hiwwe der Driwwe* on the Internet and in print has mediated a transnational conversation of dialect writers with one another. In addition to these contemporary opportunities to view the evolution of Pennsylvania German literature, broadened reexaminations of nineteenth-century writing in everyday life, including diaries, poems, and letters by women and children, illuminate the historic significance of dialect writing, and reading, in Pennsylvania German culture.

9 Agriculture and Industries

R. TROY BOYER

The world's largest commercial industry is American agriculture, and agriculture has been Pennsylvania's leading industry for more than three centuries. Part of what has made the agricultural system the leading industry both nationally and locally has been the influence of the Pennsylvania Germans, a people whom twentieth-century poet and novelist Millen Brand (1975) observed to be "farming, always farming." Along with language and religion, farming has been considered a main pillar of Pennsylvania German culture (R. T. Boyer 2006; Kollmorgen 1942). In fact, farming is the number one industry among the Pennsylvania Germans, despite their work as merchants and in other industries, and regardless of whether living in their traditional homeland of southeastern Pennsylvania or in one of the many other communities they have founded in rural areas across North America.

Pennsylvania German Agriculture

When Americans think of agriculture, what often comes to mind is the image of the family farm and the individual farmstead. This image owes its origin in part to the early settlement of Pennsylvania and the Mid-Atlantic region, where farmers left behind centuries of European cooperative village farming in favor of individual ownership of dispersed farmsteads. In this break with the Old World are the beginnings not only of the American family farm but, as several scholars have shown, of American liberal individualism and capitalism (Glassie [1972] 1986; Lemon 1976). From Pennsylvania, the idea of the nuclear family farm would spread along routes of migration into parts of the Upland South and across the Midwest and come to symbolize American agriculture.

The German-speaking settlers of southeastern Pennsylvania adapted to this modern form of agriculture by taking up dispersed landholdings and separating the buildings on the farmstead. Although there are a few reported cases of animal shelters attached to farmhouses in Pennsylvania, the major pattern that emerged was the separation of house and barn, human and animal, domestic and agricultural. Often, a nod was made to the Euro-

pean tradition of house-barn connection in building separate houses and barns with their roof ridges aligned on the same parallel axis. In any case, Pennsylvania German farming would eventually revolve around the large, multipurpose barn that would come to be known as the Pennsylvania Barn (Dornbusch and Heyl 1956; Ensminger 2003; McMurry and Garrison 2004; Shoemaker 1955).

To understand Pennsylvania German agriculture and its influence on farming practice in America, it is proper to begin at the barn (fig. 9.1), as Joseph W. Glass does in his important work, *The Pennsylvania Culture Region* (1986). While initially built alongside its cousins, the *Grundscheier* (ground barn) and the *Boddescheier* (bottom, or floor, barn), the two-story barn with a cantilevered forebay over the stables and a rear ramp to the threshing floor soon became the dominant barn form among the Pennsylvania Germans and was even adopted by some of their neighbors (Ensminger 2003). The Pennsylvania Barn originated among the farmers of German-speaking Switzerland, who brought the form first to Lancaster County, from which it spread to the neighboring Pennsylvania German counties and settlements. Early European travelers in America commented on these large barns, pointing out frequently how they dwarfed the modest dwelling houses of the German settlers and were built sometimes even before a permanent dwelling for the family was erected. Some writers even note mistaking the great

Fig. 9.1. A brick-end Pennsylvania German barn surrounded by land developed for suburban housing, Lititz, Pennsylvania, 2014. *Photograph by Candace Boyer*

barns for churches, and it is with justification that Henry Glassie (1998) has compared the Pennsylvania barn to the European cathedral. If the cathedral was the architectural center of the European village life of the spirit, then the Pennsylvania barn is the great architectural wonder of American commercial life that signifies the country's early commitment to capitalism and rational markets.

With its two-story design, the Pennsylvania barn is well suited to the crop-livestock, or mixed, farming system of the Pennsylvania Germans. On the ground floor are the cow and horse stables, usually facing south to get the warmth of the afternoon sun. On the second floor are the threshing floor (or floors, depending on the size of the barn), the hay and straw mows, and often a granary. Projecting from the second story is the cantilevered forebay overhang, usually extending between two and six feet beyond the barn wall, which is used for extra storage space and to protect the stable area from bad weather. The feed and bedding for the livestock is easily moved through gravity to the stables below by sending hay and straw through holes in the upper floor. The animals eat the food supplied to grow and strengthen, and their waste is removed to form a manure pile in a corner of the barnyard. This material is then spread on the fields to prepare and fertilize the soil to grow new crops, which, in turn, when harvested, will be fed to the animals, and the cycle continues.

While the cycle of feed and fuel that marks the mixed farming system appears rather simple, the Pennsylvania Germans were alone among the early settlers of the United States to use manure extensively for fertilizer and soil preparation. The size and condition of the *Mischthof* (manure pile) was long considered one of the key ways to determine the success and prosperity of a farm. Indeed, the manure pile was often offered as a separate sale item at country estate auctions. Moreover, Simon J. Bronner (2006) notes the symbolic use of the manure pile in Pennsylvania German folk narratives to represent Pennsylvania German identity and its marker of cultural difference compared to the English.

Early commentators, such as Benjamin Rush, took notice of how well the Pennsylvania Germans fed and housed their livestock compared to the typical open-grazing pattern of other ethnic groups. As migrants from Pennsylvania moved south and west into other parts of the country, they took with them the Pennsylvania barn and the system of mixed farming. This crop-livestock farming, with well-fed and well-housed animals, became the basis of the great midwestern corn belt culture, which eventually became the core of America's family-farm agriculture (fig. 9.2).

The Pennsylvania barn and mixed farming are far from being the only influence the Pennsylvania German settlers have had on the patterns of American agriculture. Even at the advent of American "scientific" farming in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Pennsylvania Germans had already been practicing progressive farming methods that would later be employed by all productive American farmers. Along with manure, the

Fig. 9.2. A modern Pennsylvania German farmscape in Heidelberg Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania, showing a complex of livestock shelters, dairying buildings, and silos, together with older Pennsylvania German barns and structures visible in the background. The fields, planted with corn and grasses, demonstrate long-standing Pennsylvania German farming methods, including diversified plantings and crop rotation. *Photograph by Shuvaev, Creative Commons*

Pennsylvania Germans were the first to use lime and gypsum as means of proper soil preparation. They also introduced a form of crop rotation, based on a four-year cycle. Rather than depleting the soil by constantly planting the same crops in the same fields, their system allowed soil renewal without having to have a fallow season. In their rotations, the Pennsylvania Germans were the first to plant nutrient-restoring grasses and legumes, such as timothy, red clover, and alfalfa. Homer T. Rosenberger (1966, frontispiece) even called red clover the Pennsylvania Germans' "national flower."

Other agricultural improvements introduced by the Pennsylvania Germans include the large four-square diversified vegetable gardens planted near the house and usually overseen by the farm women (Richman 2007). "Pennsylvania Germans," Fletcher (1950, 227) asserts, "almost universally had good gardens." The care that they took with their extensive orchards was also recognized. Indeed, Rush ([1789] 1910, 65) states that "Pennsylvania is indebted to the Germans for the principal part of her knowledge in horticulture" and broadening the diet of all its people. Rush goes on to note that

German farms can be recognized by their productiveness, the extent of their orchards, and the luxuriance of their meadows, the last of these also being a Pennsylvania German introduction as their system of irrigation and drainage provided ideal meadows for good crops of hay and for pasturage. Finally, in mentioning early Pennsylvania German agricultural improvements, we cannot forget the breeding of the Conestoga horse, which began around 1750 in the Conestoga Valley of Lancaster County (fig. 9.3). As Fletcher (1950, 198–99) declares, "It was natural that the first great horse of American origin should be developed by Pennsylvania Germans. From the first settlements they had taken good care of their livestock, in breeding as well as in feeding." The Conestoga horse would become "generally acknowledged to be the most efficient draft horse in America" (and would also become famous for pulling the large Conestoga wagons that would bring farm products to market and carry west some of the initial settlers of the trans-Alleghenies).

Beginning with James T. Lemon's *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (1976), some scholars have raised doubts about assertions that the Pennsylvania Germans differed greatly in their farming practices from other national groups in early America. On a general level, Lemon's thesis that the European settlers approached farming similarly as individualists and nascent capitalists cannot be refuted. But the improvements that made Pennsylvania the "granary of the colonies" and the "granary of the Revolution" had to come from somewhere, and they did

Fig. 9.3. Amish youth farming with horse-drawn power, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 2013. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

not always stem from the criticisms of educated agricultural reformers. As Fletcher (1950, 126) avers, "It was the highly productive farms of Lancaster and adjacent counties [settled predominantly by the Germans] that made Pennsylvania 'the granary of the Revolution,' not the farms of Bucks, Chester, and Philadelphia counties." Even if farming practices did not differ as much as the overwhelming majority of contemporary commentators suggest in the colonial and early national period, Lemon's study does not extend to the "golden age" of the early nineteenth century that would make southeastern Pennsylvania, particularly the counties dominated culturally by Pennsylvania German farmers, one of the world's most productive agricultural areas. It is not original settlement patterns that matter but the question of who can claim what cultural geographers call "the doctrine of first effective settlement," which demonstrates that the first group to achieve a viable, self-perpetuating culture in an area will have the most significant lasting impact on the society and culture of the region (Zelinsky 1973, 13–14; see also Gastil 1975, 26). Committed to creating a permanent agrarian society, the Germans maintained and expanded their imprint on certain counties in southeastern Pennsylvania, as other ethnic groups were displaced or moved on.

Writers often refer to the period from 1780 to 1840 as Pennsylvania agriculture's golden age (Ensminger 2003, 108; Fletcher 1950, 319–20; see also Stevens 1968, 334–37). During this period, between subsistence with some commercial farming and the full-scale agricultural revolution marked by the mechanized agriculture of the late nineteenth century, references to the middle-class progressive family farmer emerge. Commercial farming bloomed during this "period of agricultural awakening" (Fletcher 1950, 142), and the improvements introduced by the Pennsylvania Germans became standard, including proper crop rotation, the better feeding and care of livestock, and the growing of restorative crops. From 1780 to 1840, Pennsylvania, which had long grown wheat as its major cash crop, was the country's leading producer of the grain, with Lancaster County being the country's largest wheat-producing county. Improvements in transportation, including more and better roads, canals, and early railroads, helped commercial growers get their grain and other products to market. On those roads could be found another Pennsylvania German invention, the Conestoga wagon, "the ship of inland commerce." The Conestoga horse that pulled the heavy wagons to market likewise became "a symbol of the transition period in Pennsylvania agriculture—between the pack-horse train and the railroad; between subsistence farming and commercial farming" (Fletcher 1950, 199, 200).

During this "golden age" the divergence in agricultural practices and settlement history between different ethnic groups became more pronounced, as the Pennsylvania Germans engaging in intensive agriculture on the good limestone soils of southeastern Pennsylvania eventually took the place of English farmers. This is evident in the building of large Pennsylvania barns and of house building "fer die Ewigkeit" (for eternity), as Kollmorgen (1942, 42) describes the effort of Pennsylvania German farmers to plan for per-

manence on the land, in this period that forms the Pennsylvania German cultural landscape out of the farmlands. As a Pennsylvania German middle class grew, the two-front-door, German Georgian house type came to prevail, ornamental gardens expanded, and Pennsylvania German folk art blossomed.

The Pennsylvania pattern of classical liberalism that champions the individual over community and economic gain over other types of goods does not necessarily mean early Pennsylvania German farming was not self-sufficient or lacked forms of mutual aid. As evident in the abundant types of buildings on the classic Pennsylvania German farmstead of around eighty acres, farmers enjoyed plenty of room for processing and preserving the produce of the farm for consumption by the family. The springhouse, the summerhouse, the bakeoven, the arch cellar, the stillhouse, the smokehouse, the dryhouse, the icehouse, and the butcher house, while not all present on every farm, are nonetheless important structures for subsisting on the farm (Long 1972b). Not only were most of the food products processed and consumed on the farm, but the woodlot provided for building needs, and at least in the early period flax and wool provided for the clothing of the family. With regard to community, Beauveau Borie's (1986) study of flails and threshing demonstrates the cooperative work shared between family and neighbors on the Pennsylvania German farm even in the era when wheat became a major cash crop. Of course, community reciprocity applied to work not only with the cash crop but also with all parts of the field harvest as well as to more domestic labors such as apple butter making, corn husking, and quilting. This neighborly exchange of work and even tools continues into the twenty-first century, albeit in far lesser quantity, in the sharing among neighbors of machinery and in activities such as barn raisings. Indeed, as Walter Kollmorgen (1942, 45) observed among the Lancaster County Amish in 1942 for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, "this practical expression of mutual aid must not be overlooked in accounts which try to explain the stability of these people in their farming activities." Although scholars have agreed with Lemon that the mentalité demonstrated by early Pennsylvania farmers was marked by a limited sense of liberal individualism, among the Pennsylvania Germans, especially the Amish and Mennonites, a concern for community has been hypothesized that tempers the modern mentality, which shows that they see farming, according to Kollmorgen, as a "preferred way of life and not primarily as a commercial occupation" (33).

After the golden age of wheat, Pennsylvania still led the country for a few decades in wheat and flour production, and the Pennsylvania Dutch Country was the "breadbasket of the Union" during the Civil War. Not surprisingly, the "breadbasket of the South" during the Civil War was the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, settled by Pennsylvania German and Scots-Irish migrants from Pennsylvania. With the introduction of the railroad, however, midwestern growers were able to move wheat more easily, and Pennsylvania's production of this grain began to wane. In Lancaster County and parts of York

and Lebanon counties, Pennsylvania German farmers met this problem by switching their cash crop from wheat to tobacco. The first leaf tobacco was introduced to Lancaster County in 1828, and by the end of the century its farmers were growing close to 90 percent of Pennsylvania's cigar tobacco (D. Schneider 1994, 17, 22–24). In the twentieth century, Pennsylvania Broadleaf entered the Lancaster County farmer's rotation system. Tobacco production kept the farm family at work throughout the year, from planting to stripping, and tobacco sheds became a common part of the county's agricultural landscape.

In the mid- to late-nineteenth century, Pennsylvania German farmers found another form of commercial agriculture in the cattle-fattening industry (D. Schneider 1994, 18). Cattle would be shipped in from the west in fall and fattened for market in the spring. This industry became so important that the Lancaster Stockyards would become the largest stockyard east of Chicago. My grandfather, born in 1912, could recall livestock still being driven overland along the roadways leading from the stockyards to farms, where the stock would be prepared through quality housing and feed. By the late twentieth century, however, new forms of industrial livestock fattening and meat processing made the centralized stockyard obsolete, and after a century of service the Lancaster Stockyards was demolished and the land given over for new nonagricultural uses.

With railroading and the introduction of dairy technologies such as the silo and the continuous milk separator, the late nineteenth century saw the rise of commercial dairying in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country (D. Schneider 1994, 26–28). A result of this trend toward commercial dairying was the addition of a milk house to the Pennsylvania German farmstead (Long 1972b, 488). Before this time, milk was stored until needed in the cool pumphouse or springhouse, but the new technologies and commercial demands of the new dairy industry made the milk house a necessity. Later, government regulations and the ever-increasing herd sizes made further changes in dairy production necessary, including, in many cases, the alteration of the barn. On many farms, to increase the amount of light and ventilation and to increase the size of the stables to meet new milking methods, forebays were enclosed and additions were built onto Pennsylvania barns to meet modern dairy standards.

The twentieth century brought even greater change to the Pennsylvania German farm in the forms of mechanization, government regulation, and increased competition from western farms. Wheat, no longer viable as a cash crop in Pennsylvania, was largely replaced around World War I by corn, which had always been grown on the farm but now became the most important feed crop and a market commodity (G. L. Fisher 1978, 142). Corn proved to be a good feed for all livestock as did the silage from corn that could now be stored in the modern silo. The early twentieth century also was a time of commercial poultry farming, with the farm flock going from a few dozen laying hens to a thousand or more, now housed in large specialized chicken

houses rather than ranging freely through the barnyard or nesting in the small windowed chicken coop (Schneider 1994, 33–34). Market demands also brought forth the beginnings of commercial pig raising in the Dutch Country, where the pig had always been the number one meat source for the farm family. The rise of large commercial orchards during this period, especially in Adams and York counties in Pennsylvania, brought about a reduction in size of the old farm orchards.

Most of the twentieth century's changes and challenges in agriculture came from outside the Pennsylvania German culture, but it is instructive to see how the ethnic group handled some of these major developments. Writing in the 1950s, Fletcher (1955, 30) argues that it is no longer necessary to draw ethnic distinctions between farmers, and yet he acknowledges that "the great body of Pennsylvania farmers are of German ancestry, and many speak 'Pennsylvania Dutch' as well as English." While other groups had been leaving farming ever since the rise of industrialization, urbanization, and the mechanization of agriculture, the Pennsylvania Germans tried their best to stay on their small diversified family farms. This practice appears to have sustained Pennsylvania German families through the Great Depression, at a time when larger farms dedicated to single crops in the Midwest and other parts of the country were going out of business. Kollmorgen (1942, 50) notes that, at least with regard to Pennsylvania, less rural relief went to the Pennsylvania German sections during the Depression. Still, the farm crisis of the 1920s and the Depression of the 1930s had its effects on Pennsylvania German farms, as more and more farmers became part-time farmers. Even the Amish of Lancaster County, by 1929, had seen an increase in part-time farming, with the average farmer working an average of 116 days off farm (Fletcher 1955, 33). This trend toward part-time farming would continue as Pennsylvania German farmers struggled to stay in agriculture in the face of competition from the ever-growing farms of the Midwest and West.

While small farmers were able to hang on during the Great Depression, thanks in part to their diversified agriculture and their self-sufficiency, the response to perhaps the twentieth century's greatest change for agriculture, the introduction of the tractor, was a difficult one for the Pennsylvania Germans' small family farms. Culturally conservative but progressive in their farming, Pennsylvania Germans were slow to accept this new technology. As with American farmers generally, the Pennsylvania Germans were concerned about the tractor compacting the soil and not being maneuverable enough to reach all sections of fields. But Pennsylvania German farmers had some other concerns about the tractor, including the large early tractor's difficulties in working the small farm. The tractor also raised another of the Pennsylvania German's agricultural sensibilities: Where would the manure come from? As "Old Fetter" told the tractor salesman in the 1930s, in a story related to me in 1997 by Lancaster County farmer Harry Boyer (born 1912), "Wann mer der Gaul fiedere, mer duhne Welschkann un Hoi vanne nei, noh gebt's Mischt zerick Land aaduhne, awwer nau mit die Tractor, duhne mer

Gas nei un kummt nix hinneraus fer Land duh" (When we feed the horse, we put corn and hay in the front, and we get manure to put back on the land, but now with the tractor, we put gas in and nothing comes out the other end to put on the land). Eventually, the smaller tractor was perfected and competition demanded that even small farmers buy into this new technology. By the 1950s, most Pennsylvania German farmers had adopted the tractor, although some still kept horses for certain activities such as cultivating. Only the Amish and some Old Order Mennonites, among the Pennsylvania Germans, still draw their field equipment with horse power rather than tractors.

As Pennsylvania Germans attempted to keep up with the changes in American agriculture, the late twentieth century brought greater pressure, from government, county extension agents, and world markets, to "get big or get out." Some Pennsylvania German farmers took up this challenge, switching from diversified cropping and livestock to monoculture and dairying or pig and poultry raising, which meant that the agricultural landscape of the Pennsylvania Dutch Country and the other areas of Pennsylvania German settlement began to look like most other agricultural areas of North America. While commercial feeds, chemical fertilizers, and more expensive technology were readily available, what was not easily found for expanding farmers in the Pennsylvania German areas was land itself. Centuries of partible heritance, in which farms became increasingly smaller as Pennsylvania German farmers tried to keep as many of their children as possible in farming, meant that it would be difficult to find land to grow bigger. At the same time, other Pennsylvania German farmers who maintained their small holdings found it difficult to meet the increasing capital demands of the technological age of agriculture and, instead of trying to get big, got out. Into the vacuum created by the other Pennsylvania German farmers leaving the land, the Amish and Old Order Mennonites, with their connection between faith and farming, rushed in to take up the land of their Reformed and Lutheran neighbors. Fletcher (1955) and Kollmorgen (1942) saw this trend occurring as early as the 1940s, especially in parts of southern and eastern Lancaster County, as well as southern Lebanon County.

Old Order farmer Gideon Fisher (1978, 60) explains what happened to most family farms and why the Amish and Mennonites could continue in agriculture even as their neighbors sold out: "The small family farm is slowly going out of existance [*sic*]. Those who still hold on to their farm find it hard to meet taxes and finance the equipment which is now replacing the day laboring men of 50 or more years ago. Except in areas where the farm is still considered a home where man, wife, and children work together, enjoying the family spirit which was inherited from their ancestors." Where family and faith are still more important than profits, where farming is still a way of life rather than just a business, Fisher argues, there you can still find strong Pennsylvania German family farms. But thirty years after Fisher writes, Walter Augsburger (2008), a Lancaster County farmer, contends that even the farms of the Plain groups can no longer support full-time farming.

The traditional Pennsylvania German farm of sixty to eighty acres, he declares, can survive only with the family engaged in some other occupation. "If you can find a dozen farms in the average of 60 to 80 acres in size that don't have another occupation going on, I'd like to see 'em. Either they're making harnesses or have a weld shop or a gazebo shop, a quilt shop, and whatever I missed, there's something other than what they do on the land supporting that farm." Augsburger's statement aligns with the findings of sociologist Donald B. Kraybill (2001, 245), who notes that "about two-thirds of the Amish have abandoned their plows, but some of their jobs support the farm economy." Whether Church Dutch or sectarians, the number of Pennsylvania German farmers has decreased, and the number of those who support their farms with outside work has grown tremendously.

Along with the problems brought on by trying to survive in an increasingly competitive agriculture, twenty-first-century Pennsylvania German farmers, especially those in southeastern Pennsylvania, face the difficulty of urban sprawl. Unplanned, sprawling development in rural areas not only makes it hard for farmers to expand or find land for their children to farm but brings on a host of other issues for farmers, including the breakup of contiguous farmland, increasing traffic on rural roads, nuisance laws against normal farming operations, and higher taxes. There are organizations in most Pennsylvania German counties that work for smart growth and for the preservation of farmland, but their efforts face overwhelming odds. Consider that Berks and Lehigh counties lost an average of 1,000 acres of farmland per year just in the years between 1987 and 2007 (USDA 2007, 1987). David Schneider (1994, 38) notes that "since 1959, [Lancaster County] has lost an average of eight acres of farmland per day." All farmers located near urban areas are facing this problem of sprawl, including the Amish and Old Order Mennonites; as Gideon Fisher (1978, 365) explains, "Every year thousands of acres of highly productive land is being used in building developments, new roads and factories, making the price of farm land more competitive, to the extent that the Amish people are being pressed to move to other areas where they can enjoy a more peaceful form of life."

For many non-Plain farmers, the future of small family farms does not seem bright, and it has become easier to sell out to developers and use the money to send the children to college and away from agriculture. For those determined to stay in farming, agricultural tourism in the twenty-first century developed to draw on the interest that urban dwellers have in rural living, bringing them to the farm and teaching them about farm life, and hoping that the experience will get them to see that there is much more to country life than merely building a house in a development on an old farm. The money generated from agricultural tourism allowed host farmers to stay in business and perhaps even expand their operations.

From forming the roots of American agriculture to trying to survive in an age of hypermobility and urban sprawl, the Pennsylvania German farmer has provided the image of the American family farmer and the self-image of

the Pennsylvania Dutch Country. And even in the face of the great challenges that small family farms face in the twenty-first century, Pennsylvania German farmers are still leaders in American agriculture. Lancaster County, for example, is still the leader in total agricultural output for nonirrigated counties in the United States (D. Schneider 1994, 37; USDA 2012). Nevertheless, the colossal turn from farming as the backbone of the Pennsylvania Dutch way of life has had its effects across the culture as Pennsylvania German identity declines. As one of the pillars of the culture, the downturn in farming has also led to a weakening of other major areas of Pennsylvania German life, including the decreasing number of dialect speakers and the turn from Pennsylvania German religion being connected to a responsibility to the soil to an American mainstream Protestant responsibility to the self.

Craft Industry

While the number one industry among Pennsylvania Germans has long been agriculture, farming was by no means their only economic activity or way of life. In fact, from the first settlements of Germans in Germantown, near Philadelphia, in the late seventeenth century, nonfarm craft and industry have been part of Pennsylvania German life. The early Germantown settlers attracted the attention of Atlantic markets with their linen weaving from flax grown locally. By the eighteenth century, these weavers and other Germantown craftsmen had established shops separate from their homes and laid up stock (as opposed to the craft practice of producing for private single orders) for sale (S. Wolf 1976, 103ff.). Along with weaving, Germantown had William Rittenhouse's first American paper mill, several grist mills, and Christopher Sauer's publishing enterprise, which came to include clock making and manufacture of mathematical instruments and also gave work to several binderies, an ink manufactory, and a foundry for German and English type (Wolf 1976, 103–14). Other Germantown craftspeople and service providers included, by the end of the eighteenth century, tailors, hatters, cloth dyers, tanners, saddle makers, harness makers, cordwainers, coopers, carpenters, masons, turners, blacksmiths, butchers, chair makers, wheelwrights, carters, shopkeepers, innkeepers, and doctors, among others. Carried on outside the home, these trades mark a nascent industrialism that would engulf producers in the economy of the Atlantic world system.

While the Pennsylvania Germans of Germantown, Pennsylvania, dubbed an "urban village" by Stephanie Grauman Wolf (1976), were engaged in various nonhousehold trades, most rural areas still relied on home crafts to fill their needs. This is not to say that all farms were self-sufficient, but farm families got what they could not produce at home from neighboring farmers who also knew a craft. Thus, although there were certainly some specialized craft shops set up on farms in rural areas, these craftsmen are often not listed as having a separate occupation other than farmer in early tax lists. Still, even in what some historians refer to as the "age of homespun" (Ulrich

2002; van Wagenen 1960), weavers are listed among the taxables in rural German-settled areas as well as masons, carpenters, joiners, turners, blacksmiths, tailors, and tanners (Swank 1983, 3–19; see also Hood 2003). To this list, Fletcher (1950, 41) adds off-farm rural industries, such as cabinet maker, coach making, saddler, pottery, brass foundry, plow maker, tinsmith, painter, and bricklayer.

By the first U.S. Census of Manufactures, undertaken by Tench Coxe in 1790, Pennsylvania was a leader in the production of hats, tanned hides, iron, wool, linen, cotton, paper, iron and metal products, ships, sugar, cabinet ware and turnery, gunpowder, glass, earthenware, and stoneware. As Scott T. Swank (1983, 19) points out, Pennsylvania German artisans led the way in the production of hats, paper, shoes, hollowware, and glass, "but in nearly every category Germans provided the bulk of the work force." Swank quotes Coxe in his admiration of the Pennsylvania German region: "It may be safely affirmed, that the counties of Lancaster, . . . York and Berks are among the most vigorous in Pennsylvania, perhaps in the union, and that there are none in the state in which there are more manufactures, is beyond all question."

Much of rural industry centered on the processing of farm products or the production of tools and other goods for the farm. For Pennsylvania Germans, the national leaders in wheat growing, the grist mill for the production of flour was indispensable (fig. 9.4). Every rural settlement near a decent stream had its own mill for products for the farmer's home, and larger rural centers joined in processing grain for shipment to larger markets and for export abroad. Rural Pennsylvania's economic prosperity during its golden age of agriculture, from around 1780 to 1840, depended on these mills. As mill technology advanced slowly, the local gristmill was still an important part of the rural landscape into the early twentieth century. Fletcher (1950, 42) notes that the processing of farm products, especially flour milling, was the last of the rural industries to give way to mass production. Centered in Philadelphia, but with small mills throughout the state, especially in the Pennsylvania German counties of Lancaster, York, and Berks, Pennsylvania's flour mills led the nation until 1860, but by 1900 most of these country mills were supplanted by modern patent flour production. By the twenty-first century, almost all of these mills have been converted to other uses, but many still stand in the Pennsylvania German countryside as symbols of the rich agricultural and industrial heritage of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some are found in state parks as signs of Pennsylvania German settlement and hardiness, as in Little Buffalo State Park in Newport, Pennsylvania, where Shoaff's Mill has been restored to produce cornmeal and cracked corn and to grind apples for cider.

Another major industry of the Pennsylvania eighteenth- and nineteenth-century countryside was iron manufacturing (Eggert [1994] 2008). Located near iron deposits and sources of lumber, Pennsylvania iron furnaces supplied domestic markets with pig iron and finished forge products, and

Fig. 9.4. Grist mill along the Conestoga River in Talmage, Pennsylvania, repurposed for industrial use. The mill known as Talmage Mill or Bushong's Mill was erected in 1857 near the site of a mill built in 1777.

though not many of them were ironmasters, Pennsylvania Germans found employment to supplement their farm work in the iron mines, as colliers, and in the furnaces themselves. Of the Pennsylvania German ironmasters, probably the best known are Jacob Huber and his son-in-law Henry William Stiegel. Huber started Elizabeth Furnace in Lancaster County, which was taken over by Stiegel, who also purchased Charming Forge in Berks County. Charming had been started by Germans and was eventually run by Stiegel's nephew George Ege. Stiegel is also important in American industrial history for being the first to manufacture leaded glass in America (Heiges 1976). Although these ironmasters became men of great significance in Pennsylvania colonial and early federal life, perhaps the most lasting contribution of the Pennsylvania Germans to iron manufacture was made by those who were mold carvers for the decorated stove plates produced for the jamb stoves of the houses of German settlers. These magnificent stove plates, called "bibles in iron" by Henry Mercer ([1914a] 1961), feature biblical scenes and other ornamentation and often have German-language inscriptions. They were produced not only by Pennsylvania Germans such as Stiegel but also by other iron manufacturers who employed the German carvers to meet this niche in their local markets.

Whether in country or town, the Pennsylvania Germans were mostly literate, and their interest in reading was served by a German-language press that began printing in America as early as 1728 (Arndt and Eck 1989). In

the early years of German-language printing in America, English printers in Philadelphia such as Andrew Bradford and Benjamin Franklin supplied the press, but soon they were joined by Christopher Sauer in Germantown and later by provincial Pennsylvania German presses such as those at the Ephrata Cloister. Besides Christopher Sauer and his son and the Ephrata brethren, important early Pennsylvania German printers include Heinrich Ebner at Allentown; the Peters family in Harrisburg; the Hütters in Easton; Michael Billmeyer in Germantown; Johann Gruber in Hagerstown, Maryland; Johann Albrecht and the Baers of Lancaster; Carl Cist, Heinrich Miller, Melchior Steiner, and Conrad Zender of Philadelphia; and Johann Ritter of Reading. Among the most common items to come from these presses were Bibles, prayer books and hymnals, almanacs, newspapers, and broadsides. The almanac was particularly valued by the Pennsylvania German farm families, and *Baer's Almanac* persists into the twenty-first century. After the introduction of English as the language of instruction for Pennsylvania German schools in the late nineteenth century, German-language printing soon declined. Other presses have sprung up, however, from time to time among the Pennsylvania Germans, including printers who since the late twentieth century have published English-language materials on Pennsylvania German culture and life, such as Applied Arts Press, Good Books, and Masthof Press, the last of which printed C. Richard Beam's multivolume *Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (2004–11).

A decidedly Pennsylvania German introduction to America was the rifle that was later known as the Kentucky rifle. It is more accurately called the Pennsylvania rifle, because it was first produced in the colonial period in German settlements in Lancaster and surrounding counties and only later taken to Kentucky and the Trans-Appalachian frontier by eastern migrants. Bringing with them the eighteenth-century German Jaeger rifle, Pennsylvania gunsmiths by 1725 were beginning to produce rifles for the American frontier. Henry J. Kauffman (1960) demonstrates that there are three major periods of Pennsylvania German rifle making, beginning with a period before the American Revolution in which the transition from European styles to a Pennsylvania style of rifle can be discovered. Following this early period, and with impetus from the need for firearms in the Revolution, the second period of Pennsylvania rifles, from 1775 to 1830, marks "the Golden Era of Gun Making in Pennsylvania." "This was the period," Kauffman (1960, 16) writes, "when long slender guns were made with beautiful maple stocks, carved with the skill of the finest wood carvers, and ornamented with brass mountings engraved in the finest traditions of the engraver's art in Pennsylvania." These rifles helped the United States win the American Revolution and drew admiration from those who had to face them, including British General George Hanger, who declared, "I never in my life saw better rifles (or men who shot better) than those made in America" (in Kauffman 1960, 26). With a reduced bore and increased length of the barrel, the Pennsylvania rifle allowed the bullet to travel at greater speed, lower trajectory, and deadly

accuracy. As Kauffman states in his preface, "This rifle was the best arm in the world for killing game or men at great distances." The final period of Pennsylvania rifle making lasted from about 1830 to the Civil War, a time that saw the introduction of the percussion cap that replaced the flintlock and the beginnings of the standardization and mass production of firearms. After the Civil War, only large manufacturers, such as Lancaster's Leman Rifle Works, continued making the famous rifle that helped feed families, win wars, and open the frontier.

Along with the rifle, one of the practical masterpieces of Pennsylvania German manufacture was the Conestoga wagon with regard to its role in moving agricultural products to market. But the large Conestoga was not the only product of Pennsylvania's wagon makers. Smaller farm wagons and market wagons were produced in dozens of shops wherever the Pennsylvania Germans settled. Perhaps the most famous of these wagon makers is the Studebaker family, whose wagon works was eventually converted to automobile manufacture. Among those wagon makers who maintained a decidedly Pennsylvania German identity, however, the Gruber family of Berks County, Pennsylvania, ranks of special importance. Still repairing farm wagons and other horse-drawn vehicles as late as 1971, the Gruber Wagon Works offers a look into an industry that remained on the cusp between handwork and full mechanization and mass production (Kube 2005). The Gruber wagon was especially popular among Pennsylvania German farmers in southeastern Pennsylvania. Their most distinctively Pennsylvania German wagon was their hay flat, with its bargelike body and fold-down hay ladders that mark its connection back to the German tradition, which the Grubers probably brought with them from the Palatinate (C. E. Ray 2005, 23). The Gruber Wagon Works was saved for posterity in the condition in which it was left by its owners and can now be toured at the Berks County Heritage Center.

The distinctive presence of Pennsylvania Germans in the industries, including weaving, iron manufacture, gunsmithing, and wagon making, ends at the beginning of mass production or exists on the edge of industrialization. Other such industries, poised on the threshold of full mechanization that saw a particular Pennsylvania German influence include cigar making and hornsmithing. As the center of northern cigar tobacco growing, the Pennsylvania Dutch Country had cigar factories and even home cigar works in almost every village or small town near the tobacco growing regions (J. Kline 1975, 34). Both women and men worked at rolling and packing cigars into the 1920s when cigar processing machines took over the business. Hornsmithing, particularly the production of horn combs and buttons, was once a common Pennsylvania industry, and Pennsylvania Germans, such as the Crouse family of Reinholds in Lancaster County, participated in this trade (R. T. Boyer 1995–96). While the making of horn combs centered in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania was for two centuries the second-leading state in this industry. But with the introduction of molded plastic, the old horn comb became too expensive and too time-consuming to produce, and

in the twenty-first century, the Crouses, as the Grubers were in wagon making, are the last makers carrying on this proto-industrial craft, mostly from a desire to continue the family tradition, as their market has shrunken to craft festival audiences, historical reenactors, and niche buyers. Many of the proto-industrial crafts are still carried on by the Amish and Old Order Mennonites (figs. 9.5, 9.6), especially to serve their horse-drawn agriculture and transportation. Areas of Plain settlement have shops for blacksmiths, harness makers, and buggy makers, among other specialized trades (Kraybill and Nolt 2004).

Fig. 9.5. Third-generation chair maker Charles Starry working in his "cottage industry" in East Berlin, Pennsylvania, 1984. His nephew has carried on the trade into the fourth generation. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

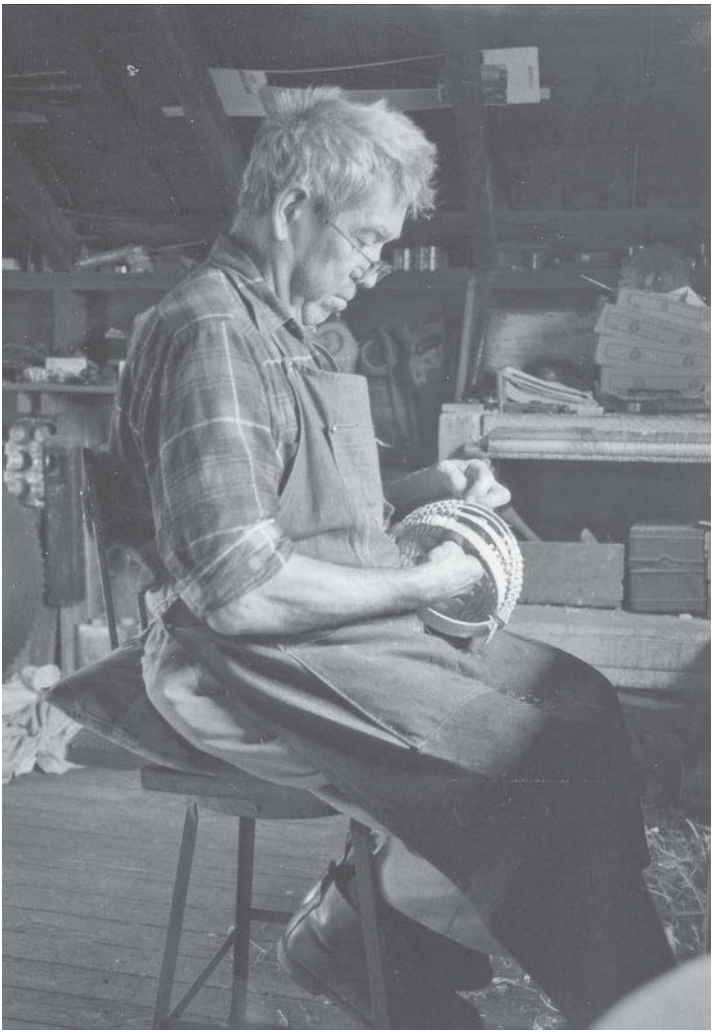


Fig. 9.6. Ray Strauss making baskets for order in his craft shop in Strausstown, Pennsylvania, 1984. He also sharpened mower blades for customers. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

Pennsylvania Germans in Modern Industry

Although often associated with preindustrial crafts, Pennsylvania Germans have notably contributed to the development of modern industries. Rarely major business owners, Pennsylvania Germans nonetheless provided a sizable number of the workforce in several industries, including Portland cement, which was first produced in the Lehigh Valley of Pennsylvania, where it remains a thriving industry today. Pennsylvania Germans also went to work in Pennsylvania's steel mills, manufactured machine parts, and maintained a presence in various textile industries, including hat making and

hosiery. Some farmers near the hard coal regions found work in the anthracite mines of Schuylkill County, and George Korson's *Black Rock* (1960) documents through their folklore how a traditional farming people adjusted to becoming part of a heavy industrial environment. As Korson shows, many Pennsylvania German miners retained their farms or moved to small villages rather than live in the mining patch towns or become beholden to the company store.

Perhaps because of their storied frugality and conservatism with money, there were a few Pennsylvania Germans who became industrial business leaders. Henry Clay Frick (1849–1919), born to Pennsylvania German stock (grandson of Abraham Overholt, who developed the Overholt Whiskey distillery) in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, was one of the richest men in America, controlling so much coal in western Pennsylvania that he became known as the "King of Coke" (Standiford 2005). During his time at the Carnegie Steel Company, he was centrally involved in one of the bitterest labor disputes in American history at the Homestead plant. It ended with seven striking workers being killed by armed Pinkerton Agents sent in by Frick to break up the strike. Originally from Somerset County, Pennsylvania, George F. Baer was no great friend of labor either. Baer, who was the first president of the Pennsylvania German Society, was the president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and J. P. Morgan's spokesman during the anthracite coal strike of 1902. During the strike, which was finally settled in favor of the workers by President Theodore Roosevelt, Baer wrote in a letter, later leaked to the press, that "the rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for—not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men of property to whom God has given control of the property rights of the country, and upon the successful management of which so much depends" (in Miller and Pencak 2002, 265).

Other Pennsylvania German entrepreneurs took a different tack to win the loyalty of their employees. John Wanamaker, another president of the Pennsylvania German Society, "offered his store workers fringe benefits and educational and social programs that anticipated modern personnel practices by decades" (R. Miller and Pencak 2002, 247). Wanamaker's department store in Philadelphia, opened for the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, was the first modern department store in America, and it is claimed that it marks the beginning of what would become the consumerist ethos of twentieth- and twenty-first-century America. Like Wanamaker, Milton S. Hershey tried to build loyalty from his employees through positive means. In Hershey's case, this meant trying to create an ideal community around his chocolate factory in the Lebanon Valley of Pennsylvania. In exchange for security, good housing, and good jobs, Hershey's workers gave up some of their autonomy to the founder's vision of the community. Hershey's paternalism, however, was not always welcome, and his workers began to unionize and demand consistent practices in the workplace in the late 1930s. Hershey biographer Michael D'Antonio (2006, 8) summarizes Hershey's career as not one of ego-

ism in trying to build a utopia to honor himself but one of values that could be called Pennsylvania German—"respect for others, fair dealing, and honest effort" (see also McMahon 1999).

After farming, the leading industry among Pennsylvania Germans in the twenty-first century is food processing and marketing. Pennsylvania Germans have a major role in the snack industry. Pennsylvania leads the nation in the production of potato chips, pretzels, and licensed bakeries. It is also in the top ten in apple, grape, pear, peach, and cherry production, cheese and ice cream, and commercial red meat. While the Pennsylvania Dutch Country can boast leading national snack food brands with Pennsylvania German names such as Herr's, Utz, and Snyder's of Hanover, the area likely has more independent commercial snack food producers than any other place on earth. These salty snacks can be washed down with birch beer (including a Pepsi product labeled as "Pennsylvania Dutch Birch Beer") and other beverages from independent bottlers from the area, such as A-Treat in Allentown and the Kutztown Bottling Works. And for dessert, there is Turkey Hill ice cream, produced by a multigenerational Pennsylvania German family business, whose slogan is "where we make it good is why we make it good."

In 1946, Henry J. Kauffman was able to write:

> It is perhaps interesting to observe that in the Pennsylvania Dutch country today one can still find native craftsmen. There are farmers who make combs of cattle horns in their spare time, others who carve wood and who make baskets, women who hook and braid rugs, make quilts and embroider. There is also an undertaker who paints furniture in his spare time. Several are known to me personally, and there must be dozens more, to encourage us in the belief that the craftsmanship of the Pennsylvania Dutch yet lives, while the art of their past assumes ever greater importance in the contemporary study of early American folk art. ([1946] 1964, 15).

While the numbers of independent craftspeople have diminished since 1946, it is nonetheless the case that Pennsylvania German industry lives on, whether through the entrepreneurs leading snack food companies or in small Amish shops or in those who have gone to work in the textile mills and heavy industry.

From the colonial period into the twenty-first century, travelers, scholars, neighbors, and Pennsylvania Germans themselves have commented on the group's exceptional work ethic and industriousness, demonstrated most significantly in their farming practices and in the rural and small-town industries that supported it. Their historical influence on American agriculture, including the introduction of crop rotation, greater use of fertilizers, the multipurpose barn, and the development and diffusion of the family farm, among other things, provides the basis of the popular image of the solid, steadfast Pennsylvania German farmer. In the twentieth century, the picture of hardworking farmers and skilled rural craftspeople became the symbol of ethnic pride and heritage, as Pennsylvania Germans them-

selves sought to demonstrate, through popular cultural organizations, folk festivals, and scholarship, their role in shaping American life, even as the number of people engaged in agriculture and handicraft declined. By the twenty-first century, this image of the industrious farmer or craftsman remains for many Pennsylvania German communities, as they attempt to cling to these markers of identity in the postmodern world of urban sprawl and rapid technological change. The maintenance, then, of a connection to farming and traditional crafts, together with language, religion, and place, could be as vital today in conserving Pennsylvania German identity as it was in the historical development of Pennsylvania German ethnic culture. If the Pennsylvania German rural heritage cannot be sustained and farming becomes more and more remote for later generations, scholars will need to address the question of what this will mean in fashioning an ethnic identity for a people characterized as "farming, always farming."

It has been the drive to maintain a way of life centered on small communities of farmers and local industries that has sent Pennsylvania Germans beyond their initial regions of settlement in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia in early America to a far-flung diaspora throughout North America today. Responding to the pressures on profitable family farming from the lack of inexpensive, available land, Pennsylvania Germans have spread the techniques and material culture of their Pennsylvanian cultural hearth to significant regional settlements in other areas, establishing a renewed sense of permanent community and identity. Indeed, such cultural diffusion continues, especially through the migration of the Amish and Old Order Mennonites, Pennsylvania German groups who strive to maintain a traditional rural way of life linked to their notions of the sacred. In the wake of growing suburban sprawl and commercial development, they have sought out areas as far west as Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana that promise more acreage for agriculture. In these new locations settled in the twenty-first century, the Amish have formed communities that display Pennsylvania German tradition in farming practices as well as in foodways, craft, language, and lore.

10 Architecture and Cultural Landscapes

GABRIELLE LANIER

Pennsylvania Germans have long been linked with distinctive building characteristics and land use practices in comparison to the landscape formed by British settlers and their descendants. Geographers, folklorists, and architectural historians link many of these material differences to early concentrations of German-speaking inhabitants in southeastern Pennsylvania and subsequent migrations inland. Distinctive building features, including hillside siting, vaulted insulated storage cellars often with running springs, central chimneys anchoring three-room floor plans, brightly painted interiors heated with stoves rather than fireplaces, ceilings insulated with clay and straw-wrapped wooden staves, half-timbered or *Fachwerk* construction, and certain types of interior framing, often suggest the cultural origins of their earliest occupants or builders. Some agricultural buildings are also linked with occupants from German-speaking regions. Bank barns—large multistory barns built into an earthen embankment, usually with a cantilevered upper-level extension over the lower-level stable doors—often correlate with concentrations of Germanic settlement. And while most German-born immigrants to Pennsylvania rejected the traditional Old World house-barn, which sheltered people and livestock under the same roof, several of these multifunctional buildings still survive in parts of the Midwest where a nineteenth-century wave of German immigrants settled (Kniffen [1965] 1986; Marshall 1986; Tishler 1986b).

At the core of most studies of Pennsylvania German buildings is the idea that this group left its own characteristic imprint. Many studies of this distinctive cultural landscape have assumed that ethnicity not only defined Pennsylvania German cultural identity but also typically trumped the other attributes of social status, gender, wealth, or occupation. These studies have often emphasized cultural interactions and the material evidence that resulted. For example, some scholars have mapped the Pennsylvania German presence influencing American cultural development well beyond Pennsylvania. They have traced how construction characteristics and buildings such as bank barns diffused southward and westward from the southeastern Pennsylvania cultural hearth, arguing that these structures, in the aggre-

gate, provide tangible evidence of the cultural heritage of their builders and the major migratory streams that earlier settlers followed (Ensminger 1992; Kniffen [1965] 1986; Zelinsky 1992). Others have explored how Pennsylvania German building features or material objects may have adapted or changed over time as this group gradually assimilated into a more diverse American culture (Bucher 1962; Chappell 1986a; 1986b; Glassie 1968a; Swank 1983; Weaver 1986). Some studies after the 1990s examined Pennsylvania German cultural landscapes anew, often challenging earlier assumptions about the ways that cultures changed (Falk 2008; Lanier 2005; McMurry and Van Dolsen 2011; Nolt 2002; Pendleton 1994).

Several key concepts underpin most of this literature. One is the notion of culture change. Some studies have focused on the ways in which building practices may reveal cultural assimilation or resistance at certain points in time and suggested various models to explain these cultural interactions. One model assumes a basic conflict between a premodern "folk" and a more dominant, modern "English" culture, often resulting in built forms with "English" exteriors but expressive Old World interiors. Some scholars have adopted a more linear model, with resistance at one end, partial adaptation in the middle, and complete assimilation at the other. Others have rejected such assumptions, arguing that culture change is not linear but multidirectional, and cultures borrow freely from one another to create completely new and different, or creolized, forms (Glassie [1972] 1986; Lanier 2005, 21–69; McMurry 2011; Swank 1983).

The notion of ethnicity itself is also central. While some studies view ethnicity as a quality that is static, stable, and can be invested and "read" in buildings, objects, and landscapes, several recent assessments have challenged that assumption, arguing that ethnicity is not inherent or biological but is both socially constructed and changeable. Architectural historian Dell Upton pointedly maintains that many examinations of the built environment accept a static notion of ethnicity; yet ethnicity is actually "a role played for the benefit of others" and one of several available tools that people use to define themselves. Other scholars have maintained that ethnicity is closely intertwined with class or that it formed but one aspect of an identity that could also be inflected by occupation, faith, class, and location (Falk 2008; McMurry and Van Dolsen 2011, 5; Upton 1996). Still, no matter how this literature has approached ethnicity, culture change, and the way those forces affect the material world, the primary idea behind all of these studies is that Pennsylvania Germans left a distinctive mark on the landscape.

Pennsylvania German Stereotypes

This notion of Pennsylvania German distinctiveness has a long history that extends into the present. If most architectural historians readily identify various building features that suggest Germanic influences, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century observers also routinely commented on the noticeably

different way in which German-speaking settlers crafted their barns and houses and managed their farm fields, pastures, and woodlots. Vestiges of the same stereotypes about land use and building practices persist into the twenty-first century, as romanticized notions of "Pennsylvania Germanness" and "Amish Country" are regularly promoted in tourist literature that typically emphasizes the region's rurality.

One of the most pervasive stereotypes focused on the landscape itself. As early as the colonial period, Lancaster County, populated by German-speaking immigrants, was widely known as the "Garden Spot of America" because of its productive farms. The Pennsylvania Germans who tended these farms were long reputed to be superior agriculturists who typically snapped up the best land, settled together, remained in one place, and enhanced land values through their strong legacy of land stewardship (Lanier 2011; Walbert 2002, 8). Isaac Weld (1800, 122–24), who wrote about his travels through Pennsylvania at the end of the eighteenth century, neatly captured this view, observing that "the Germans are some of the best farmers in the United States, and they seldom are to be found but where land is particularly good." A contemporary echoed this assessment, declaring that "the lower class of Dutchmen far exceed all others in the cultivation of the American soils" (Parkinson 1805, 607). In 1794 Theophile Cazenove (1794, 29, 43–44) observed that the German farmers became rich through their diligence and thrift. Although they accumulated wealth, they either kept the money idle or bought more land with it, and they always took good care of their farms. Their superior farming skills increased land values, for, as another contemporary noted, wherever German settlers were numerous, "their unremitting industry and attachment to place always makes land dear in their neighborhood" (T. Cooper 1794, 95).

Pennsylvania Germans were especially renowned for their oversized barns, which observers sometimes compared to cathedrals or churches. These barns were particularly noticeable when compared to their dwellings, which were reputedly much smaller and meaner. Writing in 1789, Thomas Anburey (1789, 279–80) marveled at the large, efficient barns that seemed to sprout where German-speaking people settled. They were "nearly as large as a common country church, the roof very lofty," with an arrangement including threshing floor, stables and cattle stalls, a hayloft, and a coach house "all under one roof." William Cobbett (1819, 63–64) was equally smitten. "This is a fine part of America," he exclaimed of the German-settled areas near Lancaster, Pennsylvania. "*Big Barns*, and modest dwelling houses. Barns of *stone*, a *hundred feet* long and *forty* wide, with two floors and raised roads to go into them, so that the wagons go into the *first floor up-stairs*. Below are stables, stalls, pens, and all sorts of conveniences. Up-stairs are rooms for threshed corn and grain; for tackle, for meal, for all sorts of things. . . . These are very fine buildings."

In fact, Pennsylvania Germans were reputed to invest most of their money in their farms and barns, often at the expense of their dwellings and

personal comfort. One eighteenth-century traveler wrote, "It is pretty to behold our back Settlements, where the barns are as large as palaces, while the Owners live in log huts; a sign tho' of thriving farmers" (Evans 1753). Another concurred in the 1790s, noting that in the German-settled parts of Pennsylvania, "the houses are small, and kept in very bad order; the barns are large, and in very good repair" (la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1800, 350). Cazenove (1794, 82–85) also observed a pervasive disregard for the trappings of wealth among the Germans, sniffing that "if the farmers liked money less, they would surround themselves with more conveniences and live in plenty." Even the immediate surroundings of most Pennsylvania German dwellings left much to be desired. "No care is taken to keep the entrance of the house free of stones and mud—not one tree—not one flower," he wrote, and added, "In the vegetable garden, weeds intermingled with cabbages and a few turnips and plants." He concluded that "with the exception of the size of the barn and a larger cultivated area, you do not distinguish between the rich Pennsylvania farmer and the poor farmer of other states."

Such comments, though widespread through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, may have been exaggerated, and some studies have since challenged the most prevalent assumptions about Pennsylvania German land use. The geographer James T. Lemon (1966), for example, found that the Germans, English, and Scots-Irish left landscape imprints that were largely indistinguishable from one another and concluded that most contemporary observers had been biased in stereotyping the Pennsylvania Germans as superior farmers. Philip Pendleton's (1994, 23–24, 29–35, 38–41) examination of agricultural practices in Pennsylvania's Oley Valley similarly revealed that the Pennsylvania German imprint there was not particularly distinctive. Although German-speaking farmers have long been associated with a preference for limestone soil, Pendleton argued that in the Oley Valley their settlement patterns related more to the timing of settlement and other factors than to ethnicity. Pennsylvania German farm tools likewise evinced few distinctions from the tools of other groups (Lanier 2011).

Other investigations have similarly concluded that material distinctions between Pennsylvania Germans—who were themselves a diverse group—and other groups may have been overstated. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tax lists do not support the stereotypes of Pennsylvania Germans as superior farmers who privileged their farms and barns at the expense of their houses. Tax assessments reveal few distinctions between the dwellings and barns of Pennsylvania Germans and others in several parts of Pennsylvania in 1798, although Pennsylvania Germans did tend to be noticeably wealthier than their counterparts. By 1815, although average farm sizes had decreased for everyone since 1798, distinctions between ethnic groups were still not particularly pronounced except in terms of wealth. All farmers were still likely to own a similar collection of buildings, including a house, a barn, and perhaps another outbuilding such as a stable or artisan shop. However, oversized bank barns with projecting forebays were becoming much more

popular by this time, and Pennsylvania Germans were much more likely to own them (Lanier 2005, 36–50; 2011).

Domestic Building Practices

Although prevailing agricultural practices often influenced barns and farm buildings, Pennsylvania German houses were also closely related to agriculture. A distinctive aspect of many of these early dwellings is how closely their forms were integrated with agricultural and other productive processes. Houses often had provision for significant food storage inside. Large bins might store quantities of grain in the attic. Smoke chambers or *Rauchkammern* for curing meat often stood in one corner of the garret. The room over the kitchen in some Pennsylvania German dwellings may have been used for threshing grain. Barrel-vaulted insulated cellars, frequently excavated beneath the formal living spaces, whitewashed for cleanliness, and furnished with running springs, kept root crops and other food at even temperatures (fig. 10.1), and the oral traditions associated with one such cellar spring maintained that the children of the house could use table forks to catch shad entering the cellar on their spring run. And at least one such cellar may have been fitted with pot stills for distilling. Although such cellars were heavily insulated for the primary purpose of keeping food cool, popular tradition has long romanticized many buildings with such cellars as "forts," maintaining that they were used for defense against Indians and that the narrow ventilation openings in them were actually gun slits (Bergengren 2004; Bucher 1962–63; Long 1960; Massey et al. 1995, 83; Pendleton 2004).

Fig. 10.1. Vaulted cellar, Benedict Eshleman house, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1759. This view depicts not only the enormous capacity that Pennsylvania Germans' root cellars could reach but also the careful workmanship devoted to utilitarian space. *Photograph by Sally McMurry, 1999*

Some houses also combined living space with work areas, with large portions of the dwelling explicitly devoted to productive functions. House-mills, for example, mixed living and milling functions under the same roof and are related to the house-barn tradition. While evidence for house-barns in Pennsylvania is scant, several midwestern examples of such buildings constructed by nineteenth-century German immigrants continued the Old World practice of merging sleeping, family, and social spaces with other types of productive activity, blending living space with accommodations for livestock, farm equipment, and crops in the same building. Other Pennsylvania German buildings also incorporated living and work functions under one roof. For example, the ancillary buildings on some Oley Valley farmsteads joined finished living quarters with work space dedicated to laundering, dairying, or butchering activities. Such buildings were often sited on embankments, with cellar work areas and living quarters on the upper floor (Marshall 1986; Pendleton 1994; Tishler 1986a; Tishler and Witmer 1986).

Wherever they put down roots in the New World, German-speaking people tended to employ a range of distinctive construction features. A particularly idiosyncratic roof framing system appears on many buildings in areas where Pennsylvania Germans settled or migrated. Such frames usually consist of a set of lighter common rafters supported by a heavier substructure of principal rafters linked by double collar ties (in German known as a *liegender Dachstuhl*). These roofs were typically pitched at about forty-five degrees, often with a slight outward flare or kick at one or both eaves. Such substructures may have originally been framed so substantially in order to support the considerable weight of overlapping clay tiles. In Pennsylvania, whether they were originally clad in tiles or not, many of these roofs often enclosed double attics, which could also be used for grain storage. Further south, where Pennsylvania Germans migrated into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, the same heavy roof framing appears on numerous buildings with Germanic origins (fig. 10.2), although to date no evidence of tile roofs on Germanic buildings in that part of Virginia has been found. Similarly, evidence for tiled roofs in the German-settled parts of Missouri is minimal (Bucher 1962–63; Chappell 1986a, 32–34; Massey et al. 1995, 83–84; van Ravenswaay [1977] 2006, 109).

Some Pennsylvania Germans also utilized the Old World tradition of half-timbering or *Fachwerk* construction, in which the timber frame of the building—including its posts, braces, and structural members—was left exposed on the exterior, but the wall space in between primary framing members was filled with a core of stone, brick, wattle, or other nonstructural materials and sometimes covered with a plaster-like daub (figs. 10.3, 10.4, 10.5). The result was a surface that was both decorative and distinctive. Like other idiosyncratic construction features, *Fachwerk* appeared beyond the confines of Pennsylvania, including the Midwest, North Carolina, Texas, and wherever German-speaking people settled or migrated. Well established by the Middle Ages, *Fachwerk* had become widely accepted in the eighteenth centu-

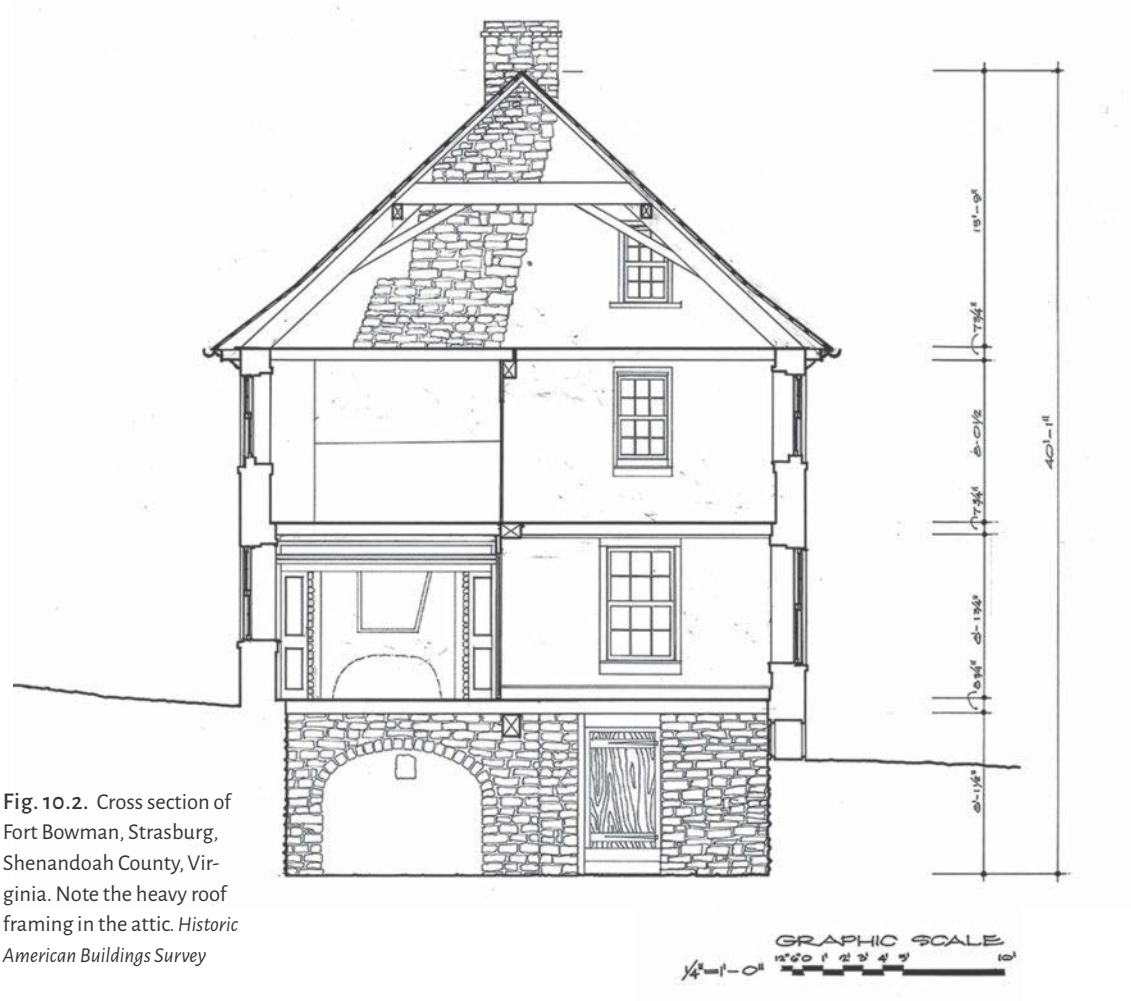


Fig. 10.2. Cross section of Fort Bowman, Strasburg, Shenandoah County, Virginia. Note the heavy roof framing in the attic. *Historic American Buildings Survey*

ry in the parts of Germany that constituted Prussia, where widespread land devastation prompted the government to establish regulations mandating such construction techniques to conserve scarce building materials. This part of Germany was the source area for most of the German immigrants who settled in Wisconsin in the 1850s, and the largest known concentration of *Fachwerk* buildings in the United States also remains in Wisconsin. A similarly elaborate system was used to insulate or provide a wall finish in many Germanic buildings. Sometimes called "Dutch biscuit" insulation, this consisted of wooden pales or staves wrapped with straw, set in guide channels between ceiling or floor joists or rafters, and then covered with clay or mud. The surface was then finished with a final coat, often of plaster (Bishir and Southern 2003, 14; L. Taylor 1980, 170–71; Tishler 1986a; van Ravenswaay [1977] 2006, 113, 114, 139, 150, 151, 153, 155, 162, 278, 286).

Other building characteristics have been linked with Pennsylvania German settlements and migratory streams. Corner post log construction

The farm of Susanna Spangler. And her Brother
Yargle Spangler. one Mile from town. In 1802.
Joseph Miller. and his little Brother Lewis Miller.
was Send to the place, for Some Vinegar. A—
Gallon— our Money was not plain on the face without
the full Impression Worn of. it was A Spanish
quarter dollar. She Saying I wont take it So much
Rub't and Smooth. Joseph had to run home for A
plain quarter. and I remaind at the house — till he
came back. the — place is now. At this time were the
Baltimore pike road run by. at that time the road run at
Jacob Fisels. medow over the hill. and A Lane only run
by Susanne house, and Rouses mill, it was all Covert
with wood onley a few Acre's Clear land. it running
in to the Borough line all wood land. Susanne and
her brother never was married. the were old. Strange looking
were the to me. and there dogs — playfull.
I was fond of being present were odd and Strange people are.
and So many living in the County. of Such Kind, and manners.
Curious in there dress and ringlet cheeks. What ideas in Such people.

Fig. 10.3. Drawing by Lewis Miller showing *Fachwerk* construction on the farm of Susanna Spangler and her brother Yargle, York, Pennsylvania, 1802 (see also color photo gallery). *York County History Center*

Facing page, top

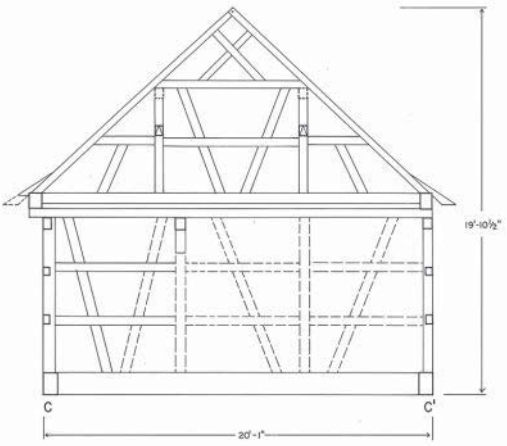
Fig. 10.4. Exterior view of *Fachwerk* with plaster over wattle and daub in-fill, Strasburg, Pennsylvania, 1996

Facing page, bottom

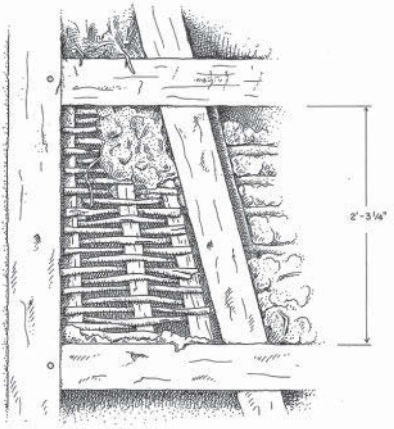
Fig. 10.5. Drawing of Stiegel House *Fachwerk*, floor plan, and detail of wattle-and-daub infill, Heidelberg Township, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, c. 1757. *Historic American Buildings Survey*

techniques, although not used exclusively by any one group in Pennsylvania, tended to be more closely associated with the German-speaking people there. Diagonal wall braces in Germanic frames often extended from one horizontal member to another, rather than directly from a horizontal to a vertical, and floor joists often lay atop the girder rather than being tenoned into it. Some wooden plank doors were built with characteristically tapered battens that were dovetailed directly into the vertical planks at top and bottom. Additional features linked to the Pennsylvania German presence include the raised cooking hearth; decorative hinges, latches, and other interior hardware; built-in furniture; intensely colored interiors; and, probably most significantly, a heating system that favored stoves.

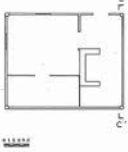
The Pennsylvania German preference for stoves actually caused certain house forms to be closely identified with them. Johann Schöpf (1788, 125), who traveled through the German-settled parts of Pennsylvania in the late eighteenth century, observed that German dwellings were easy to discern

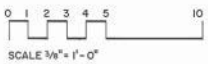


RECONSTRUCTED FIRST PERIOD FRAMING SECTION – 1756



DETAIL OF WATTLE AND DAUB INFILL





SCALE 3/8" = 1'-0"

DRAWN BY: BERNARD HERMAN, WILLIAM MACINTIRE, 1984

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR	NAME AND LOCATION OF STRUCTURE STIEGEL HOUSE 1757 SCHAEFFERSTOWN, HEIDELBERG TOWNSHIP, LEBANON COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA	SURVEY NO. PA-5341	HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY SHEET 5 OF 7 SHEETS	LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

from the exterior and the chimney placement. "If of one chimney only, placed in the middle," he wrote, "the house should be a German's and furnished with stoves, the smoke from each led into one flue and so taken off; if of two chimneys, one at each gable end there should be fire places, after the English plan." Schöpf was probably referring to a form commonly associated with Pennsylvania Germans: the three-room *Flurküchenhaus*, or *Ernhaus* plan, sometimes also termed the continental house by scholars (figs. 10.6, 10.7). The term *Flurküchenhaus* is not a native term, but it is perhaps the best-known one among scholars used to describe this type of plan (McMurry 2011, 32–33). This form drew upon Old World roots but actually achieved full expression in Pennsylvania rather than in Germany. It was the most widespread type built by Pennsylvania Germans.

The essential aspect of this house is that its kitchen hearth is located in the lobby entry, immediately inside the front door, which made the primary working and social space in the house publicly accessible. These dwellings usually consisted of three unequal-sized rooms grouped around a large chimney, an arrangement that resulted in a distinctive off-center chimney stack and an asymmetrical placement of door and window openings on the exterior. The interior consisted of a large front-to-back kitchen or *Küche* furnished with a large cooking fireplace and opposing entrances, a parlor, and a smaller rear chamber or *Kammer*. The kitchen fireplace usually backed up to the parlor, which had no fireplace but was heated instead with a closed five-plate or jamb stove that was fueled through a small opening in the back of the kitchen fireplace. Because it was heated with a stove, this most formal room in the house, which was often furnished with built-in benches in one corner, sometimes with a wall shelf or cupboard for a Bible above, was called the stove room or *Stube*. The third room, usually tucked behind the *Stube*, was more private and could be used as a first-floor bedroom. Occasionally such houses had a fourth ground-floor room and sometimes only two rooms (Bergengren 2004; Weaver 1986).

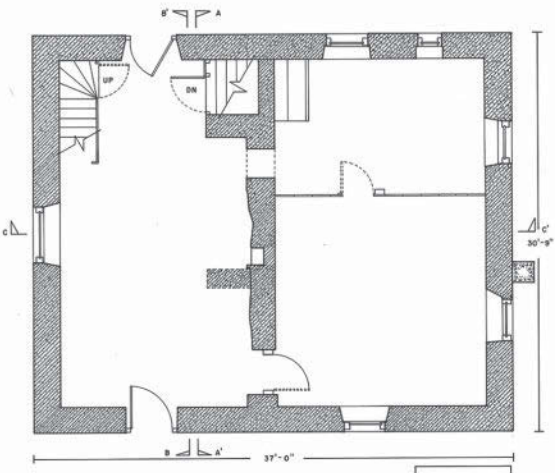
While their off-center chimney stacks made these houses stand out to observers like Schöpf, what truly made them distinctive was their reliance on stoves to heat the formal space. In fact, material culture scholar William Woys Weaver (1986, 243) has argued that Germans "viewed stoves as an absolute necessity, as material proof of domesticity," and that "a room without a stove was not a *stube*." Period observers also often commented on the "German-ness" of stoves and the importance that Germans accorded to them. When visiting an inn in 1797 kept by Pennsylvania Germans who had settled in Strasburg, Virginia, the duc d'Orléans (Louis-Phillipe 1796–99, 41) felt himself "wafted to Germany, in the presence of so much of its custom and contrivance." He took special note of the room where he dined with the host and hostess, in which "there was a stove, and benches in an alcove." Other observers frequently commented on the distinctive and sometimes stifling type of heat that such stoves produced. Count Rumford (1796, 7) observed that there was "an oppressiveness in the air of a room heated by a German

Facing page, top

Fig. 10.6. Henry Antes House containing a three-room floor plan, Frederick, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, 1736. *Photograph by Smallbones, 2011, Creative Commons*

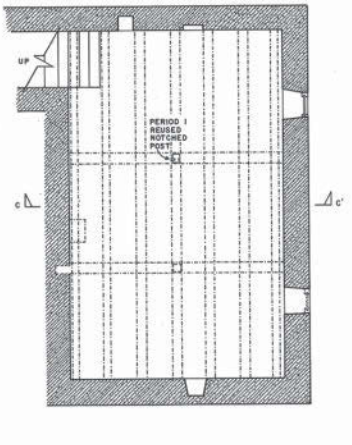
Facing page, bottom

Fig. 10.7. First floor and cellar plan, Henry Antes House, Frederick, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, 1736. *Historic American Buildings Survey*



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

KEY
STONE
BRICK
CONCRETE
OVERHEAD
MISSING



CELLAR PLAN

TYPICAL JOINT IN PERIOD I SPLINED PARTITION WALL (FIRST FLOOR) - ACTUAL SIZE

SCALE: 1/4"=1' 0 1 2 3 4 5

DRAWN BY: NANCY ZEIGLER AND GABRIELLE LANIER, 1990

C.H.A.E.
UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NAME AND LOCATION OF STRUCTURE
ANTES HOUSE
FREDERICK TOWNSHIP, MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

SURVEY NO.
PA-5623

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY
SHEET 1 OF 8 SHEETS

stove," and when Isaac Weld (1800, 350) visited Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, he found that the small work rooms in the public buildings were heated by stoves "to such a pitch . . . that on entering them at first we could scarcely breathe." Cazenove (1794, 26) likewise found the rooms in the buildings he visited at Bethlehem to be "overheated by large German stoves" and observed that the overcrowded conditions and lack of ventilation were "unhealthful."

Stove-heated three-room houses were not the only house forms favored by Pennsylvania Germans, but they were the one that was most closely associated with them. Other variants included a four-room plan sometimes called a *Kreuzehaus* or cross-configured plan, in which the kitchen was partitioned, thereby creating a more protective entry, and a house with an embanked gable that has occasionally been termed a Swiss bank house. In all of these arrangements, though, the key feature was that one entered the living space directly from the outside, instead of entering an intermediary closed space such as the central hall of a Georgian-plan house. Period images often show how the front doors of many such dwellings opened directly onto a street or lane, facilitating direct contact with the outdoors (Lanier 2011). Some scholars such as Henry Glassie (1982), James Deetz (1996), and Charles Bergengren (1988; 1994) have interpreted such spaces as being socially "open" as opposed to "closed" in that they helped to promote social interaction and egalitarianism.

Although Pennsylvania Germans began to adopt new forms toward the end of the eighteenth century, and the three-room plan had mostly fallen out of favor by then, it continued to be built in other areas such as the Shenandoah Valley into the first few decades of the nineteenth century and, in rare instances, in some parts of Pennsylvania even into the early twentieth century (McMurry 2011). Still, other spatial arrangements that blended old and new ideas began to appear with increasing frequency. Pennsylvania Germans adopted a range of house types that had "Georgianized" central halls, known as *Durchgängigen* or "through-passage" house types. Some wholly new or creolized forms incorporated a central hall but also retained more traditional Germanic elements, such as barrel-vaulted cellars, paled insulated ceilings, and one or more rooms that were always intended to be heated with stoves rather than fireplaces. Often the exteriors and the most public dwelling spaces of such buildings were the ones that changed over time the most significantly, while the least public spaces, or those that occupants used the most, tended to retain their Germanic elements the longest (Bergengren 2004; Glassie [1972] 1986; Lanier 2005; Van Dolsen 1990, 13–19).

One nineteenth-century form commonly found throughout Pennsylvania, the Mid-Atlantic, the South, the Midwest, and even west of the Mississippi is the German American house with two front doors, sometimes called the "Pennsylvania farmhouse" or "Mid-Atlantic farmhouse" type (fig. 10.8). The symmetrical facades of these houses masked a more or less traditional three-room arrangement inside, with two front doors leading separately to the kitchen and parlor. Versions of this usually two-story, squarish form

Fig. 10.8. Middle Atlantic house with double doors, Stewartstown, York County, Pennsylvania, 2012. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

were built as early as 1780 and continued to be built into the 1940s in some areas, but the type is most frequently associated with the mid-nineteenth century (Glassie [1972] 1986, 406–8).

Most scholars agree that the form was a vernacular adaptation of the Georgian idea but have debated its origins. Some have interpreted it as a Georgian type with its center hall excised for reasons of practicality, and others have maintained that it is really an Old World interior stuffed into a Georgian shell or have emphasized that such house types were usually built by second- or third-generation Pennsylvania Germans adopting the new national spirit while also retaining aspects of their traditional local culture. Although most such hybrid forms certainly began to emerge after German-speaking people had inhabited Pennsylvania for several generations, historian Sally McMurry (2011) has also noted that architectural changes appeared at the same time that regional agriculture shifted from diversified crop farming to a mixed grain and livestock economy, suggesting that the built environment may have responded to changing agricultural markets and political circumstances. During this period some agricultural activities moved from houses to barns and other outbuildings, but other domestic spaces linked to food processing remained central (Bergengren 2004; Domer 1994; Glassie [1972] 1986; Rauhauser 2002, 35–36, 41, 79–80).

Such changes in architecture and prevailing building practices are complex and can result from multiple factors. Scholars have sometimes interpreted these shifts as evidence of changing ethnic identity. For example, Edward Chappell's (1986a) study of acculturation in Rhenish houses in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia argues that shortly after 1800, at around the same time that they discarded most of their standard German language, builders there consciously demonstrated their awareness of fashion by altering the exteriors of their houses while retaining the most ethnically resonant features inside. Chappell notes that while cultures under pressure from a dominant group usually jettison their most visible minority distinctions first, this early nineteenth-century period of change also witnessed a widespread florescence in other culturally rich traditions, such as woodwork in domestic interiors, decorative gravestone motifs, fraktur, painted barn decorations, and regional Germanic dialects. Scott Swank (1983), in an important study of Pennsylvania German decorative arts, interpreted the changes in the southeastern Pennsylvania German architectural landscape as the result of a widespread English Georgian architectural revolution. Still others have shown how Pennsylvania German spatial arrangements blended with non-German features such as symmetrical exteriors to create entirely new hybrid or creolized forms, with several noting the phenomenon of exterior acculturative changes masking interior cultural retention (Chappell 1986a; Glassie [1972] 1986; Lanier 2005; Van Dolsen 1990, 1–50).

Barns, Outbuildings, and Farmscapes

Although contemporary observers often equated orderly, well-tended farm fields with Pennsylvania Germans, folklorist Henry Glassie ([1972] 1986, 418–20) has shown that all farmscapes throughout southeastern Pennsylvania tended to follow a linear model. Houses and barns were usually lined up gable to gable, with the primary buildings typically facing somewhere between south and east and oriented squarely to topography and landscape features. Domestic outbuildings tended to be grouped around the farmhouse, while the agricultural outbuildings were arranged around the barn. Glassie speculated that the Old World tradition of combining dwelling space and shelter for livestock in the same building, which existed throughout much of Europe, may have given rise to the more dispersed New World linear farmscape arrangement that he interprets as a cultural response to the New World environment. Because their larger landholdings gave them the freedom to construct more dispersed arrangements, New World farmers merely pulled the traditional house-barn apart into separate buildings, housing farm families and their livestock separately (Lanier 2011, 17–19; Marshall 1986, 67; D. Schneider 1994, 13).

The house certainly formed an important part of the average Pennsylvania German farmstead, but the barn constituted its heart. Barns were so critical to the farm that they were often rebuilt or replaced with more mod-

ern structures. The importance that some Pennsylvania Germans attached to their barns, reflected in one farmer's exclamation that "I have a new barn and the house is fit for habitation," echoes the comments about Pennsylvania German priorities made by so many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century observers. Still, although the physical form of barns reflected prevailing agricultural practices, and changed along with them, the crops raised by Pennsylvania German farmers did not differ significantly from those of other farmers. In fact, the agricultural system may have actually worked to minimize distinctions between national groups, encouraging them to speak a "common agricultural language" (Fegley 1987, 34; Pendleton 1994, 31).

From the time of settlement, all farmers in southeastern Pennsylvania had always practiced diversified agriculture, but the types of crops they raised changed over time. Southeastern Pennsylvania agriculture passed through three basic phases: a settlement period through the mid-eighteenth century during which the outbuildings standing on most farms were few and rudimentary; a post-Revolutionary expansion phase that saw the construction of large, permanent outbuildings and intensified livestock and crop production; and a commercial phase beginning in the mid-nineteenth century that witnessed simultaneous diversification and specialization in some high-value commodities (McMurry and Garrison 2004).

Most eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Pennsylvania farms raised wheat for broader markets and engaged in subsistence farming for local markets and personal use. Farmers grew other crops, including rye, barley, Indian corn, oats, apples, peaches, and flax, but usually concentrated on wheat due to high prices in the eighteenth century. Typical livestock included swine, cattle, poultry, horses, and sheep. During the settlement period, barns often stood along with several other structures on an average farm, but not all homesteads had barns. While these earlier buildings were usually either three-part structures or small barns with an upper story of log or frame built atop a stone basement, they were nowhere near as imposing as the large bank barns that earlier observers had associated so closely with Pennsylvania Germans (figs. 10.9, 10.10). Bank barns were characterized by an embanked entry on one side, usually with an overhanging "overshot" or forebay on the other, and multiple levels. Most likely originating in the Prätigau region of Switzerland and appearing around the time of the Revolution, bank barns coincided with several broader agricultural shifts in Pennsylvania. Farmers at that time began to favor horses rather than oxen for motive power, they expanded production, and they concentrated more intensively on cereal crops. Bank barns effectively supported the mixed husbandry that resulted. They could efficiently shelter livestock and farm equipment while also storing large quantities of fodder and grain, thus conserving labor and consolidating multiple functions under a single roof. These barns became very popular in the core German-settled regions of southeastern Pennsylvania, eventually diffusing outward to adjacent parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and western New Jersey, southward into the Shenandoah

Valley of Virginia and West Virginia, and beyond to parts of the Midwest and Ontario. Although some studies have shown that Pennsylvania Germans were more likely than other farmers to own bank barns as the nineteenth century progressed, such barns may have been a response to an industrializing economy rather than a marker of ethnicity. Some scholars have speculated that these barns were not actually German in origin but represented a type of New World hybrid that also showed evidence of English influence (Dornbusch and Heyl 1956; Ensminger 1992, 1–50, 147–53; Glassie 1968b, 88–93; 1970, 25; Long 1972b; McMurry and Garrison 2004, 64–67, 73; Pendleton 1994, 29–33, 38–41, 94; Shoemaker 1959c).

A third agricultural shift occurred around the mid-nineteenth century, when farmers increasingly began to emphasize livestock and dairying. As farming commercialized and as farmers brought more acreage into production, they also relied more heavily on horse-powered reaping and mowing equipment, which resulted in more mid-nineteenth-century barns with runways. The bank barn remained both adaptable and popular, but one late nineteenth-century agricultural change that dictated a specialized building

Fig. 10.9. View of nineteenth-century bank barn near Street, Harford County, Maryland, showing the embankment leading up to doors on the nongable end, second level, 2012. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

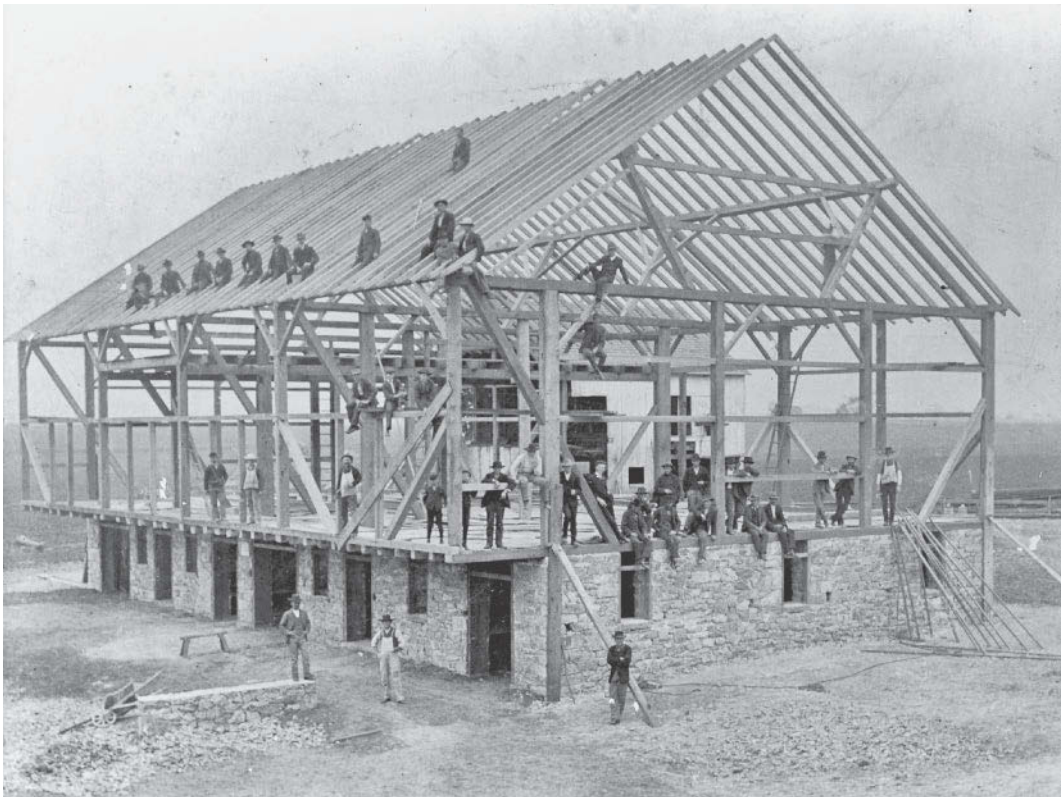


Fig. 10.10. Construction of bank barn showing forebay over lower level, Hegins Valley, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania. *Photograph courtesy of Simon J. Bronner*

type was the shift toward growing tobacco. Farmers first began growing tobacco in southeastern Pennsylvania around the 1840s, and by the early 1900s Lancaster County was producing the bulk of Pennsylvania's cigar-leaf tobacco. This crop required a well-ventilated structure for air-drying the leaves, so tobacco barns tended to be long, narrow buildings fitted with multiple ventilator doors that could be adjusted to admit air. These barns may have also functioned as important social spaces. Other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century changes—including the mechanization of agriculture, the rise of the automobile, the introduction of new building materials and farming equipment, and the advent of electrification—effected less visible but no less profound changes on the typical Pennsylvania German farmstead (Fegley 1987; Lanier 2011; McMurry and Garrison 2004, 64–67).

Traditional timber frame Pennsylvania barns are still sometimes built in Amish and Mennonite communities, but many builders use commercially milled lumber and prefabricated trusses. Those who do still build in the traditional way tend not to retain the forebay so closely associated with traditional Sweitzer barns, even when reerecting old barn frames. Sometimes new barns modeled after Pennsylvania barns have also been built using

more modern materials such as cement block for foundations and prefabricated steel Quonset huts for the upper level (Ensminger 1992, 198).

Farmsteads usually included other outbuildings in addition to the barn and farmhouse. Multiple outbuildings were less common on eighteenth-century farmsteads, but farmers increasingly built them as the nineteenth century progressed. These often had specific functions. Typical agricultural outbuildings included hog pens—most often located between the house and the barn—stables, and artisan shops. Farmsteads frequently supported a range of domestic outbuildings, too. These mostly related to the household functions of laundering and food processing or storage or provided additional living space. Domestic outbuildings such as springhouses, smokehouses, bake houses, detached kitchens, distilleries, dairies, washhouses, separate root or cave cellars, icehouses, privies, fruit-drying houses, and artisan shops stood on some Pennsylvania German farms, but non-Germans built these types just as frequently. However, combination outbuildings designed for multiple functions did become more common in the nineteenth century, and many appeared on Pennsylvania German farmsteads. Some combination buildings continued the more peculiarly Germanic tradition of incorporating living and work spaces in the same building. Philip Pendleton has observed that the widespread removal of the messier work functions from dwellings that occurred for all national groups during the early national period had a particularly significant effect on Pennsylvania German farmsteads due to their long-standing preference for combining food processing, work, and dwelling functions under the same roof. Still, Pennsylvania Germans were no different from their British American counterparts in following the broader trend of removing heavier work processes out of the main house and into an array of functionally specific outbuildings (Lanier 2005; Pendleton 1994, 84–93; 2004).

One outbuilding type closely associated with Pennsylvania German farms is the ancillary house, a secondary structure that combined living and work space under the same roof. Functions within these buildings were often segregated, with work and dwelling spaces accessed by separate doors. The ancillary type may have derived from multiple European precedents, one of the most distinctive of which was the grandparents' dower house or *Stoeckli*, a separate dwelling for housing elders who had retired from active farming. Often built as scaled-down, one-room-deep versions of larger houses, dower houses became common in German-speaking Europe by the early eighteenth century. Some earlier scholars interpreted ancillary houses as being the first permanent houses built on many Pennsylvania German farmsteads, later to be replaced by larger houses and relegated to secondary roles, but several of these buildings were more likely built as ancillary houses. Although ancillaries did combine living and work functions in a traditional manner, they were designed to minimize communication between living and work spaces, thereby bowing to the new architectural order that

promoted separation of heavy work from polite spaces. Philip Pendleton observes that the subordinate role of most ancillary buildings, underscored by their design as well as their position on the farm, mirrored the diminished role of their intended occupants. Still, not all such buildings were used as retirement quarters, and some were even planned as housing for tenants (Pendleton 1994, 63–64, 84–93; 2004).

Interpretations and Persistent Themes

While the nature, distinctiveness, and timing of the Pennsylvania German imprint on the landscape has intrigued observers since the eighteenth century, prevailing questions and interpretations of that imprint have gradually shifted as intellectual perspectives have changed. The focus on cultural process and the themes of ethnic and cultural identity and culture change persist, but scholars have become increasingly interested in the interplay of that cultural identity with other influences such as economics, gender, class, and modernity.

One of the earliest and most famous chroniclers of Pennsylvania German cultural landscapes was probably Benjamin Rush, who wrote about Pennsylvania German manners in an essay printed in the *Columbian Magazine* in 1789. To Rush ([1789] 1910), the Germans in Pennsylvania effectively personified the prevailing ideal of the noble and virtuous farmer. With his unequivocal remark that an observer could easily distinguish German farms from others by their huge barns, plain and compact houses, high fences, extensive orchards, fertile fields, luxuriant meadows, "and a general appearance of plenty and neatness in every thing that belongs to them," Rush perpetuated many of the same stereotypes that other contemporary observers had seized upon. While Rush may very well have praised the Pennsylvania Germans to gain their support for American nationalism, the stereotype he advanced has persisted, for better or worse, often to dog or spark subsequent scholarship.

Many of the earliest studies of Pennsylvania German building traditions in the early twentieth century adopted Benjamin Rush's laudatory tone. These works tended to be more descriptive and celebratory of Pennsylvania German culture than analytical or interpretive. They were, in large part, responding to the same impulse that fueled the creation of the Pennsylvania German Society in the late nineteenth century: the concern that the rural-family focus of American life was declining and that the Pennsylvania German way of life would soon disappear. A photographer who worked very much in this vein was H. Winslow Fegley, an antiquarian who documented Pennsylvania German culture in the early twentieth century. While his glass-plate negatives and picture postcards emphasize the rural and historical, they also capture Pennsylvania German agricultural life just as mechanization was beginning to take hold. Fegley's photographs show that, while still largely agricultural and rural on the surface, the Pennsylvania German

countryside was beginning to change in response to broader changes, including the commercialization of agriculture, the rise of the automobile, and the shift away from horse-drawn transportation (Fegley 1987).

The desire of Fegley and the Pennsylvania German Society to preserve all things Pennsylvania German also coincided with a growing interest in classifying houses by type, initiated by the German nineteenth-century movement promoting study of the farmhouse, or *Hausforschung*. Originally begun in the 1850s, this movement, which was also associated with the search for German cultural identity and folk roots, brought its own unique baggage into the study of Pennsylvania German landscapes: a political agenda and the imposition of late nineteenth-century cultural values on the past. Some practitioners also worked to lend a scientific appearance to such classification systems. Earlier American scholarship relied heavily on some of these German studies, which sometimes practiced "selective ethnicity" and are suffused with the ethnocentric values of their era. As a consequence, the labels for house types, which were coined in this period rather than the period of their origin, should also be considered as historical artifacts in their own right (McMurry 2011; Weaver 1986).

A significant figure in the Pennsylvania German architectural identification and preservation movement was restoration architect G. Edwin Brumbaugh (1890–1983), who wrote a major study of Pennsylvania German architecture in this same celebratory tradition in the 1930s. Like many of his contemporaries, Brumbaugh concentrated mostly on houses considered to be the "architectural monuments" of the Pennsylvania Germans, largely because these tended to be the buildings that survived and were deemed worthy of preserving. Although Brumbaugh's scholarship was very much a product of its time, his work still set an important precedent because he advocated a more archaeological approach to architectural analysis than what most architectural historians practiced at the time. He also viewed culture change as multidirectional rather than linear, arguing that German and English architectural ideas influenced one another (Brumbaugh 1933; Pendleton 2004; Swank 1983, 21–22).

Scholars in the mid-twentieth century breathed new life into the study of Pennsylvania German cultural landscapes, in part by introducing a new range of disciplinary perspectives. Coming from academic backgrounds such as folklore, geography, anthropology, and history in addition to architectural history, they raised fresh questions about cultural change and process, provoking a reexamination of Pennsylvania German buildings and landscapes. Some of the more prominent of these studies include Henry Glassie's more theoretical analysis of the continental plan house, Arthur Lawton's study of the premetric German foot as a unit of measurement, and several other key studies of Pennsylvania German building practices that appeared in the pages of *Pennsylvania Folklife* in the 1960s (Bucher 1962; 1962–63; Glassie 1968a; Lawton 1969; 1973; Long 1960). In *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (1968), Henry Glassie identified a Pennsylvania

German cultural hearth, which constituted a source area for the broader diaspora of ideas, cultural practices, and material culture.

Following on the heels of these reexaminations, Charles van Ravenswaay ([1977] 2006) undertook a major study of the arts and architecture of the German settlements of Missouri in the 1970s. While his treatment was essentially more of a comprehensive, regionally specific survey of known examples than an interpretation, it brought the material culture of these settlements to the attention of other scholars and extended questions about diffusion and cultural change well beyond the Pennsylvania German cultural hearth areas of southeastern Pennsylvania.

Scholarship related to Pennsylvania German cultural landscapes since the 1970s has tended to concentrate on several primary issues. These include the process, timing, and trajectory of culture change; the various ways in which Pennsylvania Germans have fashioned their identities in the southeastern Pennsylvania core as well as diasporic regions such as Ontario, Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri; how those processes may or may not have related to broader processes of economic change or national identity formation; how regional distinctiveness is expressed; and how earlier patterns of localism have intersected with modernity and nationalizing forces. These works tend to be less concerned with issues of form or building typology and more interested in how spaces were utilized and what that may reveal. Many of these more recent studies have both built upon and challenged the insights gleaned from the late twentieth-century florescence of scholarship in vernacular landscapes and material culture.

For example, Charles Bergengren's research on the strongly Germanic vicinity of Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania, built on much of this earlier work. As Henry Glassie and James Deetz did earlier, Bergengren (1988; 1994) linked changes in open versus closed Pennsylvania German house forms to changes in worldview, arguing that later spatial changes favoring closed forms affected the "etiquette of entry," or the decision "to knock or not to knock" when entering the house of another. Ann Kirschner (1997) similarly used the earlier research of G. Edwin Brumbaugh as a springboard for her interpretation of the transformation of the Ephrata convent in the mid-eighteenth century. Kirschner argues that this transformation was necessary for the Brothers and Sisters to express a newly separatist and ascetic spiritual focus and thereby redefine their relationship to the material world: the building changed from a structure that was houselike and embodied a secular focus to a "spiritual, cloistered convent."

An important study of Pennsylvania German buildings and material culture, and one that laid the groundwork for much future scholarship, emerged in the mid-1980s in a collection of interpretive essays edited and largely authored by Scott Swank (1983). Adopting a linear model of culture change, with resistance at one end, a stage he called "controlled acculturation" in the middle, and complete assimilation at the other, Swank used the 1798 and 1815 federal direct tax records to examine Pennsylvania German cultural

landscapes in five Pennsylvania counties. Swank saw Pennsylvania German culture as a fragment that had separated from its parent culture, a rural but nonetheless bourgeois group that stood on the verge of modernization.

Another key analysis that adopted a similar model of acculturation was centered on the Pennsylvania Germans who settled in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley. Edward Chappell's (1986a) examination of the Rhenish buildings in the Massanutten settlement of Virginia revealed that acculturation there proceeded gradually, often with the most visible minority distinctions being the first to disappear. Chappell found that the abandonment of the traditional house form was more or less concurrent with the replacement of the standard German language in this region, a process he equated with a breakdown of the boundaries between Germanic culture and the outside world.

Works in the early twenty-first century substantially recast existing scholarship, often challenging such linear formulations of culture change in which majority cultures gradually but inexorably absorb minority groups. Although questions of ethnic identity still remain central in these studies, ethnicity often plays a more muted role and does not necessarily eclipse the other factors that were at play. For example, Barry Rauhauser (2002, 79) reexamined the two-door Pennsylvania farmhouse in one part of York County, Pennsylvania, in light of earlier theories advanced by Henry Glassie and Henry Kauffmann, finding that while the exteriors of most such buildings were similar throughout the region, the interiors showed evidence of subtle combinations that covered a range of options. Rauhauser argued that Pennsylvania Germans were thus using the symbolic power of their houses to maintain exterior cohesiveness, creating unity within "their increasingly stratified and assimilated culture." My study of Pennsylvania German landscapes in the early national period (Lanier 2005) similarly suggests that culture change was multidirectional rather than linear and that all groups borrowed freely from one another, often creating entirely new or creolized forms in the process rather than "watered down" versions of earlier forms. Pennsylvania Germans were but one of many localized Delaware Valley cultures in a region of regions.

Philip Pendleton's (1994) extensive study of the Oley Valley of Berks County, Pennsylvania, likewise revealed a creolized Pennsylvania German culture that was a blend of old and new, but was also different from its European precedents. To Pendleton, the catalyst for this cultural blending was the widespread adoption of the Pennsylvania agricultural system. Sally McMurry's (2001) thoughtful study of strongly Germanic Somerset County, Pennsylvania, brings questions of Pennsylvania German assimilation and acculturation to the forefront as well, but also explores other forces that shaped this rural landscape including economics and the encounter of localism with modernity and nationalizing values. While Steven Nolt's 2002 study of Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic does not specifically address cultural landscapes, it nonetheless asks similar questions about Pennsylva-

nia German identity formation. Noting that "creating an ethnic identity and becoming American are integrally related processes," Nolt (2002, 109) argues that Germans in Pennsylvania actually developed a Pennsylvania German consciousness in the early republic in a process he calls "ethnicization-as-Americanization." And Cynthia Falk's (2008) examination of Pennsylvania German art and artifacts argues that acculturation is not the point. Status and religious conviction rather than ethnicity dictated the choices that Pennsylvania Germans made in fashioning their own identities. In choosing the kinds of buildings they wanted for their homes, Falk contends, their ultimate goal was refinement rather than appearing less like Pennsylvania Germans.

Moving from the house to the barn to assess the worldview of the yeoman farmer, Sally McMurry's (2009) research indicates that nineteenth-century Pennsylvania barns were often shared by multiple farm households in complex ways. Kinship, marriage, and kinship-based share tenancy, which was especially closely associated with Pennsylvania Germans, all played a part. She reveals that Pennsylvania German and other farmsteads were not indivisible but rather were connected to their communities and to broader markets through extensive neighborhood exchange networks.

In an edited volume that specifically addresses Pennsylvania German cultural landscapes, McMurry and several other authors synthesized much of the scholarship on Pennsylvania German landscapes. The authors address aspects of the built environment that have largely been less studied, including urban dwellings and religious, commercial, and industrial spaces. They also raise tantalizing questions about the development of a Pennsylvania German cultural consciousness.

In the end, although the focus on ethnic identity and culture change still prevails in much of the literature on Pennsylvania German cultural landscapes, scholars in the twenty-first century have become increasingly interested in exploring the interplay between that identity and other factors such as gender, class, location, and modernizing influences. Even so, many of the same themes that appeared in earlier studies still resonate, as the notion of a distinct Pennsylvania German imprint on the landscape continues to endure.

11 Furniture and Decorative Arts

LISA MINARDI

The Pennsylvania Germans are renowned for their diverse and colorful decorative arts traditions, which have captured the attention of scholars and collectors alike since the late nineteenth century. The rich material culture of German-speaking immigrants and their descendants in Pennsylvania and beyond encompasses a wide variety of distinctive objects in all manner of media. Although there exists a substantial historiography on the general subject, the study of various object types is far from representative. Some categories such as fraktur, furniture, and architecture have received a great deal of attention, while other subjects have received little to no scholarly examination. Most studies also tend to focus on the more distinctive and ornate examples, which are often not representative of what typical Pennsylvania German families owned. Another issue is the difficulty of defining the scope of what is encompassed within the field of Pennsylvania German decorative arts. Although nonurban "folk" types of form or decoration are what scholars and collectors have primarily studied, some Pennsylvania Germans made or owned objects—such as Philadelphia Chippendale furniture—that were largely indistinguishable from that of other ethnic groups. Such objects tend to be either omitted or used as evidence of assimilation rather than diversity within Pennsylvania German culture. Most studies also tend to focus only on Pennsylvania German objects and do not make comparisons with other regions or cultures, often resulting in the impression that many forms or motifs are exclusively Pennsylvania German when in fact they were more widespread.

Beginning in the early twentieth century, pioneering scholars such as Henry Chapman Mercer, Edwin Atlee Barber, and Esther Stevens Fraser (later Brazer) published some of the first studies on Pennsylvania German decorative arts. These early works typically focused on a particular medium, such as fraktur, pottery, or painted furniture and were written for a largely antiquarian audience whose interest was spurred by the colonial revival and arts and crafts movements. Such studies tend to emphasize the homemade and so-called naïve style of the objects, using them to promote myths of an earlier, simpler lifestyle and glorify the age of handcraft in comparison with

the industrial era. At the same time, major institutions such as the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Winterthur began collecting Pennsylvania German decorative arts and displaying them in period room settings. A hands-on approach to the study and reproduction of Pennsylvania German arts was promoted by organizations such as the Historical Society of Early American Decoration, founded in 1946 in honor of Esther Stevens Brazer, and individuals such as Mildred Weekes Davis Keyser of Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, who in the 1940s published a Home Craft Course series with topics including Pennsylvania German pottery, weaving, barn stars, spinning and dying, quilting, and painted chests.

One of the first scholarly studies of Pennsylvania German decorative arts was John Joseph Stoudt's *Consider the Lilies How They Grow: An Interpretation of the Symbolism of Pennsylvania German Art* (1937), which argued that the design motifs found on Pennsylvania German decorative arts were rooted in religion and spiritual literature. Stoudt's thesis was heavily criticized for not establishing more definitive proof of his claims, leading him to rewrite (although not substantially alter) the study several times, including his *Pennsylvania Folk Art: An Interpretation* (1948) and *Pennsylvania German Folk Art: An Interpretation* (1966). During the 1940s several studies provided pictorial overviews of the breadth of Pennsylvania German arts, beginning with Earl F. Robacker's *Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff* (1944) followed by his *Old Stuff in Up-Country Pennsylvania* (1973), which illustrates a profuse range of traditional Pennsylvania German artifacts with comments on their collectability and rarity. Also during the 1940s, Frances Lichten authored a highly influential book, *Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania* (1946), and followed its success with *Folk Art Motifs of Pennsylvania* (1954) to guide artists in the adaptation of Pennsylvania German designs. In 1946 Henry J. Kauffman published a heavily illustrated study, *Pennsylvania Dutch American Folk Art*.

These early studies focused largely on the most traditional Pennsylvania German arts, such as fraktur and painted chests, and their brief commentaries were more descriptive than analytical. In 1964 John Joseph Stoudt published *Early Pennsylvania Arts and Crafts*, which included both high-style Philadelphia and traditional Pennsylvania German artifacts; this was followed by another illustrated work reflecting back on the artistic production of the preindustrial Pennsylvania Germans, *Sunbonnets and Shoofly Pies: A Pennsylvania Dutch Cultural History* (1973). Although Stoudt claimed in the preface of the latter book that his purpose was to tell the facts on the basis of firm historical evidence, limited information resulted in numerous misstatements.

The most comprehensive scholarship on traditional Pennsylvania German arts to date was in conjunction with the 1983 tricentennial of permanent German settlement in North America. In addition to a major traveling exhibition and companion catalog organized by Beatrice B. Garvan and Charles F. Hummel entitled *The Pennsylvania Germans: A Celebration of Their Arts, 1683–1850* (1982), a team of seven scholars led by Scott T. Swank wrote *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1983). With chapters on architecture, furniture,

pottery, glass, metalwork, textiles, fraktur, and printed books, this publication remains a standard reference. In the first chapter, "The Germanic Fragment," Swank puts forth a provocative discussion of Pennsylvania German identity, arguing that a distinctive Pennsylvania German culture emerged by the late eighteenth century. According to Swank, German-speaking immigrants were faced with three choices: total assimilation into the "mainstream English colonial culture," a path he claims was pursued by the majority of immigrants; total rejection of English culture, most successfully done by the Old Order Amish; and a more gradual, intermediate path of "controlled acculturation," in which some elements of Germanic culture were retained although immigrants moved "toward acculturation quite steadily." As folklorist Bernard L. Herman and others have noted, this argument is problematic in its assumption of the English culture's dominance and lack of Anglo-German reciprocity, as well as its homogenizing effect on the Pennsylvania German population, which was diverse not only in European origins and religious affiliation but also in economic means. By using a narrow definition of Pennsylvania German decorative arts and citing ownership of objects falling outside that definition as evidence of acculturation, this argument fails to account for the influence of socioeconomic factors on material culture. Just as there were multiple socioeconomic levels in Germany with varying types of material culture, so too did the Pennsylvania German population have such diversity, and the consumption of fine art and more formal architecture did not necessarily equate with assimilation. Personal taste and desire for social status are other complicating factors in assessing the choices made by consumers.

With the dawn of the twenty-first century and development of the new Pennsylvania German studies, scholars began addressing the broader applications of these varying factors on Pennsylvania German material culture, such as Cynthia G. Falk in *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America* (2008). Lisa Minardi explored this theme in an urban context in her article "Philadelphia, Furniture, and the Pennsylvania Germans: A Reevaluation" (2013). Minardi's 2015 Winterthur exhibition *A Colorful Folk: Pennsylvania Germans and the Art of Everyday Life* and the accompanying catalog (2015a) also included both traditional Pennsylvania German folk art and Philadelphia-made products. Irwin Richman's *Pennsylvania German Arts: More than Hearts, Parrots, and Tulips* (2001), while featuring many traditional artifacts like fraktur and painted chests, also examines the work of painters such as Jacob Eichholtz, Walter Emerson Baum, and Charles Demuth—who were all Pennsylvania German. Although fine art by Pennsylvania Germans has gained increasing acceptance among art historians, many other media and artists remain unexplored. For example, Philadelphia was home to numerous German craftsmen but their work has been virtually unstudied in comparison with the products of that city's English-speaking craftsmen. Pennsylvania German artifacts made outside

of the southeastern Pennsylvania region as a result of the Pennsylvania German diaspora have also not been adequately surveyed.

Given the sheer enormity of Pennsylvania German arts, scholars have often divided the subject into focused studies by region, religion, or media type. The exhibition and publication *Made in Pennsylvania: A Folk Art Tradition* (2007), for example, concentrates on western Pennsylvania objects including fraktur, furniture, and stoneware. Although regional patterns are no doubt evident in material culture, such studies can be problematic as they create the impression that political boundaries were more restrictive than they were in actuality. Studies by religious affiliation are primarily limited to the sectarian groups, such as Patricia T. Herr, *Amish Arts of Lancaster County* (1998) and Daniel and Kathryn McCauley's *Decorative Arts of the Amish of Lancaster County* (1988), both of which illustrate Amish-made and owned decorative household objects and challenge misconceptions about the "plainness" of Amish material culture. The seminal study of Pennsylvania German decorative arts of a particular religious group is Clarke Hess's *Mennonite Arts* (2002). This thoroughly researched and well-illustrated book is arranged in chapters by media (including furniture, fraktur, clocks, metalwork, textiles, and pottery) and provides a sound basis for interpretation of material culture by using objects with documented makers or owners.

Most studies of Pennsylvania German arts to date have been by media or material, which is the focus of the remainder of this chapter. Topics covered are wood (including furniture, woodcarvings, and baskets); ceramics; glass; metal; bone and ivory, horn, eggshell, and leather; and mixed-media objects, including clocks, firearms, and musical instruments. Textiles and works on paper have extensive bibliographies and are discussed in chapters 12 and 13 of this volume.

Wood

The rich forests of southeastern Pennsylvania provided abundant raw material for the construction of houses as well as a wide range of wooden objects, from furniture to figural carvings to baskets. Although some furniture was brought over from Europe, particularly in the form of immigrant chests, most furniture owned by Pennsylvania Germans was made locally. Some early examples bear strong parallels to European-made versions, but most extant Pennsylvania German furniture indicates that craftsmen swiftly adapted to the region's plentiful supply of wood, using single-board construction for chest lids, for example, rather than joining smaller pieces together to form a paneled lid. Native hardwoods, particularly walnut, cherry, and maple, were used for carved or inlaid furniture, while less-expensive woods such as pine and tulip poplar were typically used for painted furniture or secondary woods.

Furniture

Pennsylvania German furniture is probably second only to fraktur in terms of its historiography, although few broad surveys have been undertaken in comparison with the many that focus on particular forms, artists, or types of decoration. One of the first major studies to be published was a series of articles by Esther Stevens Fraser in the mid-1920s on paint-decorated boxes and chests. As one of the earliest publications on painted chests, Fraser's work was highly influential, as was her methodology of making county-by-county attributions.

Not until 1983 did a more comprehensive study become available with the publication of Benno M. Forman's essay "German Influences in Pennsylvania Furniture." In his discussion of the forms, materials, decoration, and construction techniques associated with Pennsylvania German furniture, Forman also drew on European precedents to show its origins. A Winterthur Museum exhibition and book in 2011 on southeastern Pennsylvania furniture by Wendy Cooper and Lisa Minardi was one of the first studies to examine Pennsylvania furniture of both Germanic and British origin, using well-documented objects that reveal an enormous variety of local expressions within the region. In so doing, the authors argue for the importance of localism as a major factor in shaping material culture and, by extension, the influential role of southeastern Pennsylvania and its historically diverse population on the development of modern America's pluralistic society. This was followed by a study of the furniture (both painted and inlaid examples) and fraktur from the Tulpehocken and Mahantongo Valleys of Pennsylvania by Lisa Minardi, "From Millbach to Mahantongo: Fraktur and Furniture of the Pennsylvania Germans" published in the journal *American Furniture* (2011a), which linked fraktur design to furniture decoration and identified fraktur artists who also painted furniture. It also debunked the belief that decorated chests were made largely for women and that the decoration was gender-specific by illustrating chests that bear men's names and are decorated in identical fashion to women's chests.

Aside from the few larger and more comprehensive furniture studies, most studies focus on a particular subset of furniture, typically associated by form, decoration, region, or religious affiliation. Much attention has focused on paint-decorated chests (fig. 11.1), probably the most iconic of all Pennsylvania German decorative arts, beginning with the work of Esther Stevens Fraser in the 1920s. Fraser's study was ground-breaking in that it was one of the first scholarly examinations of Pennsylvania German furniture of any type, although many of her conclusions have since been disproved. The most thorough study of painted chests to date is Monroe Fabian's study *The Pennsylvania-German Decorated Chest* (1978), a work that traces Pennsylvania German painted furniture to European precedents. Others have written more focused studies on specific groups of decorated chests (Hummel and Cain 1982; Keller 1991; Zimmerman 2002). Not unlike the field of fraktur

scholarship, many studies of painted chests in the absence of documentation of makers and consumers have speculated on the religious interpretation of the imagery.

Other distinctive forms of Pennsylvania German furniture that have been studied include the bedstead, which was often made with so-called pillow panels attached to the head board to help contain two layers of pillows, together with a heavy feather bed rather than the thin coverlet preferred by those of English heritage (Keyser 1978). Cupboards of varying types and sizes were also popular, including the *Küchenschrank* or kitchen cupboard, often referred to as a "Dutch cupboard" or "pewter cupboard" by collectors, which was also used by settlers of British heritage. Eighteenth-century examples typically consist of open shelves in the top section, usually fitted with plate rails and notches for holding utensils, with elaborately shaped sides on the finer examples. By the nineteenth century, glazed doors became popular in the upper section. Another type of cupboard is the *Kleiderschrank* or clothes cupboard, commonly referred to by the abbreviated term "schrank" (Gunnion 1983). The importance of using well-documented furniture is illustrated by the schrank. Despite numerous claims that schranks were made as marriage pieces, documented examples reveal that they were usually acquired by affluent couples well after they had married and established a family (fig. 11.2).

Fig. 11.1. Chest, made by Christian Seltzer (1749–1831), Jonestown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, 1796 (see also color photo gallery). White pine, tulip poplar, paint, iron; H. 23 ½, W. 52 ¼, D. 22 ⅝ in. *Winterthur Museum, gift of Henry Francis du Pont 1959.2803*

Seating furniture in many different styles was made and owned by Pennsylvania Germans, although many forms were regionally popular and not ethnically distinctive. Chair making was often a specialized trade as it typically necessitated the use of a lathe to turn the posts and stiles. However, one type of Pennsylvania German chair, the board chair or *Brettstuhl*, required only a saw and spokeshave (fig. 11.3). Among the most common seating forms were slat-back chairs with rush or woven splint seats (usually of hickory or oak), made and owned by both English- and German-speaking inhabitants by the mid-1700s. Examples associated with the Pennsylvania Germans tend to have bolder turnings and, on armchairs, a double-cut under the arms (see B. M. Forman 1983). Slat-back chairs continued to be made into the 1900s, often by consecutive generations of a family (Zercher 1992–93). Windsor chairs were another common form, some with distinctive local characteristics, such as an unusual long-legged version used for Moravian trombone players (N. Evans 2006, esp. 408–11). Another type of chair associated with

Fig. 11.2. *Kleiderschrank* (clothes cupboard), made for David Hottenstein, Kutztown area, Berks County, Pennsylvania, 1781. Walnut, white pine, mixed-wood inlay, brass, iron; H. 101, W. 91 ¾, D. 25 ¼ in. *Winterthur Museum, 1958.17.6*

the Moravians was the leather-upholstered easy chair made in both Pennsylvania and North Carolina (J. Brown 2001). By the early nineteenth century, plank-bottom chairs with exuberant painted decoration became extremely popular (Seibert 2001; Schaumann 2009). Benches were also a popular and economical form of seating furniture (fig. 11.4). In many eighteenth-century Pennsylvania German houses, two benches were built into the corner of the *Stube* opposite the stove, where they were used at a table for dining along with an additional freestanding bench and chair. Frequently a built-in or hanging cupboard was also located in this corner.

In addition to studies by form, Pennsylvania German furniture is often grouped into subsets by decorative or regional style. Sulfur-inlaid furniture, thought to be wax inlay until its identification in 1977 by Monroe Fabian, is a technique of ornament particularly associated with Pennsylvania German craftsmen (Fabian 1977; Minardi 2015d). The yellow color of the sulfur inlay provides strong contrast with the brown walnut of the furniture (fig 11.5). Associated at first with furniture owned by Mennonite families in Lancaster County, more than 125 examples are now known (including from Dauphin, Lebanon, and York counties) and demonstrate that the technique was more widespread than previously thought.

Painted decoration, another ornamental technique, was widely popular and can often be linked to specific locales or regions. In northern Bucks County, Mennonite craftsman John Drissell made a group of nearly two dozen slide-lid boxes, tape looms, hanging cupboards, salt boxes, and other objects with distinctive painted floral decoration and inscriptions (Cummings and Cummings 1958; Hess 2002, 64–65). In the rural Mahantongo and Schwaben Creek valleys of Northumberland and Schuylkill counties, a body of painted furniture made in the first half of the nineteenth century (fig. 11.6) is noted for its bold use of color, including chrome green and yellow (H. Reed 1987; Sullivan and Weiser 1973; 1980; Zimmerman 2002).

Another distinctive body of furniture decorated with silver or gold stenciled motifs on a black or red painted ground was made by Amish and Mennonite craftsmen in the Soap Hollow area of Somerset County, Pennsylvania (*Manufactured by Hand*, 1993). Charles R. Muller (2002), the foremost authority on Soap Hollow furniture, has also found connections to furniture made in Indiana, Michigan, and Ontario by craftsmen with Pennsylvania roots. Other scholars have made similar links with furniture from German-speaking settlements beyond Pennsylvania, such as the painted chests of Wythe County, Virginia, and those made in Jonestown, Lebanon County (Moore 1982). Among the regional studies of Pennsylvania German furniture are the painted boxes and chests with compass work decoration (fig. 11.7) from the Lancaster-Lebanon County border region (W. Cooper, Edmonson, and Minardi 2009).

A third approach to categorizing Pennsylvania German furniture is by its associations with particular religious groups. Great visual diversity within the material culture of most particular faiths, however, problematizes this

Fig. 11.3. Plank-bottom chair, southeastern Pennsylvania, 1750–1800. Pine, oak; H. 32, W. 18, D. 18 ⅛ in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1965.2246*

Fig. 11.4. Bench, southeastern Pennsylvania, 1750–1800. Maple; H. 20 ⅝, W. 62 ¼, D. 14 ¼ in. *Winterthur Museum, 1956.49.2*

Fig. 11.5. Miniature chest, made for Johannes Mosser, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1773. Walnut, tulip poplar, sulfur inlay, iron; H. 7 ¼, W. 14 ¾, D. 8 ⅝ in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1965.2256*

Fig. 11.6. Desk, made for and probably by Jacob Maser (1812–95), Mahantongo Valley, Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1834 (see also color photo gallery). Tulip poplar, white pine, maple, paint, brass; H. 49 ⅛, W. 39, D. 19 ¾ in. *Winterthur Museum, gift of Henry Francis du Pont 1964.1518*

approach. For example, Clarke Hess's study *Mennonite Arts* (2002) reveals that Pennsylvania Mennonites made and owned furniture that included carved, painted, or inlaid decoration as well as plain or unornamented examples. Furniture associated with communal groups tends to be more similar in form and decoration, such as that of the Ephrata Cloister, which is characterized by nailed construction and simple wooden hardware (fig. 11.8). The Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania and North Carolina produced related furniture, aided by the exchange of craftsmen and even furniture designs on occasion between communities. The Harmony Society, a Pietistic sect led by George Rapp who emigrated from Württemberg in the early nineteenth century and settled in western Pennsylvania, produced furniture that showed a preference for Germanic forms and construction techniques, such as the use of wooden pegs and wedged dovetails, at the same time it exhibited an awareness of current fashions (Zimmerman 2010).

Most studies of Pennsylvania German furniture have focused heavily on the most ethnically distinctive, nonurban examples, although German woodworkers were capable of producing a wide range of styles. Sophisticated urban furniture was made by cabinetmakers such as Adam Hains (born Heinrich Adam Hähns in 1768) of Philadelphia, who made a mahogany Pembroke or breakfast table now in the Winterthur Museum collection (Minardi 2014). Other German craftsmen in Philadelphia continued to produce high-style urban wares in the nineteenth century (Venable 1986). In Lancaster, German cabinetmakers made elaborate rococo case furniture rivaling

Fig. 11.7. Box, owned by Jacob H. and Jonas H. Nolt, attributed to the Compass Artist, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1800–1840 (see also color photo gallery). Tulip poplar, paint, tinned sheet iron; H. 7 ⅞, W. 10 ⅝, D. 10 ¾ in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1965.1981; photograph by Gavin Ashworth*

Fig. 11.8. Hanging cupboard, made and used at the Ephrata Cloister, Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1740–60. Tulip poplar and mixed woods, iron; H. 28 ½, W. 20, D. 12 in. *Ephrata Cloister, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; photograph, Winterthur Museum*

that of Philadelphia but with carved ornament executed from the solid wood in the continental manner rather than carved separately and applied (fig. 11.9). Much of this furniture was attributed to the Bachman family until an analysis of their account books and signed work revealed otherwise (J. Snyder 1974; 1975). By the early nineteenth century, furniture in southeastern Pennsylvania became less ethnically distinctive and increasingly exhibited a more cohesive regional style (J. Snyder 1999). Vibrant painted decoration also became increasingly popular as part of a movement known as "Fancy." Although the Pennsylvania Germans were significant producers and consumers of Fancy goods, the influence of this trend was felt throughout the nation (Priddy 2004).

Fig. 11.9. Desk-and-bookcase, made for Michael Withers, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1770–90. Cherry, tulip poplar, brass; H. 103 ½, W. 45, D. 23 ⅝ in. *Winterthur Museum, gift of Henry Francis du Pont 1951.56*

Small Woodenwares

In addition to household furniture, endless varieties of small paint-decorated woodenwares were produced by Pennsylvania German artisans. Among the most prolific was Joseph Lehn (1798–1892) of Elizabeth Township, Lancaster County, whose daybook covering the period 1856–76 documents his work making and repairing barrels as well as other turned objects. In the later years of his life, Lehn turned to the production of small paint-decorated items such as saffron cups, salts, sugar bowls, sewing boxes, seed chests, and small buckets (Spohn and Keyser 1999). Working several miles from Lehn, craftsman John Palm Boyer (1833–1901) of Brickerville made painted seed chests similar in form to those by Lehn (D. Herr 2006). Another documented maker of small household woodenwares was Amish woodworker Samuel Plank, who is especially noted for his salt boxes embellished with floral decoration and the initials of the recipient (Bonson and Bonson 1994).

Woodcarving

In addition to the decorative function of carving on furniture, woodcarvings were also made as stand-alone objects including canes and walking sticks, children's toys, kitchen objects, and sculptures. One of the most comprehensive surveys of Pennsylvania German carving was written by Richard S. and Rosemarie B. Machmer (1991), which includes biographies of carvers. Many were mid-nineteenth-century German immigrants, such as "Schtockschnitzler" (cane carver) Simmons, who is known for his elaborate bird trees. In Cumberland County, Wilhelm Schimmel, Aaron Mountz, and later Bruce Barrett produced figural carvings (fig. 11.10) of eagles, lions, dogs, and other animals (Flower 1986; Pass 2003a; 2003b).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, German immigrant John Scholl (1827–1916) produced wooden sculptures, including various "snowflakes" and freestanding examples (Grier 1979). Figural woodcarvings from the eighteenth century are much rarer, with most known examples related to church architecture. One of the best-known examples is the statues of the four apostles made for the steeple of Trinity Lutheran Church in Lancaster and possibly carved by Johann Eckstein (1736–1817), a sculptor and painter who emigrated from Germany in 1794 and helped found the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (M. Wood 2007). Most Pennsylvania German objects carved from wood were household items such as butter prints, cake prints, springerle molds, and gingerbread cookie molds (P. Kindig 1986; Powell 1974; Weaver 2010).

Baskets

Wood and the tissues of other plants also yielded the materials suitable for making woven baskets of many shapes and sizes. Although baskets can be hard to distinguish by region or ethnic group without a firm provenance, the *orsch backe* or buttocks form is most frequently associated with the Penn-

Fig. 11.10. Eagle, attributed to Wilhelm Schimmel (1817–90), Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1865–90. White pine, gesso, paint; H. 23 ½, W. 36 ½, D. 20 in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1959.2341*

sylvania Germans. Most Pennsylvania German baskets were made of round oak rods, coiled or braided rye straw, and willow (Lasansky 1978). Round-rod oak baskets were similar in shape to unsplit willow but sturdier and more durable; the rods were formed by laboriously drawing strips of oak through a series of graduated iron dies (Lasansky 1984). Coiled rye straw baskets with oak splints were also made in great quantity; common forms include round, open baskets used for dough raising and storage of household items; large storage containers with lids; and bee skeps.

Rye straw, which was also used in Europe, was favored for baskets due to its durability and resistance to rot. Braided rye straw baskets were also made by Pennsylvania Germans but were less common than coiled ones. In these examples, the straw was typically braided into long strips and then sewn together by machine. Braided rye straw was also used to make hats, which continued to be made in the traditional manner well into the twentieth century (Huyett 1961). Baskets of flat splints, usually of oak but sometimes hickory, ash, or willow, were also made. Another type of basket, usually of hinged-lid,

two-handle construction with painted floral decoration, was popular among Pennsylvania Germans from about 1835 to 1900. Previously said to be made of Chinese rice straw, research at the Winterthur Museum has identified them as willow baskets made in Germany and exported to Pennsylvania by the thousands.

Ceramics

Pennsylvania German potters fashioned clay into a wide range of household objects. Most were made of earthenware or stoneware, distinguished by the type of clay used and its requisite firing temperature. In addition to locally made utilitarian wares (typically used for food preparation and storage), many Pennsylvania German households were furnished with imported English ceramics, including refined tablewares such as tea cups and dinner plates made of white salt-glazed stoneware, creamware, and pearlware. In the mid- to late eighteenth century, some of the most elite Pennsylvania German families owned Chinese export porcelain, prized for its thin and translucent qualities, as documented by extant examples with provenance, archaeological studies, and probate inventories.

Earthenware

Often referred to as redware due to the color of local clay deposits, earthenware was used primarily for utilitarian household wares such as milk pans, apple butter crocks, and flower pots. Particular forms associated with the Pennsylvania Germans include tile stoves and roofs, which were both European traditions (Bucher 1961–62). Although most earthenware was plain, many pieces were embellished with slip (a liquid clay used to trail designs onto unfired objects). Slip trailing was often done with white slip, which appeared yellow after firing due to the lead glaze; other colors used on redware include a purplish-black produced by manganese and a brilliant green from copper oxide. The most elaborate pieces were decorated with sgrafitto, a technique in which designs were scratched through the slip coating before firing to reveal the reddish clay beneath (fig. 11.11). Although sgrafitto wares may have been made as presentation pieces, many do bear signs of use.

Some potters occasionally signed their work, such as George Hubener, David Spinner, Samuel Troxel, and Johannes Neesz, but most earthenware is unmarked. This factor, along with limited professional archaeological study of pottery sites as well as a lack of scholarship on regional variations and family and artisanal relationships, makes attributions to specific potters quite difficult. For example, potter Peter Bell and his sons John, Samuel, and Solomon worked variously in Hagerstown, Maryland; Winchester and Strasburg, Virginia; and Waynesboro, Pennsylvania. They all produced similar types of wares (Comstock 1994).

Edwin Atlee Barber's 1903 study *Tulip Ware of the Pennsylvania-German Potters* (1970) remains the major study of Pennsylvania German pottery to date

Fig. 11.11. Dish, made for Susanna Steltz, attributed to George Hubener (1757–1828), Upper Hanover Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, 1789 (see also color photo gallery). Lead-glazed earthenware (redware); Diam. 13, D. 2 ¼ in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1965.2301; photograph by Gavin Ashworth*

despite being more than a century old. Focused primarily on sgrafitto ware, with brief mention of plainer slip-decorated and utilitarian forms, the book provides a helpful overview of tools, techniques, decorative motifs, potters' names, and inscriptions, but the small, black-and-white images are of limited use, and the interpretation is dated. For example, Barber describes the double-headed bird on potter George Hubener's dishes as representing "a pair of doves with united bodies forming a single heart, typical of love and union." From Hubener's inscriptions, however, it is clear that his design was of a double-headed eagle rather than doves or love birds. Barber also speculates about function of the sgrafitto dishes, calling them pie plates, although most show little signs of use in baking and were most likely used for display or serving.

Among the few studies of Pennsylvania German earthenware after Barber was Earl F. Robacker's brief overview "Pennsylvania Redware" (1956–57). Robacker cautions readers that imported European wares can be falsely represented as American-made while also asserting that many highly decorated pieces of pottery historically were brought over by German immi-

grants. Study of continental earthenware reveals important similarities and differences from Pennsylvania German pottery (see G. Kaufmann 1979; van Gangelen, Kersloot, and Venhus 1997). Care must also be taken to distinguish between Pennsylvania German pottery and that found in other areas of German-speaking settlement, which often produced similar wares (Webster 1982).

Research in the late twentieth century studied regional earthenware traditions in central Pennsylvania (Lasansky 1979a). A study of Lancaster County documented more than 200 potters at work between 1720 and 1931, most of whom were German immigrants or their descendants (Lasansky 1982a); Berks County also had many redware potters (Lasansky 1990b). One of the few individual potters studied to date is Lancaster County artisan Absalom Bixler, who made a group of commemorative objects for his wife (Falk 2003).

Earthenware scholarship in the twenty-first century has drawn heavily on archaeological findings and demonstrated the need for reassessing earlier statements by previous scholars. Barber's ([1903] 1970, 27) claim that early Pennsylvania German potters "were practically isolated from other peoples in the community . . . [and] no extraneous influences penetrated to modify their homey but virile art" went unchallenged for many years. Not until the twenty-first century did scholars of Pennsylvania German ceramics begin to consider broader economic markets and cultural influences beyond the local community in which potters worked. Patricia E. Gibble's (2005) work on utilitarian earthenware in southeastern Pennsylvania suggests that a process of "cultural fusion" took place in which vessel forms and decorative motifs became increasingly homogeneous over the course of the eighteenth century as local potters sought to emulate imported European earthenware and satisfy patron demands (see also Gibble 2001). Archaeological and archival evidence also demonstrates that many potters distributed their wares to a broader market. Work on Moravian potters in Bethlehem demonstrates that as early as the mid-eighteenth century, their functional and decorative earthenware was distributed locally, regionally, and possibly even across the Atlantic (Hornsby-Heindl 2010). Current research on North Carolina pottery has also yielded significant insights into the work of this region's potters, such as the Moravian Rudolph Christ. Building on previous studies, however, scholars have reattributed some pieces formerly thought to be Moravian to the work of Quaker potters (Beckerdite and Hunter 2009–10; Bivins 1972).

In addition to the slip- or sgrafitto-decorated red earthenware that was popular in Pennsylvania well into the nineteenth century, several types of white-bodied earthenware with vibrant decoration found a strong market among Pennsylvania German consumers in the first half of the 1800s as part of the Fancy movement (Priddy 2004). One such type is known as spatterware, due to its characteristic sponged decoration, and features various hand-painted motifs such as peafowl, flowers, and houses (Greaser and Greaser 1965; Robacker and Robacker 1978). Another popular type of ceramic, often referred to as Gaudy Dutch, is known for its bright colors and floral

decoration. Most spatterware and Gaudy Dutch were made in England for export to America in the early to mid-1800s. Also popular at this time among the Pennsylvania Germans was chalkware, typically used for decorative objects in imitation of more expensive ceramic figures such as birds, cats, deer, and people. Made of gypsum (or plaster of Paris), chalkware is very fragile and breaks easily. Most chalkware figures were cast in two-part molds, joined together, and then brightly painted and varnished. Though chalkware was also imported, great quantities were produced in Philadelphia and other cities—much of it by itinerant Italian immigrants (Lange and Reilly 1994).

Stoneware

The second major type of ceramic made by Pennsylvania German potters was stoneware. More durable than earthenware, stoneware could be fashioned into larger vessels and did not require glazing to be waterproof. It was frequently decorated with cobalt blue decoration and glazed by a chemical reaction of salt, added to the kiln during firing, to silica in the clay—a technique that had been used in Europe for several centuries prior to its use in America. The discovery of appropriate clay in the early nineteenth century in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, led to the growth of a major stoneware industry in the western and south-central portions of the state, supplied by German immigrants who were familiar with salt glazing (Lasansky 1979b; Schaltenbrand 1996; 2002).

By the mid-nineteenth century stoneware had largely, though never entirely, superseded earthenware. A few potters made both earthenware and stoneware, including Daniel Shenfelder and Christian Link of Berks County. Even with the rise of stoneware production and, later, the importation of even cheaper ceramics and glasswares, earthenware pottery continued to be produced by men such as Jacob Medinger of Limerick, Montgomery County, who made traditional earthenware until his death in 1930 (*Potters Medinger* 1992). In Lehigh County, three generations of the Stahl family in the Powder Valley made pottery until the mid-twentieth century (Goda 1990; 1995; Goda and Goda 2008). Numerous artisan-potters, such as Lester Breininger, Ned Foltz, and Greg Schooner, have continued to make traditionally inspired earthenware into the twenty-first century.

Glass

Published research on Pennsylvania German glass is limited. One of the few studies is Arlene Palmer Schwind's essay "Pennsylvania German Glass" in Scott Swank's *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1983, 200–210). This scarcity may in part be due to the lack of a distinctive Pennsylvania German glass style, which Schwind attributes to a combination of two factors: the domination of the glassmaking industry in colonial America by German immigrant glassblowers, and their success at imitating imported English glass. As a result, American-made glass, especially during the eighteenth century,

has a fairly homogeneous look. Expensive to import because of its fragile nature, glass was used for products such as windowpanes, bottles, flasks, wineglasses, and other drinking vessels (McKearin and McKearin 1950; A. Palmer 1993).

The first successful glassmaking establishment in the American colonies was in Wistarburgh, New Jersey, founded by German immigrant Caspar Wistar. Glassware produced there reflected a Germanic influence, including dog-shaped drinking vessels or *Schnapshunde* and covered sugar bowls with elaborately tooled finials in the shape of animals. Similar sugar bowls were also produced at the New Bremen Glass Manufactory in Frederick County, Maryland, founded by another German immigrant, John Frederick Amelung. New Bremen's production peaked from 1784 to 1790 but then diminished and ultimately failed in 1795 (Lanmon 1990).

In Manheim, Lancaster County, "Baron" Henry William Stiegel began a glasshouse in 1763, which operated until it went bankrupt in 1774. True Stiegel glass is difficult to identify because it was unmarked and closely approximates English and continental glass. Account books document the forms produced in Manheim, including bottles, mugs, vases, decanters, and cruets, and colors including purple, green, blue, and amber, as well as the colorless flint glass (fig. 11.12). Enamel-decorated glass, once widely attributed to Stiegel, is now typically referred to as "Stiegel-type" because no extant documented examples are known; most examples are of central European origin

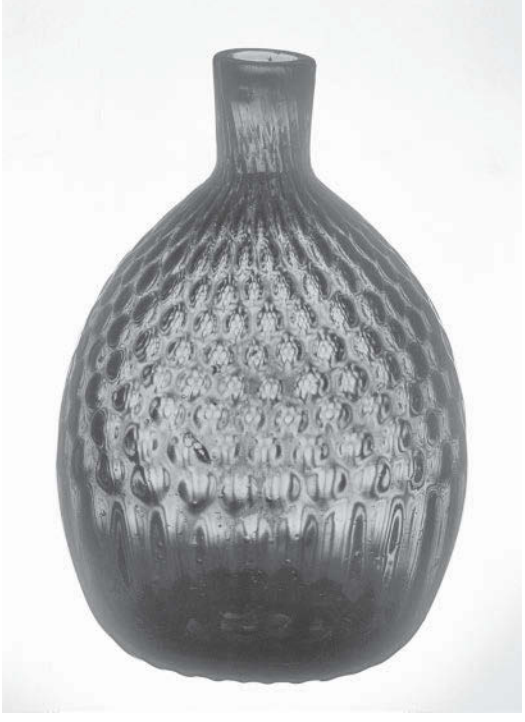


Fig. 11.12. Flask, attributed to Henry William Stiegel's glassworks, Manheim, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1769–74 (see also color photo gallery). Glass (nonlead); H. 5 ⅜, W. 3 ½, D. 2 ¾ in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1959.3081*

(von Saldern 1961). Although no surviving enameled wares by Stiegel's glasshouse can be documented, Stiegel did advertise "enamelled smelling bottles . . . enamelled and plain three footed cream jugs" and other forms, in 1772–73. Great controversy exists over the meaning of "enamelled" in these advertisements. Early scholar Frederick William Hunter ([1914] 1950) interpreted it to mean polychrome enameled decoration, but the term *enamel* can also refer to opaque white glass, and some period documents refer to enameled decoration as "painted" rather than "enamelled." Another issue is that the common enamel-decorated forms, including mugs, tumblers, and bottles with pewter stoppers, are not ones advertised by Stiegel as "enamelled." One important clue, however, may be the accounts of the King George Hotel in Schaefferstown, which contain numerous entries of purchases by "Stiegel's painter" (Moler/Mohler) from 1763 to 1765, possibly referring to an enameller (Weiser and Neff 1987).

Metal

Metal objects were common in Pennsylvania German households and included lighting devices, cooking vessels, stoves for heating, and countless tools and implements (Swank 1983, 211–20). Unlike many other media, metalwork was often marked by its makers—a practice required by European craft guilds, in particular metalworkers, as a means of assaying both workmanship and composition. Although the guild system never fully transferred to America, the practice of marking metalwork was common. Iron was the most common metal, supplied by southeastern Pennsylvania's plentiful iron ore deposits and wood for fuel, which led to the development of a major iron industry. Other base metals include copper, brass (an alloy of copper and zinc), tin, and pewter (an alloy of tin and copper). Only a few objects were made of silver or gold, both precious metals. Manufacturing techniques varied depending on the metal's properties. While iron may be cast, wrought, or rolled into sheet iron, copper objects were hammered out from sheet metal, soldered together, and planished (which finished the surface by making it smooth); brass was both cast and worked in sheet form. Most pewter objects were cast (usually in bronze molds) and then skimmed or smoothed on a lathe.

Cast and Wrought Iron

After iron ore was extracted from the ground and smelted to remove impurities, it was ready to be used. Cast iron objects were made at the iron furnace or foundry, where the molten metal was poured into molds. Firebacks and stove plates were cast, the latter being particularly associated with the Pennsylvania Germans, who favored cast iron stoves over open fireplaces for heat (fig. 11.13). Common designs included hearts, flowers, and biblical scenes (Mercer [1914a] 1961). Initially, these stoves were made of five plates and attached through a common wall to a fireplace in an adjacent room, from

which the stove fire was tended. The development of sheet iron technology and, subsequently, stove pipes led to the replacement of the five-plate or "jamb" stove with freestanding six- or ten-plate versions by the 1770s (Friesen 1991; Gamon 1979). Cast iron was also made into hollowware vessels such as cooking pots, teakettles, porringers, and waffle irons using multipart molds.

Wrought iron was produced by blacksmiths, using bar iron that they alternately heated and hammered into shape. Wrought iron objects range from mundane to elaborate and include nails, horseshoes, boot scrapers, trivets, and weathervanes. Some wrought iron objects are particularly associated with the Pennsylvania Germans, including the *Dengelstock* or scythe anvil, dough scrapers (used for cleaning out dough troughs), and decorated sets of cooking utensils, which typically included a two-tined flesh fork, spatula, basting spoon, ladle, and skimmer. For more elaborate utensil sets, the blacksmith sometimes inlaid a design or inscription on the handle in brass or copper. Most ironwork is unmarked, although a few blacksmiths such as Peter Derr of Berks County routinely marked their products (Spears 1949).

Fig. 11.13. Five-plate stove, cast at Marlboro Furnace, Frederick County, Virginia, 1768. Iron; H. 24 ⅞, W. 20 ⅝, D. 31 in. *Winterthur Museum, 1994.111*

Information on Pennsylvania German ironwork appears primarily within the context of larger metalwork studies, such as Donald L. Fennimore's *Iron at Winterthur* (2004). The most comprehensive is Jeanette Lasansky's (1980) study of ironwork in Pennsylvania, which examines numerous individual craftsmen and uses account books to help contextualize the special commissions within mundane work such as repairs, horseshoeing, and sharpening blades that were the mainstay of business. Lasansky also notes that vast quantities of iron goods were imported from England well into the 1800s, including tools and hardware such as locks and hinges—an important caution against assuming local manufacture for all Pennsylvania ironwork. Although most blacksmiths made a wide range of objects, tax records reveal that some specialized as nailsmiths and also hecklemakers, who produced heckles (also known as hetchels or hatchels) for combing flax; many Pennsylvania German heckles have sheet iron bands with punched decoration, names or initials, and dates (Walters 2006).

Sheet Iron

The third common type of iron manufacture is sheet iron, which was typically coated with a thin layer of tin to help keep it from rusting and to impart a shiny appearance. Although it came into use during the 1760s for stove pipes, sheet iron did not become widespread until the 1800s. The most comprehensive study of tinware and its makers, *To Cut, Piece, and Solder* (1982b) by Jeannette Lasansky, includes a list of documented artisans, identified by their marks and account books. As with many historical studies of Pennsylvania German material culture, the emphasis in this work is on identification of makers and functions rather than symbolic interpretation or social connotations. There is sometimes a tendency to emphasize the ingenuity of Pennsylvania German folk artists, perhaps in response to outsiders' perceptions of their lack of training. For example, Lasansky and other authors point out the use of decorated tin for everyday objects, such as candle molds, tea canisters, boxes, and trays, in addition to its use in lanterns, sconces, and other lighting devices to take advantage of tin's reflective quantities. Another frequent issue is the distinctiveness of Pennsylvania German design, especially since tin was a common material in the nineteenth century in Germany as well as the United States. Among the most distinctive Pennsylvania German tinware are the highly ornamented tea- and coffeepots with crooked-neck spouts, some featuring wrigglework decoration (fig. 11.14) and made by craftsmen such as Martin Uebele, John Ketterer, and Willoughby Shade. Other forms frequently associated with the Pennsylvania Germans are the pierced molds, usually heart-shaped, used for making *Zierkaes* (a pressed egg cheese made in Lancaster County at Easter), and cookie cutters in diverse and whimsical shapes. Pie safes were common through nineteenth-century America, but designs of hearts and tulips distinguish pierced tin panels used by Pennsylvania Germans (Robacker 1938; 1961).

Fig. 11.14. Coffee pot, made for Catharenah Moyer, made by Willoughby Shade (b. 1820), Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, 1840–60. Tinned sheet iron, brass; H. 11 ⅜, W. 10 ¼, Diam. 6 in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1965.2152*

Painted or japanned tinware, often referred to as toleware, became popular in the early nineteenth century during the Fancy movement (fig. 11.15). Most examples have a black ground and polychrome floral motifs; red and, very rarely, yellow grounds are also seen. Some scholars have claimed that red and yellow ground examples are of Pennsylvania origin, but many exceptions exist (Coffin 1968; Priddy 2004; Robacker 1947). Distinguishing Pennsylvania German toleware with certainty is nearly impossible as it was also made widely in New England and few examples are documented, but in popular culture the designs have come to emblematize Pennsylvania German folk art. Indeed, the U.S. Post Office issued a series of four stamps bearing images of red toleware objects with the title "Pennsylvania Toleware / Folk Art" in 1979. Another stamp issued in 2004 features an image of a black toleware coffeepot and the more nationalistic title of "American Toleware," which implies the object is a popular rather than ethnic tradition. The association of particular design motifs and forms with Pennsylvania German identity and consumerism, and their relation to national and ethnic consciousness, is a research trajectory in the new Pennsylvania German studies described by Simon Bronner (1989; 2004a).

Fig. 11.15. Coffee pot, made by James H. Robbins, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1890–1910 (see also color photo gallery). Tinned sheet iron, brass, asphaltum, paint; H. 10 ½, W. 9 ¼, Diam. 6 ¼ in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1965.1599*

Copper and Brass

Most copper and brass products made in Pennsylvania were made from reused or imported raw materials, as native copper was not refined in adequate quantity well into the nineteenth century. Of the approximately forty known coppersmiths at work in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, many were German, including Jacob Eichholtz (who later became a portrait painter), Frederick Hubley, and Frederick Steinman of Lancaster; Matthias Babb of Reading; and William Heiss of Philadelphia. Among the most common copper objects were hot water kettles or teakettles, noted for their distinctive gooseneck spouts and "dovetailed" or soldered tab bottoms, which were frequently marked on the handle by the maker (H. Kauffman 1981). Large copper kettles for making apple butter and stills for producing alcohol were also frequent fixtures on many Pennsylvania German farms. Although copper is an excellent conductor of heat, it was often lined with tin to prevent food from absorbing a metallic taste (Fennimore 1996).

Brass, an alloy of copper and zinc, was much scarcer than copper due to the difficulty of procuring zinc. Some craftsmen used brass to ornament iron objects, such as John Long of Lancaster County, who put bird-shaped brass finials on his iron fat lamps (D. Herr 2006), or David Rohrer of Lebanon, who engraved a brass cover for a box lock he signed and dated 1822 (Fennimore 2004). Brass or more rarely copper was also used to inlay initials, dates, and decorative motifs on sets of iron cooking utensils given to young Pennsylvania German woman as marriage presents. A few furniture items, including several tall clocks, a schrank, a hanging cupboard, a chest, and a corner cupboard, have brass or pewter inlay. Brass was also used for clock dials, furniture hardware, and fireplace utensils and andirons.

Pewter

Pewter was the most expensive metal to receive widespread usage in southeastern Pennsylvania. An alloy, pewter is made primarily of tin, up to 95 percent or more, mixed with copper and small amounts of lead or antimony. When polished, pewter is highly reflective and silver in color. It has a low melting point, and most pewter items are made by casting in bronze molds. Common forms include spoons, plates, basins, porringers, and mugs. More complex hollowware was also made of pewter, such as tankards and coffeepots—which might require a dozen or more molds (Krile 1989; Robacker 1962–63). In addition, many Pennsylvania German churches used pewter for their communion services, candlesticks, and baptismal basins. Although some church pewter was made locally by Germans such as the Moravian Johann Christoph Heyne of Lancaster or Johann Philip Alberti and William Will of Philadelphia, most was imported from England or Germany (D. Herr 1995). At least eighty-seven pieces of pewter made by Heyne survive, including a set of four elaborate altar sticks made for a Catholic church in Bally, Berks County (fig. 11.16).

Silver and Gold

The most ornamental and expensive metals, silver and gold, were used in southeastern Pennsylvania but in very small quantities; little study to date has been done of Pennsylvania German objects in these materials. Gold was limited almost exclusively to jewelry, while silver was used for flatware, in particular spoons; hollowware, including tea services; and communion services. Pennsylvania German silversmiths include William Haverstick and Christian Wiltberger in Philadelphia, who worked in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (fig. 11.17); the Mannerback family in Reading, whose work extended from 1785 to 1870 (see West and du Pont 2010); and Peter Getz in Lancaster, who worked from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century. Due to the limited demand for silver products, most silversmiths were versatile craftsmen. Peter Getz, for example, did engraving and repair work in addition to retailing objects, such as mourning rings, artificial teeth, spoons, buttons, and buckles (H. Kauffman 1995). In Carlisle,

Fig. 11.16. Pair of candlesticks, made by Johann Christoph Heyne (1715–81), Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1756–80. Pewter; H. 22, W. 7 ¾, D. 8 ⅝ in. *Winterthur Museum, gift of Henry Francis du Pont 1965.1602.1,.2; photograph by Gavin Ashworth*

Cumberland County, members of the Hendel family worked as both clockmakers and silversmiths (*Made in Cumberland County* 1991).

Bone and Ivory, Horn, Eggshell, and Leather

Objects made of bone, ivory, horn, eggshell, leather, and other keratinaceous (animal protein) materials were also made by Pennsylvania German craftsmen. In the few studies of such objects to date, the emphasis is typically on what is perceived as a particularly Pennsylvania German penchant for embellishing even the humblest of objects, such as a horn cup, with decorative ornament.

Bone and Ivory

In keeping with typical Pennsylvania German thriftiness, antler and bone left over from animal butchering were used to make many useful objects, including pie wheels, corn husking pegs, flatware handles, and even intestine cleaners (*Darrembutzer*). Not just any bone was used, however; typically rib and shin bones were selected for making useful objects, while the rest became bone meal, glue, or fertilizer (L. Breininger 1972). In rare instanc-

es bone was used for decoration as an inlay material on furniture, and a bone ring found in the estate of saddler Howard Clemmer of Harleysville, Montgomery County, has incised decoration of hearts and flowers with red and black infill. Ivory, which is distinct from bone and technically refers to the teeth or tusks of many animal species, was limited primarily in use to keyboard instruments. Animal teeth may also have been used as part of medicinal or powwowing practices. In 1747 Henry Muhlenberg asked his mother-in-law for "a few wolves' teeth" as his son Peter was "beginning to teethe" (Kleiner and Lehmann 1993, 316).

Horn

Due to its durable, lightweight, and waterproof qualities, animal horn (usually cow or ox) was made into a wide variety of products by steaming, bending, stretching, and shaping. Among the best-known objects is the powder horn, used for storing gunpowder and often decorated with incised motifs such as flowers, hearts, and animals, which are also found on other Pennsylvania German artifacts. Horn was also made into whetstone holders (known as a *Wetzkump*, these horns held the whetstone and a dilute vinegar solution),

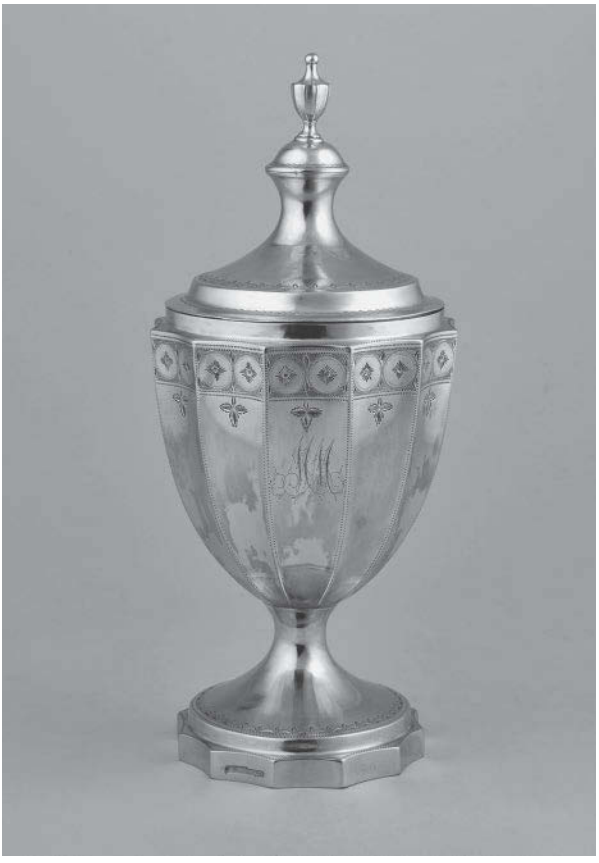


Fig. 11.17. Sugar bowl, made by Christian Wiltberger (1766–1851), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1790–1810. Silver; H. 10 ¼ in. *Winterthur Museum, 1956.98.2*

spoons, drinking cups, and combs, a once-common household item not limited to the Pennsylvania German community. In the 1990s, G. Atlee Crouse of Reinholds, Lancaster County, was the last known horn comb maker in America—a family tradition begun by his great-grandfather, German immigrant Charles Michael Crouse—according to folklorist Troy Boyer (1995–96). His study of the Crouse comb-making business attributes its persistence to both family tradition and thrifty Pennsylvania German consumers. Although horn comb making was not uniquely Pennsylvania German, Boyer suggests that certain values of the Pennsylvania Germans, including a "reluctance to accept change," came to be associated with the industry (61). In most other places, plastic replaced horn long before as it offered similar properties and could be made on a mass-production scale. Even if not used to comb hair, the horn combs made by the Crouse family signify the ongoing importance of traditional crafts among Pennsylvania Germans. Boyer's work also exemplifies the need to examine changing meanings of material culture over time and the possibility of applying ethnographic approaches to the study of craft traditions that are no longer or rarely practiced in present times.

Eggshell

Easter traditions of the Pennsylvania Germans include the *Oschderhaas* or Easter hare, a rabbit that laid eggs, which spurred the custom of making decorated Easter eggs as presentation gifts (fig. 11.18). After dyeing the eggs a reddish-brown to purple color with onion skins, the maker used a sharp pin or knife to scratch decorative motifs, names, and dates onto the shell; this technique is known as *Oier gritzle*. Another method of decorating eggs in-

Fig. 11.18. Easter egg, southeastern Pennsylvania, 1850. Goose egg; H. 3, Diam. 1 ½ in. *Winterthur Museum, gift of Jane and Gerald Katcher 2011.35*

volved use of the pith of a rush plant (*Binsegraas*) to form various geometric designs on the egg, sometimes in combination with fabric; this technique has been traced to the Odenwald region of southern Hessia (Shoemaker 1960, 49–61, 110–11).

Leather

Leather was used for a variety of objects, including harnesses and saddles, upholstery, bookbinding, shoes, and even clothing in the form of work aprons and breeches. Tanners processed animal hides into leather, which was then used by other craftsmen such as shoemakers and saddlers. Some leather goods were ornate, such as a woman's side saddle with tooled, embossed, and embroidered decoration made by Henry Hoffman of Lancaster County (Hess 2002, 39). Leather's durability also made it a useful upholstery material, as seen on a group of leather-upholstered easy chairs associated with the Moravian community of Bethlehem, where a tannery was present as early as 1742 (W. Cooper and Minardi 2011, 44–45). Leather was also used to bind books (Swank 1983, 289). The Germanic style of binding, seen in Pennsylvania on books such as the *Martyrs Mirror*, which was printed and likely bound at Ephrata (fig. 11.19), derives from medieval forms and includes beveled wooden boards, blind tooling on the leather, raised bands on the spine, brass bosses on the outer covers (to help protect the covers as books were commonly stored flat), and clasps for holding the book closed that extended from the back board to the front—a distinctly continental practice that differs from the British practice in which the clasps extend from front to back. Shoes were one item that could not be made by most families and fre-

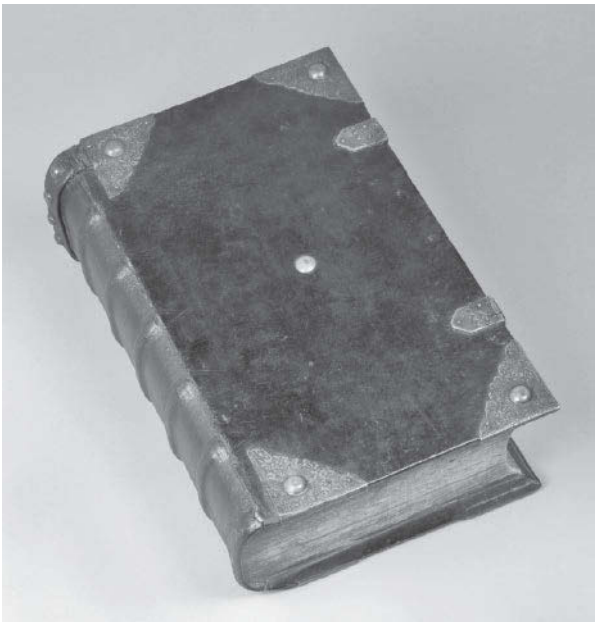


Fig. 11.19. *Martyrs Mirror*, printed and probably bound at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1748–49. Leather, wood, brass, laid paper, ink; H. 14 ½, W. 10 ¼, D. 4 ¾ in. *Winterthur Library, Printed Book and Periodical Collection BV4503 B81F*

quently needed replacing or mending; even with such high demand, however, shoemakers often supplemented their income with other pursuits (Neff and Weiser 1979).

Mixed Media

Metal was often used in combination with other materials, especially wood. One of the most iconic objects of Pennsylvania German craftsmanship, the Conestoga wagon, involved a combination of woodworking and metalwork. Some examples included elaborate iron hinges, ax holders, and hound bands (Shumway, Durrell, and Frey 1964). Clocks, firearms, and musical instruments are other common types of mixed-media objects.

Clocks

Pennsylvania was home to dozens of clockmakers by the end of the eighteenth century, many of Germanic heritage (Eckhardt 1955; see also LaFond and Harris 2008). Of the more than 2,000 names listed in James Biser Whisker's *Pennsylvania Clockmakers, Watchmakers, and Allied Crafts* (1990), many are of Germanic origin. Nearly 100 clockmakers worked in Lancaster County alone between 1750 and 1850. Clockmakers not only made clock movements but also cleaned and repaired clocks and watches and often worked as engravers, silversmiths, seal makers, surveyors, mathematical instrument makers, jewelers, and watchmakers. Clock movements were composite mechanisms that involved a variety of metals. Until the 1790s, most dials were made of brass; painted sheet-iron dials began to appear in the mid-1770s and were popular for their legibility and cheaper cost. Brass and iron were the main components of the movement itself, along with bronze for the bell and possibly steel for the hands. Lead was typically used for the weights and pendulum, the latter often having a brass cover. Clocks were typically housed in cases made by professional cabinetmakers, though a few talented individuals are thought to have made both movements and cases. Unlike many other artisans, clockmakers frequently signed their work—usually by engraving or painting their name on the dial—providing rare and important documentation. Even among the Moravians, of whom little is known about the work of individual craftsmen due to the communal nature of their faith, clockmakers typically marked their dials (Albright 1978).

Many of the earliest clockmakers in Pennsylvania were German, including Rudolph Stoner of Lancaster, Jacob Graff of Lebanon, and Peter Schutz of York (S. Wood 1976). Among the most influential of all Pennsylvania German clockmakers was George Hoff of Lancaster, who trained in Germany under his father-in-law at Grünstadt in the Pfalz and immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1765. Hoff's movements show that he continued to work in the German tradition, using features such as lantern pinions, iron movement pillars, and string-hung pendulums. Hoff trained three of his sons (John, John Jacob, and John George Jr.) as clockmakers, along with his sons-in-law Freder-

ick Heisely and John Fessler (S. Wood 1977). David Rittenhouse, who was of Dutch Mennonite heritage, was a clockmaker as well as astronomer and renowned scientist. In addition to Rittenhouse, John Fisher of York was one of the few American clockmakers capable of making musical and astronomical clocks. Many Pennsylvania clocks feature moon-phase dials, which served as built-in almanacs and were important due to folk traditions associated with the phases of the moon (fig. 11.20).

The number of tall clocks made in southeastern Pennsylvania, many by Pennsylvania German craftsmen, is astounding. Housed in a wide range of cases made by rural as well as urban cabinetmakers, the clock movements ranged from simple thirty-hour timepieces to more advanced eight-day clocks to complex musical, chiming, and astronomical mechanisms. Because clocks typically involved the work of two craftsmen, clock studies usually examine both the movements and cases. Lancaster County was a prolific center of clock making and has been the focus of numerous studies (S. Wood 1995; S. Wood and Kramer 1977). Reading, Berks County, was another major center of Pennsylvania German clock making by craftsmen such as

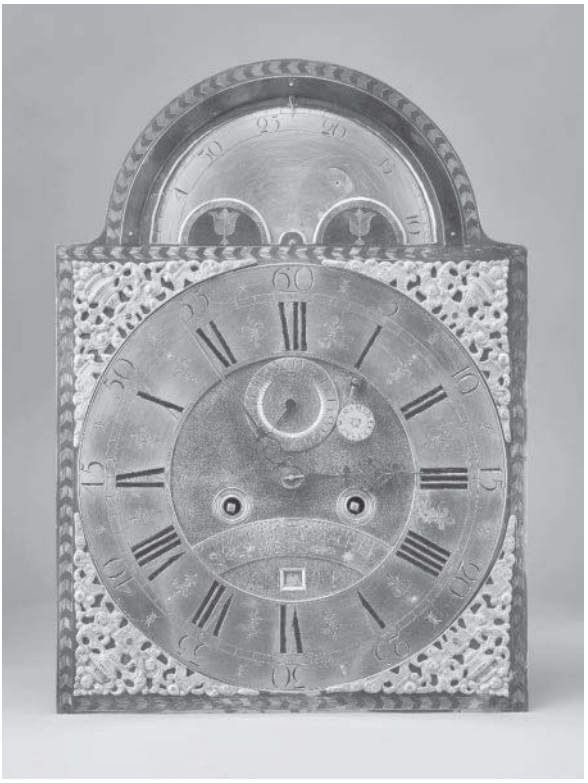


Fig. 11.20. Clock movement, made by Jacob Graff (1729–78), Lebanon, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, 1750–60. Brass, silvered brass, pewter, iron, bronze, steel; H. 15, W. 12 in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1965.2261*

Valentine Urletig, Daniel Rose, and Daniel Oyster (Machmer and Machmer 1995). Formed in 1784 from Philadelphia County, Montgomery County was also home to many Pennsylvania German clockmakers (B. Forman 2000).

Firearms

Enthusiasts of the Pennsylvania or so-called Kentucky long rifle have long touted Pennsylvania German craftsmen as the source of this American invention, claiming it was a fusion of the rifled barrels made in Germany with the long smoothbore English fowling pieces. Although rifled and long-barrel guns were under development in numerous areas by the eighteenth century, there is little doubt that Pennsylvania German craftsmen were the foremost makers of these long rifles in colonial America. Unlike European craftsmen, who divided firearms production into distinct trades, American gunsmiths typically produced all of the components and thus had to be proficient in welding, forging, lockmaking, and engraving as well as woodworking and carving to shape and ornament the stock (see H. Kauffman 1960; J. Kindig 1960; Shumway 1980).

The Moravians were among the earliest Pennsylvania German gunsmiths, working in Bethlehem and the nearby settlement of single men known as Christiansbrunn (Christian's Spring) by 1762. Run by Andreas Albrecht, who was trained as a gunstock maker in Europe, and later his apprentice Christian Oerter, the Christiansbrunn shop produced some of the most ornate Pennsylvania firearms, including ones with silver and brass wire inlay and carved decoration (Lienemann and Hench 2010). In 1771 Albrecht moved to Lititz and continued his work as a gunsmith; he and other Moravian gunsmiths (including his son Henry Albright; Jacob Dickert; and William Henry, Sr. and Jr.) would become an important part of the Lancaster school of gunmaking (S. Wood and Whisker 1991). Dozens of other Pennsylvania German gunsmiths helped to develop distinctive schools of gunmaking, including John Schreit of Reading, Berks County, who in 1761 made the earliest known signed and dated American long rifle (Hornberger 2009); Frederick Zorger (fig. 11.21) and Martin Fry in York; Nicholas Beyer and John Philip Beck in Lebanon; and Jacob Kuntz (1780–1876) of Allentown and Philadelphia, who became one of the best-known gunsmiths in America with patrons not only in the United States but also in Europe.

Musical Instruments

Made of diverse materials, musical instruments were an important part of Pennsylvania German culture (Raichelson 1975). Most of the early makers of keyboard instruments in America were German immigrants, including Johann Gottlob Klemm of Bethlehem and Johann Michael Behrent and Charles Albrecht of Philadelphia (Clinkscale 1993; Minardi 2013). The Pennsylvania Germans were also renowned organ builders, the most famous being the Moravian David Tannenberg (Armstrong 1967; Brunner 1990). Daniel Rose, clockmaker of Reading, was an accomplished musician and had his

Fig. 11.21. Pair of flintlock pistols, made by Frederick Zorger (1734–1815), York, Pennsylvania, 1765–80. Walnut, iron, silver; H. 6, L. 14 ¾, D. 2 in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1961.857.1,.2*

portrait painted with musical instruments including a clarinet, violin, flute, and square piano (Minardi 2014, 190).

Music was especially popular among the Moravians. Trombone choirs were established in Bethlehem by 1754 and Lititz in 1771, and some Moravian women had their portraits painted holding the cittern—a stringed instrument resembling a mandolin (Knouse 2008). Other stringed instruments used by the Pennsylvania Germans include the zither or *Scheitholz* (similar to a dulcimer), fiddle, and violin. The Pennsylvania German zither in particular is a key piece of evidence in theories of the development of hybridized cultural regions because it is thought to have merged with British traditions in settlements of the Appalachian Mountains and resulted in the "Appalachian dulcimer." One particularly elaborate zither with painted floral decoration is dated 1788 and bears the name of Samuel Ache (1764–1832) of Schaefferstown, Lebanon County; he likely made it for himself, as he was a joiner and instrument maker (fig. 11.22). The Martin Guitar Company, located in Nazareth, Northampton County, since 1838, carries on the Pennsylvania German tradition of instrument making.

Most studies of Pennsylvania German decorative arts have dwelled on the highly decorative, nonurban "folk" objects such as fraktur and painted chests. In part, these objects survive because they were more elaborate than usual and thus are likely not representative of typical household furnishings. More accurate information about the types and quantities of objects

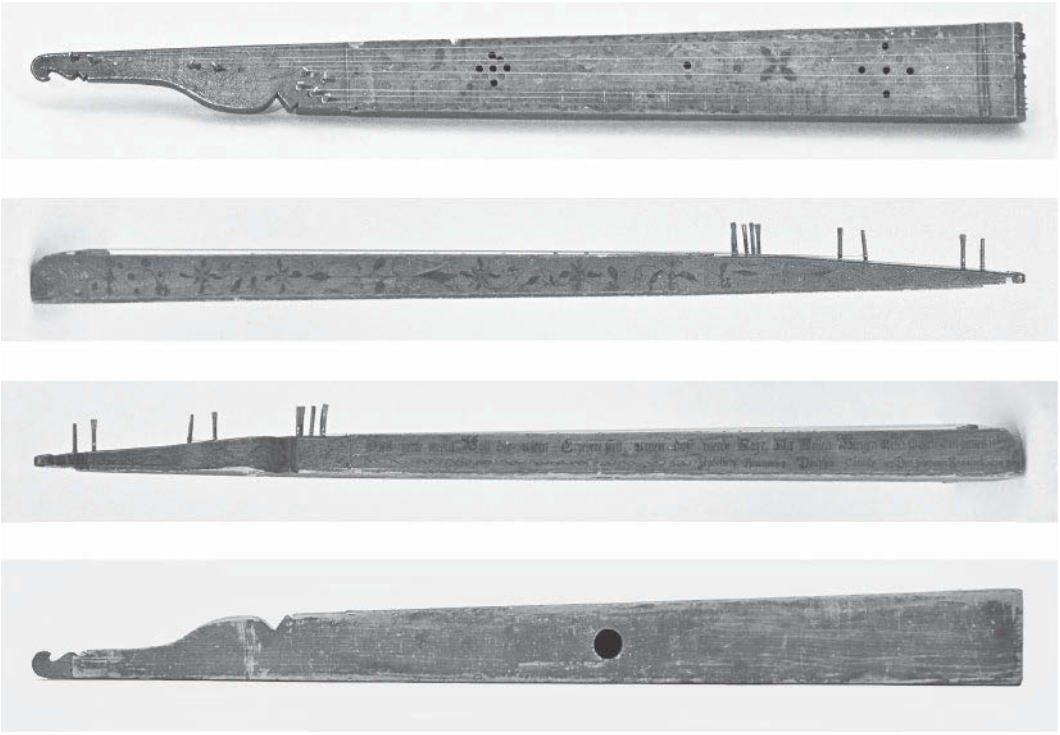


Fig. 11.22. Zither, made for and attributed to Samuel Ache (1764–1832), Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, 1788. Maple, pine, iron, paint; H. 1 ⅞, W. 3 ¾, L. 37 ⅜ in. *The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Mrs. Jeannette S. Hamner 2000.708.1*

made and owned by Pennsylvania Germans should continue to be gleaned from documentary sources such as probate records and the *Familienbuch* or family book kept by Pennsylvania German fathers to document items given to children prior to marriage (Lasansky 1990a, 72–74; see also Hollenbach and Keyser 1975). Account books should also be consulted in studies of Pennsylvania German craftsmen; known examples include those of woodturner Abraham Overholt and cabinetmaker Peter Ranck (Keyser, Neff, and Weiser 1978). Another resource is the watercolor drawings of furniture made by Amish cabinetmaker Henry Lapp of Lancaster County, which also provide a source of period nomenclature and documents the wide range of work in a craftsman's repertoire (*A Craftsman's Handbook* 1975).

Surprisingly little comparative study has been done of objects made in Pennsylvania and their European counterparts, resulting in a limited understanding of the extent to which Old World traditions were transferred and how they evolved. Monroe Fabian's 1978 work *The Pennsylvania-German Decorated Chest* is one of the few studies to illustrate and discuss both Old and New World forms and decoration. In addition to more comparative studies with European decorative arts, more study in a diasporic context needs to be made of objects made and owned by German-speaking people who settled

in other regions (Falk and Minardi 2014). Germanic art in New York has received the most study to date, but many regions need to be explored (Amsler 1987; de Julio 1985a; 1985b). German settlers who later moved beyond Pennsylvania and into the Shenandoah Valley, the Midwest, or Ontario are another area of much-needed focus (*Backcountry Dutch* 2008; Bird and Kobayashi 1981; Burke and Hill 1991; S. Kaufman and Clark 1986).

Design sources for the motifs on Pennsylvania German decorative arts are another area in need of further study and discourse. A major focus has been the extent to which the designs on Pennsylvania German art are religious in nature, advocated by early scholars such as John Joseph Stoudt. In some cases, the imagery is clearly religious; cast iron stove plates or fraktur, for example, feature biblical stories, such as Adam and Eve. But in many cases the imagery is secular and sometimes based on non–Pennsylvania German design sources, such as a mermaid used on Ephrata fraktur that was copied from a popular English periodical entitled the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Minardi 2015b, 26–27).

An alternative to hypothesizing the meaning of motifs is tracing design sources, such as the printed fraktur motifs copied onto painted Mahantongo Valley furniture. Another avenue of inquiry is to trace the use of particular motifs on various media, such as the horse-and-rider design that appears on fraktur, painted chests, and pottery. Can it be demonstrated that one medium was the source of inspiration, or was the design used simultaneously? More consideration can also be given to the use of these motifs by non–Pennsylvania German ethnic groups. The tulip, for example, appears in art of New England and the South and has precedents in many European countries, not just German-speaking ones.

Pennsylvania German decorative arts have captivated a broad audience for more than a century and generated an extensive historiography for future scholars to build upon. Even topics that have been extensively studied provide ample opportunity for additional research, while many areas of cultural and social analyses—including representation, perception, production, revival, and consumption of all things Pennsylvania German in the contemporary era—await exploration in the "new Pennsylvania German studies."

12 Fraktur and Visual Culture

LISA MINARDI

The Pennsylvania Germans are renowned for their colorful artistic traditions, many of which fall into the realm of visual culture. Within this category, the best known and most studied is fraktur, which includes objects such as birth and baptismal certificates, penmanship samples, house blessings, family registers, and other works on paper. During the period in which it was made, however, fraktur was largely a private art meant for personal enjoyment rather than public consumption—a factor that is easily obscured by museum exhibitions and publications, which by their very nature bring attention to these otherwise intimate documents. Beginning with the publication of the first major study of fraktur in 1897, scholars have typically examined fraktur through one of several possible lenses: regionalism, artist identification, or functional type (e.g., birth certificate). Other elements of Pennsylvania German visual culture include interior wall decoration and the famous "hex signs" that adorn the sides of barns in parts of the region. The fine arts, such as portrait and landscape painting, are another important part of the Pennsylvania German visual culture tradition; however, they typically receive far less attention by scholars, who tend to emphasize folk over fine art in an effort to emphasize perceived areas of greatest ethnic distinctiveness (see Miller 2014).

Fraktur

Fraktur is a term used to refer to *Frakturschriften* (fraktur writings), derived from the Latin *fractura*, literally a broken or fractured style of lettering. These *Frakturschriften* include any documents written or printed in the German *Fraktur* style of lettering, including baptismal certificates, deeds, contracts, and many other types of documents. Fraktur in this sense was produced in German-speaking areas of Europe from the beginning of the sixteenth century until World War II. As the use of this lettering developed over time, the addition of decorative motifs became an increasingly common method of embellishment. German-speaking immigrants brought the fraktur tradition with them to America, where it evolved in Pennsylvania and elsewhere

into a distinctive art that included both manuscript and printed documents. The most common type of fraktur made in America was the *Geburts- und Taufschein* or birth and baptismal certificate (fig. 12.1), due to the importance of baptism within the Lutheran and Reformed churches to which most Pennsylvania Germans belonged.

The first major scholarly study of fraktur was published in 1897 by Henry Chapman Mercer. Entitled "The Survival of the Medieval Art of Illuminative Writing among Pennsylvania Germans," Mercer's study was highly influential in its exploration of fraktur art and his linkage of it to Old World traditions. Although many of Mercer's claims have since been disproved, in particular his assertion that fraktur was always religious and never secular in nature, the five fraktur types he identified are still considered among the basic categories: hymnals such as those of the Ephrata Cloister; bookplates within Mennonite tunebooks; "rewards of merit," by which he described *Vorschriften* or writing samples; "book marks," which were in fact more likely presented as rewards of merit; and birth and baptismal certificates, which he noted were prevalent among Lutherans. Mercer saw a direct connection between medieval illuminated manuscripts and Pennsylvania German fraktur, leading him to argue that the rise of printing led to fraktur's demise as he viewed it primarily as a manuscript art. His linkage of American-made fraktur and European antecedents formed one side in what would become a

Henrich winter
ist von Christlichen Eltern geboren
worden den 22ten Tag Merz im Jahr
Christi 1795 mit dem Taufschein in
Dauphin County: getauft worden von H.
Lupp – die Taufzeugen waren Stophel –
winter · und seine frau Maria die Eltern
sind die Ehrsame Henrich winter
und seine Ehrsame Haas frau
Namens Susanna eine geborne

Fig. 12.1. Birth and baptismal certificate for Henrich Winter Jr., attributed to Conrad Trevits (1751–1830), East Hanover Township, Dauphin (now Lebanon) County, Pennsylvania, c. 1795 (see also color photo gallery). Watercolor and ink on laid paper; 8 x 13 ⅛ in. *Winterthur Museum, purchase with funds provided by the Henry Francis du Pont Collectors Circle 2010.28*

long-standing debate over the extent to which Pennsylvania German fraktur was a European transplant or a distinctly American development. Written at a time when the effects of modernization and industrialization were beginning to transform rural Pennsylvania, Mercer's study also reflected the appeal of preindustrial arts such as fraktur to antiquarians and preservationists such as himself. The prominent inclusion of fraktur and other Pennsylvania German arts in such projects as the *Index of American Design* during the 1930s reflected the growing influence of the colonial revival movement's romanticism of the past (Clayton, Stillinger, and Doss 2002). Mercer emphasized the "primitive tools" and allegedly homemade nature of fraktur art, claiming that artists used "brushes made of the hair of the domestic cat . . . home-mixed inks and paints" and a cherry gum varnish. Such assumptions were accepted by most scholars until scientific analysis first published in the 1970s revealed that many fraktur were decorated primarily with commercially available pigments (Carlson and Krill 1978). Although Mercer erred in his assumptions about the materials, he was, however, correct in identifying schoolmasters as the producers of most fraktur, along with some ministers and itinerant penmen or scriveners.

The most significant early works on fraktur to follow Mercer were two studies by Henry S. Borneman: *Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts: A Classification of Fraktur-Schriften and an Inquiry into Their History and Art* (1937) and *Pennsylvania German Bookplates* (1953). Borneman took a cautious view regarding symbolism, concluding that many of the motifs had no symbolic meaning at all or, if they did, it was often mythological as opposed to spiritual. Also in 1937, John Joseph Stoudt published his study *Consider the Lilies How They Grow: An Interpretation of the Symbolism of Pennsylvania German Art*. Though criticized for his claim that the images on Pennsylvania German art were "artistic representations of Scriptural phrases and metaphors" (1937, 31), Stoudt's pioneering effort to delve into the origins and meanings of the motifs was nonetheless important as it encouraged scholarly examination into the meaning, or lack thereof, behind this imagery. Stoudt was also faulted for asserting that fraktur was primarily the product of sectarian groups such as the Society of Ephrata and the Schwenkfelders, when in fact most fraktur were made by and for members of the predominant German Lutheran and Reformed churches. Stoudt published a revised version of his study in 1948 and again in 1966, in which he acknowledged the prominent role of birth and baptismal certificates made for Lutheran and Reformed children. But he continued to uphold his central argument that the imagery was a nonrepresentational expression of Christian beliefs, citing numerous biblical and literary references as sources of inspiration. Although parts of his interpretation are compelling, Stoudt was unable to document that the individual artists and owners of these documents actually understood the symbolic meanings that he argued they contained, a shortcoming that calls into question his entire theory if neither makers nor owners can be proved to have understood the meanings that he alleged.

In 1961 Donald A. Shelley published his pioneering study *The Fraktur-Writings or Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, the first comprehensive overview of the subject, which remains a standard reference to this day. Drawing on his examination of fraktur in both continental Europe and America, Shelley presented a wide range of Pennsylvania German fraktur types, including the ubiquitous birth and baptismal certificates in both manuscript and printed versions, family records, house blessings, spiritual labyrinths, writing samples (fig. 12.2), and rewards of merit. Shelley was also the first to explore in detail the European origins of fraktur and make comparisons between fraktur and other types of American folk art, such as Shaker spirit drawings and New England family registers. He expanded on earlier studies by discussing the materials, tools, and techniques used in the production of fraktur and also included a bibliography of many little-known articles and collections of fraktur.

Unlike previous scholars, such as Stoudt, who claimed that fraktur was never made for artistic purposes alone, Shelley recognized that fraktur could be made for aesthetic purposes as well as to record genealogical information or express religious beliefs. Shelley (1961, 83) carefully addressed the symbolism issue, noting that while "the tendency has been to read all sorts of complicated meanings into the artist's use of certain motifs," whether "each Folk Artist or craftsman possessed an intimate knowledge of iconography

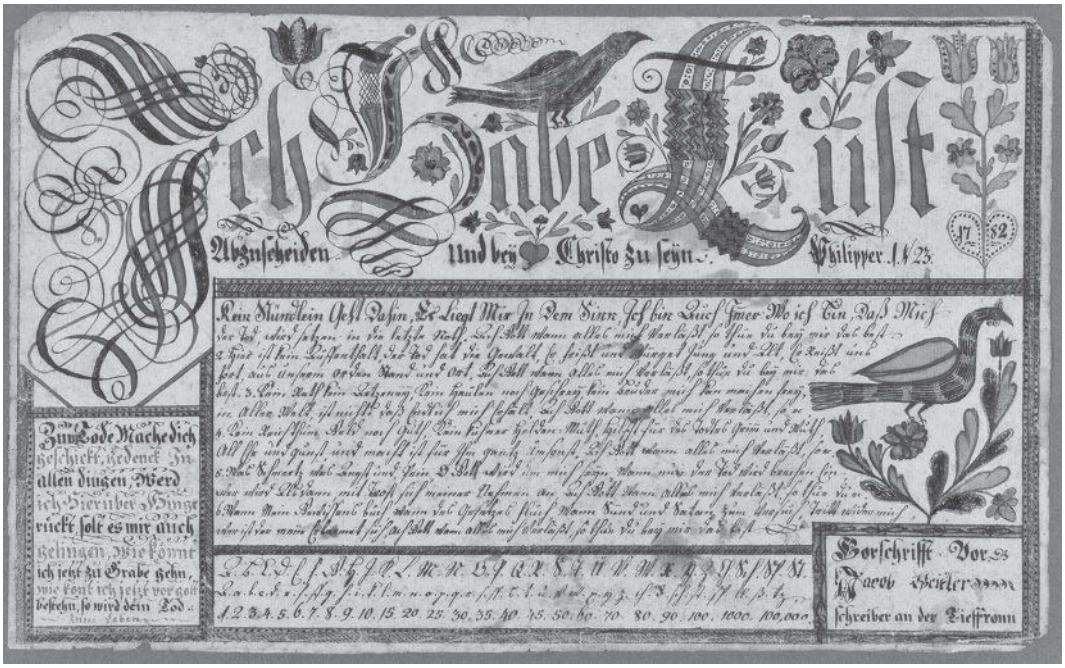


Fig. 12.2. Writing sample for Jacob Beitler, attributed to Johann Adam Eyer (1755–1837), Deep Run School, Bedminster Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1782 (see also color photo gallery). Watercolor and ink on laid paper; 8 ¼ x 13 ⅜ in. *Winterthur Museum, purchase with funds provided by the Henry Francis du Pont Collectors Circle 2013.31.78*

and deliberately chose his designs to convey a special meaning, could hardly be proved." Instead, Shelley argued that a combination of factors, including spiritual beliefs, personal sentiment, and nature, were the most likely origins. An avid collector as well as scholar, Shelley amassed one of the most significant and comprehensive private collections of fraktur and other Pennsylvania German decorative arts (*Fraktur and Related Works on Paper*, 2004; see also *The Pioneer Americana Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Donald A. Shelley*, 2007).

Following Shelley's landmark study, scholarly interest in fraktur boomed. In 1969 Don Yoder, Vernon Gunnion, and Carroll Hopf organized the exhibition *Pennsylvania German Fraktur and Color Drawings* (1969) at the Pennsylvania Farm Museum (now the Landis Valley Village and Farm Museum). In 1976 Frederick S. Weiser and Howell J. Heaney published a two-volume catalog of the fraktur collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia (1976), which had by then acquired the fraktur collections of Henry S. Borneman, Levi E. Yoder, and others. The significance of this publication went far beyond its visual presentation. Coinciding with the bicentennial celebration of American independence, the Free Library catalog also celebrated the artistic contribution of the Pennsylvania Germans to American culture. Weiser, a Lutheran pastor who would become one of the most prolific writers in the field of fraktur studies, was one of the first to advocate a shift away from interpretations based on religious symbolism. In the introduction to the Free Library catalog, Weiser (1976, 1:xxvii) wrote that it would not be surprising if "the motifs of Fraktur are simply embellishment and have no esoteric meaning or function beyond the beautification of the piece." Containing images of more than 1,000 fraktur, the Free Library catalog quickly became a major visual resource for fraktur studies. Several major institutional collections, including those of the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Garvan 1982) and selections from the Winterthur Museum (Weiser 1983) were also published in conjunction with the 1983 tricentennial of permanent German settlement in America. In 1988 more than 100 examples of fraktur held by the Library of Congress were published in *Pennsylvania German Fraktur and Printed Broadsides: A Guide to the Collections in the Library of Congress* (Conner and Roberts 1988). The rising availability of images allowed for more systematic research on the patterns, motifs, and themes of fraktur. As interest and knowledge expanded, the sheer diversity and complexity of fraktur challenged scholars to find new ways of approaching its study. Subsequent fraktur studies have largely fallen into one of three categories: identification of a particular artist; study of fraktur from a particular region; or study of a particular type of fraktur.

Artist Identification

The recognition of distinctive handwriting and motifs made by a particular artist's or scrivener's hand has enabled scholars to identify numerous makers who rarely signed or otherwise marked their work. Because of the

tendency of artists to copy motifs from one another, however, great caution is needed when attributing unsigned pieces. The biographical information that began to emerge about fraktur artists and scriveners also helped to draw a more accurate picture of the social and economic context of fraktur production. For example, the identification of Johann Adam Eyer, a Lutheran schoolmaster who taught in the Mennonite schools of Montgomery, Bucks, and Chester counties, revealed the creative impulse behind one of the most prolific and influential schools of fraktur production in Pennsylvania (Weiser 1980). Another significant resource for information on specific fraktur makers is Corinne and Russell Earnest's two-volume *Papers for Birth Dayes: A Guide to the Fraktur Artists and Scriveners* (1997), which provides detailed biographical information and a checklist of known works for several hundred artists and scriveners.

Regional Studies

A move toward the interpretation of fraktur within a regional context is evident beginning in the 1990s. The first major regional study focused on the Schwenkfelder region of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania (Moyer 1997), followed by studies of Bucks County and York County fraktur (Amsler 2001; Lloyd 2001). Another study examined fraktur made within Salford and Skippack townships, Montgomery County, and the Mennonite school system in which the fraktur tradition flourished (Hershey 2003). Berks County was also explored as a center of fraktur production in *The Heart of the Taufschein: Fraktur & The Pivotal Role of Berks County, Pennsylvania* (Earnest and Earnest 2012).

Although fraktur was made in regions beyond southeastern Pennsylvania —wherever German-speaking immigrants and their descendants settled— few studies of other areas have yet been made. Fraktur made in western Pennsylvania was often produced by artists who moved there from southeastern Pennsylvania, sometimes making it difficult to identify (Brocklebank 1986). Studies of fraktur made by Pennsylvania Mennonites who moved to Ontario are particularly useful for tracking the exchange of artists and iconography between regions (Bird 1977; E. Good 1976). The South remains an overlooked territory of fraktur production. Klaus Wust's brief study *Virginia Fraktur: Penmanship as Folk Art* (1975) provided an overview of artists working in this important southern region. Virginia fraktur was the subject of an exhibition catalog, *Bernhart & Company: Shenandoah Valley Folk Art Fraktur (1774–1850)* (2011), and a study of the "Stony Creek Artist" (Comstock 2005–6). Fraktur made in Maryland, the Carolinas, and Ohio remains largely unexplored, although significant examples were produced in all three areas (see Kolbe and Holcomb 1979 for South Carolina; Richmond 2011 for Ohio). More comparative research promises to shed light on the diffusion of visual culture traditions through the movement of both individual artists and fraktur documents carried by Pennsylvania German families into new regions.

Fraktur by Category

The study of fraktur by category has greatly enhanced attempts to interpret the cultural context of fraktur traditions. For example, the ubiquity of the birth and baptismal certificate has provoked debate as to why this rite of passage was commemorated to such a greater degree than marriage or death. In his article, "Piety and Protocol in Folk Art: Pennsylvania German Fraktur Birth and Baptismal Certificates" Frederick S. Weiser (1973b) argues that the *Taufschein*'s predominance was a result of the religious importance of baptism in the Lutheran and Reformed churches, to which most Pennsylvania Germans belonged. Searching for the European roots of fraktur, Don Yoder (2001b) traced the origins of the *Taufschein* to the German *Patenbrief* and Alsatian *Göttelbrief*, a letter from the godparents to the child; the Swiss *Taufzettel*, a baptismal greeting folded around a coin; and the official *Geburtsbrief* or birth certificate.

Although printed fraktur and especially *Taufscheine* survive in far greater quantities than manuscript examples, most fraktur studies focus on the latter. Alfred Shoemaker's *Check List of Pennsylvania Dutch Printed Taufscheins* (1952) and Shelley's *Fraktur-Writings* (1961) were the rare exceptions until the publication of Klaus Stopp's monumental seven-volume series *The Printed Birth and Baptismal Certificates of the German Americans* (1997–99; see also Earnest, Earnest, and Stopp 2014). Stopp's encyclopedic overview demonstrates the evolution of the *Taufschein* and serves as an identification guide to the printers. Careful scrutiny of dated imprints also reveals important details, such as the frequent lag between the child's birth and baptism to the actual printing of the certificate, thus shedding light on the context of when fraktur certificates were actually obtained for children.

Study of printed *Taufscheine* has evolved alongside greater overall interest in print culture and particularly broadsides, which are simply sheets of papers printed on one side. Examples of printed fraktur such as baptismal certificates are thus technically broadsides in a literal sense, although the term broadside is often reserved for ephemera and other less personal documents. Broadsides were made in the form of house blessings (Earnest and Earnest 2015), auction notices, property advertisements, ballads, hymns, news of sensationalist events, political campaigns and myriad other types (Earnest and Earnest 2005; Gilgenast 2009). The cultural context and social history of Pennsylvania German broadsides was the focus of Don Yoder's *The Pennsylvania German Broadside: A History and Guide* (2005), in which he explores the role of broadsides and prints within the visual culture of the Pennsylvania Germans. Yoder argues that broadsides continue to be in use into the twenty-first century, connecting the historical forms with the ongoing use of posters advertising farm sales, church suppers, and the like. Hermann Wellenreuther (2013) offers a different methodology for broadside research within the "new Pennsylvania German studies" by placing the pieces within the context of a transatlantic consumer culture and the relation-

ships between printers, sellers, and customers. Noting the absence of issues concerning primarily the Anglo-American population from German American broadsides printed between 1730 and 1830, he contends that broadsides reveal the persistence in rural areas of relatively separate "cultural, religious, political, and linguistic communities" (5).

Studies of fraktur by type beyond the predominant *Taufscheine* and broadsides are more limited. Some parents chose to record the births of their children on one document, usually known as a family register or family record. Such documents evolved from European counterparts and were made in both manuscript and printed formats (Earnest and Earnest 2004). Unlike the *Taufschein*, family records were used widely by non–Pennsylvania Germans. Bookplates, which were made for Bibles, hymnals, tune books, catechisms, and other books, remain largely unexplored other than Borneman's 1953 survey. Rewards of merit and other small presentation fraktur were studied by Frederick S. Weiser in *The Gift Is Small, the Love Is Great* (1994). As Weiser explains in his introductory essay, the legendary Mennonite schoolmaster Christopher Dock (d. 1771) encouraged the practice of rewarding good students with drawings of birds or flowers. Many of these small drawings found their way into books for safekeeping, and thus later became known as bookmarks. Mennonite schoolmasters in southeastern Pennsylvania also prepared tune books, often with decorated title pages, for their students beginning in the 1780s and continuing well into the 1800s (Hershey 2001). Fraktur embellished with *Scherenschnitte* or scissor-cutting is another area in need of study, as most publications on the subject are "how-to" guides for making modern cutwork. The historic craft techniques used to make *Scherenschnitte* need to be examined in greater depth as well as the types of fraktur embellished with cutwork, which include *Taufscheine*, rewards of merit, and *Liebesbriefe* or love letters, to name but a few (Gilpin 1988).

Many types of fraktur are largely unexplored, such as New Year's greetings and Christmas wishes. Most known examples of Christmas wishes are thought to be of Moravian origin, although the extent to which the Moravians made fraktur in general is largely unknown. The *Vorschrift* or writing sample is another category that needs to be explored in depth to answer such questions as how Schwenkfelder and Mennonite *Vorschriften* compare or contrast in their text and designs. Very little is known about the actual production of fraktur at Ephrata and its offshoot settlement of Snow Hill in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. What role did fraktur play within the largely plain, austere lifestyle practiced by the inhabitants of these two religious societies?

Michael S. Bird's *O Noble Heart, O Edel Herz: Fraktur and Spirituality in Pennsylvania German Folk Art* (2002) approaches the issue of religious symbolism by exploring the connection between text and imagery on fraktur of a religious nature. Overt depictions of religious iconography such as crucifixion scenes are rare, however, in fraktur, as most Pennsylvania Germans were Protestant. An intricate drawing made by the Mennonite schoolmaster An-

dreas Kolb is an unusual fraktur with imagery directly related to the religious text (fig. 12.3). Many of the verses are taken from Psalms, including the text to the left and right of the crown atop the double eagle (translation, from Ps. 103:4, 5): "Who redeemeth thy life from destruction, who crowneth thee . . . so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's." Comparative studies of fraktur with other forms of manuscript art, such as New England family records and Quaker love letters, schoolmaster's exercise books, and birth records such as those from Burlington County, New Jersey, would also help understand the relationship of Pennsylvania German fraktur to other contemporary traditions.

In September 2009, a major conference on fraktur held at the Free Library of Philadelphia brought together many leading scholars of the field for a series of presentations and discussion on the future direction of fraktur scholarship. Numerous avenues for new research were suggested by this group, led by Don Yoder, who advocated for more inquiry into the European origins

Fig. 12.3. Religious text, made by Andreas Kolb (1749–1811), Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, c. 1785 (see also color photo gallery). Watercolor and ink on laid paper; 13 ⅞ x 16 ½ in. *Winterthur Museum, purchase with funds provided by the Henry Francis du Pont Collectors Circle 2013.31.71*

of Pennsylvania German fraktur. Examination of European-made fraktur and printed works that can be documented as having been brought to America by German-speaking immigrants would be particularly helpful in understanding what documents and design sources were present in Pennsylvania to inspire fraktur artists. In March 2015 an international group of scholars convened in Philadelphia at a second major fraktur conference collaboratively organized by the McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art, and Free Library of Philadelphia in conjunction with the German Society of Pennsylvania and Winterthur Museum. The interdisciplinary approach of this conference, which included topics ranging from the use of botanical imagery on fraktur to the application of historian David Hall's concept of "lived religion" to the study of broadsides and other printed works, suggested a wide range of future directions for fraktur studies. The conference also coincided with four simultaneous exhibitions featuring Pennsylvania German fraktur: *Drawn with Spirit: Pennsylvania German Fraktur from the Joan and Victor Johnson Collection* at the Philadelphia Museum of Art; *Framing Fraktur: Contemporary Artists Connect to Fraktur* and *Quill & Brush: Pennsylvania German Fraktur & Material Culture*, both at the Free Library of Philadelphia; and *A Colorful Folk: Pennsylvania Germans & the Art of Everyday Life* at Winterthur Museum.

A new model for fraktur scholarship that goes beyond the isolated studies of functional types, regions, and artists is offered in *Drawn with Spirit: Pennsylvania German Fraktur from the Joan and Victor Johnson Collection* (Minardi 2015b). Organized by schools of fraktur production—some centered around a specific artist or locale—this study offers a nuanced understanding of how artists took inspiration from one another and how designs were transferred to new locations and across generations. Detailed catalog entries examine the broader historical context of the people who made and owned these works, while an introductory essay sets the collection within a broader context of collecting and scholarship on Pennsylvania German folk art. New discoveries are also presented, including the use of English periodicals that served as a design source for fraktur and connections between fraktur artists and other media. For example, new research on the Tulpehocken Valley of eastern Lebanon and western Berks counties reveals that fraktur had a strong influence on that region's painted furniture, some of which can now be firmly attributed to fraktur artist Henrich Otto and his sons (Minardi 2015c). By contrast, furniture decorators in the Mahantongo Valley used printed fraktur as design sources but do not appear to have been fraktur artists (Minardi 2011a; see also Sullivan and Weiser 1980 and H. Reed 1987).

Another new approach to fraktur studies is the application of methodology from the field of technical art history by a team of curators, conservators, and scientists at Winterthur Museum. Rooted in a thorough examination of the tools, techniques, and materials used in the production of fraktur, this object-based study is revealing significant new insights, including the rapid adoption of new pigments such as chrome yellow by fraktur artists, perhaps

due to its brilliant color and improved light stability over traditional organic or mineral-based pigments such as gamboge and yellow ochre (Hark et al. 2012; Irving and Minardi 2011; Mass, Matsen, and Carlson 2005). Technical studies have also exposed "faux fraktur" or forgeries—often executed on antique paper to give an aura of authenticity—that had long deceived collectors and scholars alike (Minardi and Mass 2014).

Other Visual Arts

Although fraktur is the best-known and most studied element of Pennsylvania German visual culture, numerous other forms of visual expression were also made but have a much shorter historiography. Much of the relevant work to date is in the form of exhibition catalogs that typically offer biographical information and images but rarely an extensive historical or social context. Architectural ornament is one form of visual culture, including decorative wall painting such as the stripes and polka dots found in the homes of Peter Wentz (built 1758) and his brother Abraham Wentz (built c. 1760) in Montgomery County. A second-floor room from the 1783 David Hottenstein House near Kutztown, Berks County, features paneled doors ornamented with blue sponged decoration into which flowers were drawn when the paint was still wet (fig. 12.4). Another rare form of interior decoration is raised plasterwork ornament, known in only a handful of Pennsylvania German houses, including the Hehn-Kershner House (c. 1755) from Wernersville, Berks County, now installed at Winterthur Museum; the Christian Stauffer House (c. 1767) in East Lampeter Township, Lancaster County; and the Christoffel Vought House (1759) in Clinton Township, Hunterdon County, New Jersey. This interior decoration, along with other aspects of architecture and material culture, was likely a reflection of both ethnic identity and socioeconomic status (Falk 2008). The Wentz, Hottenstein, and other houses noted here were built by wealthy families; the extent to which such decoration was used in humbler dwellings is not clear. On the exterior landscape, the painted stars and other motifs that adorned barns throughout southeastern Pennsylvania beginning in the mid-1800s have been the subject of much debate, sparked by Wallace Nutting's description of them in his 1924 publication *Pennsylvania Beautiful* as "hex signs." Scholars have subsequently debated whether the motifs were intended as magical talismans, as Nutting suggested, or merely for decoration. Others have argued for the role of barn stars as a visual expression of Pennsylvania German identity at a time of increasing pressure to assimilate (see Donmoyer 2013; Yoder and Graves 1989).

The Pennsylvania Germans were also consumers and producers of the fine arts, ranging from folk paintings to formal portraiture, as Irwin Richman notes in *Pennsylvania German Arts: More than Hearts, Parrots, and Tulips* (2001). Most studies, however, have tended to emphasize the work of folk artists to the exclusion of academically trained artists. Lancaster native Jacob Eichholtz (1776–1842) began his career as a coppersmith but became

Fig. 12.4. Painted interior of a second-floor room from the David Hottenstein house, Kutztown area, Berks County, Pennsylvania, built 1783 (see also color photo gallery). *Winterthur Museum*

one of the leading portrait painters of his day among a largely Pennsylvania German clientele (Ryan 2003). Artist Jacob Witman of Reading, Berks County, plied his trade among the local Pennsylvania German elite during the 1790s as a painter of portraits, miniatures, and trade signs. Witman's portrait of Joseph Hiester (1752–1832), one of Reading's most prominent citizens and a future U.S. congressman and governor of Pennsylvania (fig. 12.5), reveals his familiarity with academic portraiture and may be the "Portrait of a Gentleman" he exhibited in 1795 at the Columbianum exhibition in Philadelphia—the first major public art exhibition in America (Minardi 2014). In colonial Bethlehem, members of the Moravian Church had their portraits painted by the German émigré painter John Valentine Haidt (1700–1780), who also made religious scenes (V. Nelson 2012). Because the Moravian Church included members of the lesser European aristocracy and was led by a German nobleman—Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf—the fine arts such as portraiture, needlework, and music were taken to a greater level of sophistication than was the case within most other Pennsylvania German denominations. Other Pennsylvania Germans had portraits made by non-German artists, such as Lancaster gunsmith William Henry, whose portrait was painted by a young Benjamin West about 1755. More urban and

elite Pennsylvania German families such as the Muhlenbergs and Keppeles of Philadelphia frequently turned to academically trained artists including Charles Willson Peale, Joseph Wright, Gilbert Stuart, and John Trumbull for their portraits (Minardi 2011b).

Itinerants and amateur artists also left a rich legacy of portraiture among rural Pennsylvania German settlements. One of the most prolific was the German immigrant Jacob Maentel (fig. 12.6). Details about Maentel's life are elusive; but he is known to have painted dozens of Pennsylvania German families throughout southeastern Pennsylvania in the early 1800s before moving to New Harmony, Indiana, in 1838 (Black 1989; Fleming 1988; Fleming and Ruch 1991). Far less prolific than Maentel was the portrait painter Jacob Frymire, whose known work totals about thirty paintings (Simmons

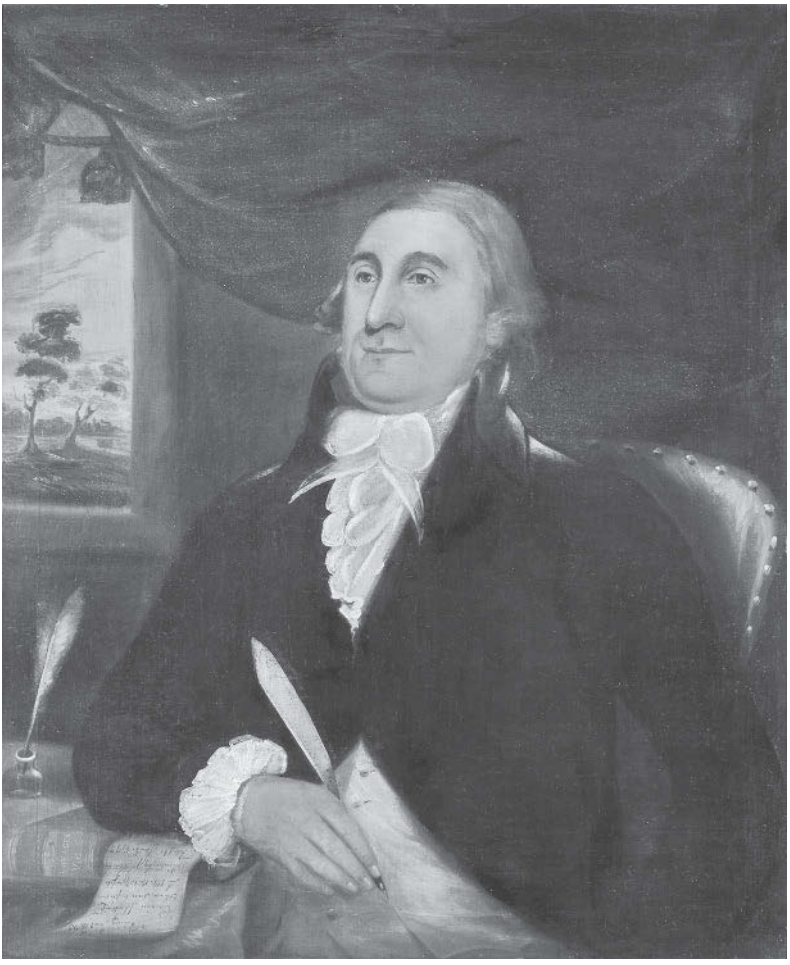


Fig. 12.5. Portrait of Joseph Hiester, made by Jacob Witman (1769–98), Reading, Berks County, Pennsylvania, 1795. Oil on canvas; 36 x 30 ½ in. *Berks History Center, Reading, Pennsylvania; photograph by Gavin Ashworth*

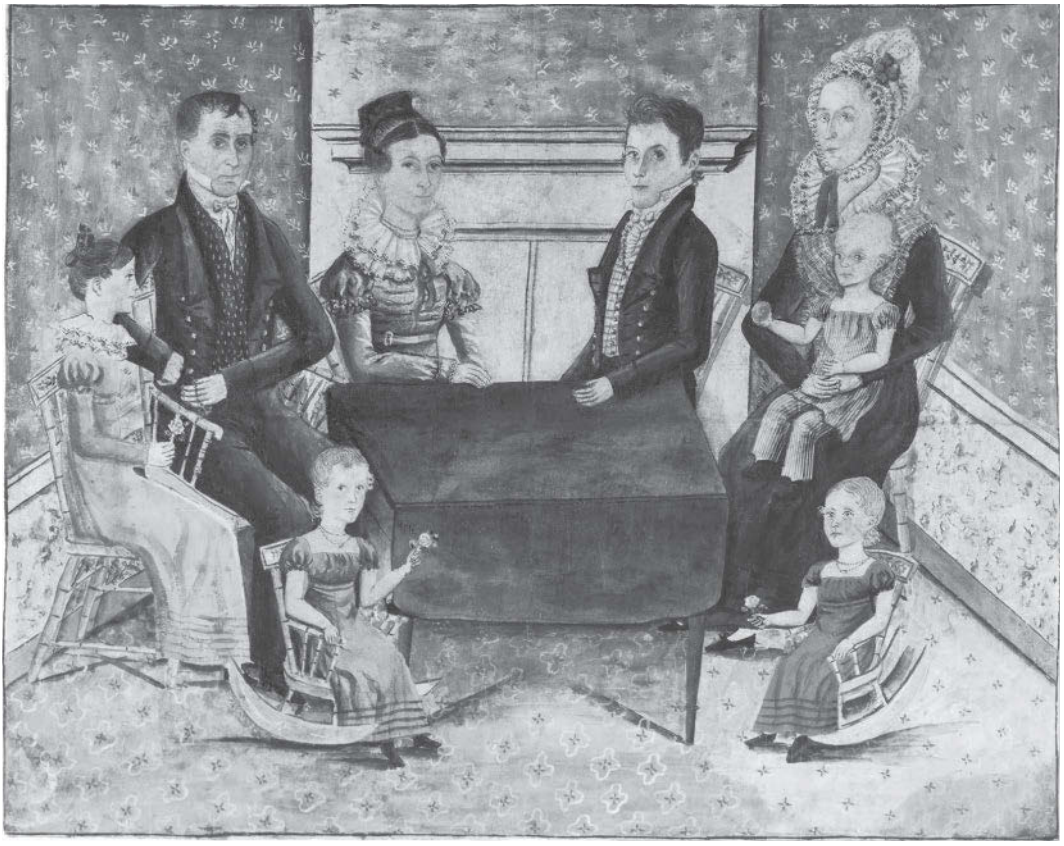


Fig. 12.6. Portrait of Johann Abraham Sprenger and family, attributed to Jacob Maentel (1778–1863), Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, c. 1825 (see also color photo gallery). Watercolor on wove paper; 23 ½ x 27 ½ in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1957.1123*

1975). Born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Frymire became an itinerant painter working primarily in Virginia and Kentucky until returning to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1822. Both Maentel and Frymire typically depicted their subjects in fashionable contemporary dress; without an artist attribution or family provenance, it would thus be practically impossible to identify the sitters as Pennsylvania German. This relative lack of ethnic distinctiveness in Pennsylvania German portraiture and what it may suggest about issues of consumption, identity, and self-fashioning remains to be explored by scholars.

In York, Pennsylvania, carpenter and folk artist Lewis Miller (1796–1882) produced hundreds of watercolor drawings of everyday life, providing an insightful look into nineteenth-century Pennsylvania German culture (Lloyd and Fourhman-Shaull 2014; Turner 1966). Most of these drawings were not commissioned portraits but renderings made by Miller for his own sketchbooks, thus offering a different angle from the work of Maentel and Frymire. Another contemporary artist was John Lewis Krimmel (1786–1821), whose

tragic drowning at the age of thirty-five cut short a promising career as a painter of genre scenes. Like Miller, Krimmel focused on depicting scenes from daily life (fig. 12.7). Krimmel's artistic talent, professional training, and location in Philadelphia enabled him to exhibit his work at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and inspire the work of later artists such as George Caleb Bingham and Thomas Eakins (Harding 1994). In the late nineteenth century, German émigré artists Charles Hofmann, John Rasmussen, and Louis Mader made paintings on sheet metal depicting the Berks County almshouse (fig. 12.8), of which they were all inmates at various times (Hofmann from 1872–82, Rasmussen from 1879–95, and Mader from 1892–99). Hofmann and Rasmussen also painted other subjects, including local farmsteads. Hofmann's rendering of a stone house occupied by tenants on the almshouse property documents such features as the continued use of traditional Pennsylvania German gardening practices (fig. 12.8).

Another German émigré artist, Ferdinand Brader (1833–c. 1901), used graphite to produce dozens of large-scale farm scenes in both Pennsylvania (primarily Berks County) and Ohio. With an astonishing eye for detail, Brader illustrated everyday objects—fences, gardens, houses, barns, and livestock

Fig. 12.7. *The Quilting Frolic*, made by John Lewis Krimmel (1786–1821), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1813 (see also color photo gallery). Oil on canvas; 16 ⅞ x 22 ⅜ in. *Winterthur Museum, 1953.178.2*

Fig. 12.8. Stone house at the Berks County almshouse, attributed to Charles Hofmann (1821–82), Berks County, Pennsylvania, 1870–80 (see also color photo gallery). Oil on metal; 39 x 46 in. *Berks History Center, Reading, Pennsylvania; photograph, Winterthur Museum*

—and embedded them with notions of property, ethnicity, culture, status, and gender. His drawings also reflect the Germanic heritage of their owners, in both the architectural and landscape details as well as the names emblazoned in large letters across the bottom of the drawings, such as that of Jacob H. and Kesiah Gicker (fig. 12.9). By 1884, Brader had moved to Stark County, Ohio, where for another decade he continued to draw and began to incorporate the use of colored pencils (Mason and Fehr 1986; Wieschaus-Voss 2014).

Photography became another popular means of recording the daily lives of Pennsylvania Germans as the nineteenth century came to a close. Amateur photographers such as Berks County native H. Winslow Fegley (1871–1944) sought to capture rural landscapes and people at a time when industrialization and modern technologies such as electricity, telephones, and trains were beginning to transform the Pennsylvania countryside (1987). Many of Fegley's photographs evoke a nostalgia for the past, such as the haunting image of an elderly housewife standing beside a bake oven with a spinning wheel at her side. Although Fegley's images were for a largely Pennsylvania German audience, other photographers with an interest in local history

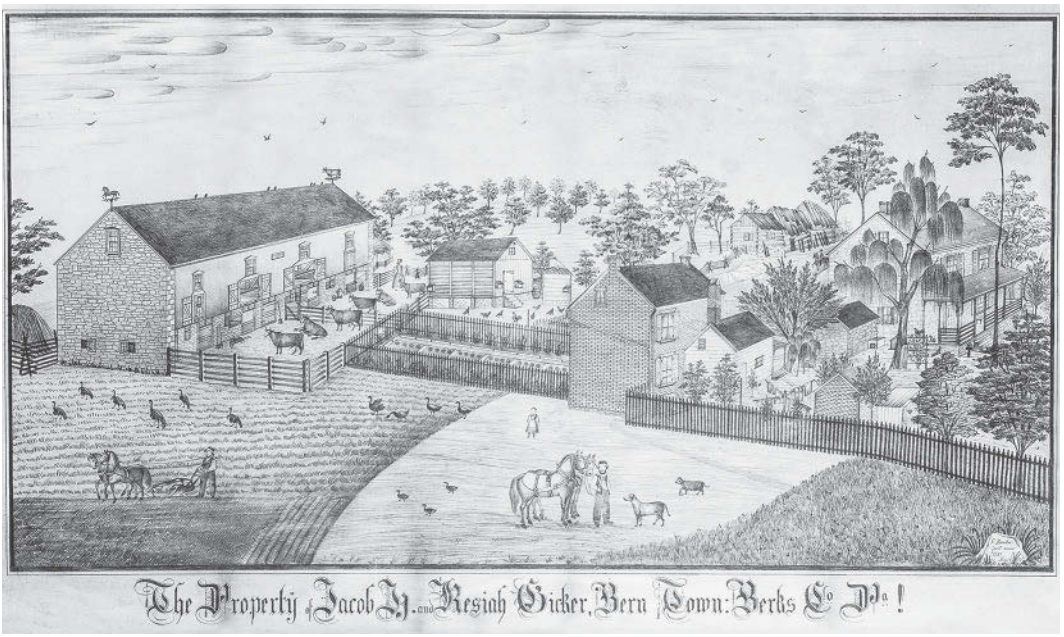


Fig. 12.9. *The Property of Jacob H. and Kesiah Gicker*, made by Ferdinand A. Brader (1833–c. 1901), Bern Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania, 1881. Graphite on wove paper; 30 ¾ x 51 ¾ in. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch 1980.360.2*

—such as Gilbert Cope of Chester County and Henry Chapman Mercer of Bucks County—were similarly using their cameras to record people, objects, and places of antiquarian interest (Caton 2003; Dyke 1996).

Pennsylvania German visual culture thus encompasses a broad assortment of artifacts, ranging from the folk tradition of fraktur manuscripts to formal portraiture, landscapes, and photography. The sheer diversity of this material challenges scholars to reconsider long-standing assumptions about Pennsylvania German art. Many studies conclude with the mid-1800s, by which time "the florescence of Pennsylvania German arts" was presumed to have ended (Swank 1983, viii). Yet, as the artwork of Charles Hofmann, Ferdinand Brader, and others reveal, a rich tradition of Pennsylvania German visual culture continued to evolve and flourish in both its original settlements and new territories outside of the southeastern Pennsylvania heartland into the late nineteenth century and beyond (Falk and Minardi 2014).

13 Textiles

CANDACE KINTZER PERRY

Textiles frequently provide insight into the lives and life cycles of Pennsylvania German women in a way that few other cultural artifacts do. In fact, they trace women's traditional roles from cradle to grave—from young girls learning to stitch samplers, to wives preparing for a new home by stitching motifs learned as a girl on towels and sheets, and finally to mothers clothing the family. That is not to say that the production of textiles was restricted to women. Among the "Implements and Objects of Household Use in Early Times" displayed at the Antiquarian Exposition in 1884 at Norristown, Pennsylvania, numerous spinning wheels and hatchels were probably made by men. Similarly, examples of handwoven coverlets by Pennsylvania German men such as Peter Leisey (1802–59) of Lancaster County and Absalom Klinger (1817–1901) of Berks County were among the items on display at prestigious institutions such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Yet, at the Antiquarian Exposition, many of the textiles had women's imprints on them. In the "Home-Manufactured Articles of Domestic Use—Old" category, more than half of the approximately 150 exhibited objects—ranging from "Bed Spread, made by the Moravian Sisters in Bethlehem" to "Four towels, spun and worked by Mary Zieber, on the three holidays of the year, second Christmas, second Easter, and Second Whitsuntide; over a hundred years old"—were made by Pennsylvania German women or belonged to their descendants. "Antique Wearing Apparel and Jewelry" was another textile-related category, as was "Antique Handiwork in Silk, Floss or Wool; Needlework and Laces," which featured approximately eighty and forty objects, respectively, all of apparent German descent (Hobson, Buck, and Dotterer 1884, 134–259).

The categories of textiles significant to Pennsylvania German culture in the twenty-first century parallel those of the Antiquarian Exposition. Domestic textiles are primarily represented by pieced and appliqued quilts and by woven objects, such as sheets, coverlets, and tablecloths. Needlework comprises samplers and other embroideries, small embroidered personal objects, and decorated hand towels and other household textiles, as well as clothing and personal accessories.

Quilts and Quilting

The bed quilt is a relative latecomer to Pennsylvania German textile culture. By the early twentieth century it was viewed as a venerated and long-standing tradition, although it probably began pervading the culture during the 1840s. In an article appearing in the *Pennsylvania-German*, Mrs. H. H. Funk (1908, 86) of Springtown, Pennsylvania, wrote under the heading of "Revival of the Patch-Work Quilt": "The old-time handicraft, which had almost become a lost art, is becoming very popular again, and the handsome coverlets stored in the chest on the attic for years, as loving remembrances of by-gone days, can now again be brought forth to be of useful service and to replace the more modern successor, the machine-made spread which has held sway for many years." Funk's words reflected the popular colonial revival movement of the time but illustrated a lack of understanding of how quilts and quilting evolved among Pennsylvania German women. The making of and using of quilted bed coverings was British in origin, and with the predominant Anglo-American population in Pennsylvania, the Germans were inspired to make quilts. The quilt did not become a part of the standard repertoire of Pennsylvania German women's sewing until the mid-nineteenth century. By the end of the century, however, it was well established (fig. 13.1) (C. Perry 2005, 3–4).

A quilt consists of three layers: a top, a bottom, and filler known as a batt or batting. All three layers are stitched through, sometimes using decorative patterns, in the process known as *quilting*. The quilt tops, and sometimes the bottoms, might be pieced in a specific pattern-the aforementioned patchwork—or appliquéd, which is the technique of sewing pieces of fabric onto a foundation material in order to make designs or patterns. Quilts may also be "whole cloth," a type of quilt made from one kind of fabric, and then quilted. Pieced and appliquéd quilts have been generally made of cotton in North America, although wool and silk whole cloth quilts were some of the earliest American quilts. Silks were also used in the late nineteenth-century phenomenon of the "crazy quilt," which usually was not quilted and thus is more appropriately called a coverlet.

Though many women took a detour from their pieced cotton quilts to create crazy quilts, the traditional "patch-work quilt," as Funk refers to it, was having its heyday in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Dutch country (Roan and Roan 1993, 28–34, 37–75). Rather than disappearing into the silk-and-velvet embroidered crazy confections, pieced and appliquéd quilts remained popular with Pennsylvania Germans, and for the Amish, they would become iconic symbols of folk design.

The journey of the "old dark quilts," as the Amish called the bedcoverings they produced in the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries, to "status symbols within the art world," as Janneken Smucker calls them in her dissertation "From Rags to Riches: Amish Quilts and the Crafting of Value," is a tumultuous one—including heady highs on the auction block and

Fig. 13.1. Photograph by Irving Rusinow (1914–90) on March 20, 1941, which he captioned, "Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. These two Church Amish women are engaged in quilting. Quilting bees are popular in this area. Notice the illuminated family record on the wall." *National Archives and Records Administration (5307166)*

starring roles in major museums. Smucker's dissertation, the basis of her 2013 book, *Amish Quilts: Crafting an American Icon*, approached these quilts as cultural artifacts rather than art objects. After decades of literature, museum exhibits, and the marketplace for quilts in the late twentieth century, textile historian Smucker has come to practical conclusions about Amish quilts, in contrast to the symbolist interpretations of the quilt designs as simulations of the clasps on the Anabaptist hymnal called the *Ausbund* or connections of the diamond and square to geometric representations of simplicity (fig. 13.2). More than other quilt researchers, Smucker (2010, xix) investigates quilts as part of consumer culture, as a relationship of "individuals who made, bought, sold, exhibited and preserved them during the last half of the twentieth century." She argues that "both Amish and non-Amish individuals,

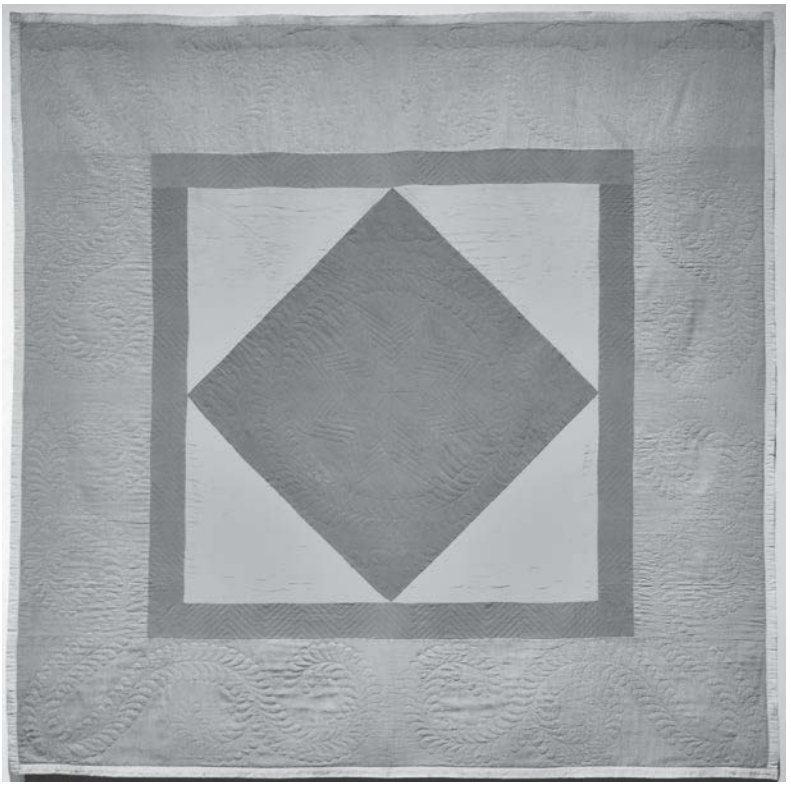


Fig. 13.2. Diamond in square, or "Philadelphia Pavement" design on Amish-made quilt, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, c. 1890 (see also color photo gallery). Eight-pointed star within feather ring quilted into blue diamond; Rose of Sharon motifs quilted into spandrels; chevron pattern quilted into brown border; scrolled feather pattern quilted into wide blue outer border. Pieced wool twill top, cotton plain weave back, wool twill binding; 76 x 76 in. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (2011.90)*

influenced by understandings of theology, Modernism, connoisseurship, nostalgia, 'Amishness,' consumerism, and authenticity, crafted the value—monetary, aesthetic, emotional, and cultural—of Amish quilts during this era [the late twentieth century]" (see also Smucker 2013).

Smucker's assertion of the significance of the marketplace as shaping public perception of Amish quilts has wide-reaching ramifications not only in textiles but in other areas of collecting in Pennsylvania German material culture and decorative arts. What collectors respond to—whether those collectors are individuals or museums—and how they in turn interpret these objects greatly enhances their perceived value, even if the objects do not, perhaps, accurately reflect Pennsylvania German culture as whole. Acquisitions of furniture, fraktur, textiles, or room interiors, celebrated as Pennsylvania German decorative art in large art museums, often skew the general public's perception of the culture, just as Amish quilts and ideas of "Amish-ness" have. Particularly influential in shaping perceptions of Pennsylvania Ger-

man aesthetics in the twentieth century were, for example, Henry Francis du Pont, Samuel Pennypacker, Hattie Brunner, and Titus Geesey.

The 1971 exhibition *Abstract Design in American Quilts* held at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York introduced Pennsylvania German quilts to a national audience. The curators, Jonathan Holstein and Gail van der Hoof, selected quilts for the exhibit that resonated with art lovers for their abstract designs and use of bold color. Furthermore, the collection shown in the exhibit further put before the public eye Pennsylvania quilting in general, with curators' interest and emphasis on pieced quilts over appliqué. Only one Amish-made quilt was included by the curators in the Whitney exhibition, but in 1973 Holstein would focus on these quilts, which so much underscored his perception of the quilt–modern art design relationship.

The correlation of Amish quilt design to modernism, and the subsequent prices that collectors were willing to pay, drove the marketplace in the 1970s and 1980s. Robert Hughes, a former art critic for *Time* magazine, wrote rapturously about what he called "the curiously prophetic form" of the Amish quilt in his introduction to the Esprit quilt collection catalog *Amish: The Art of the Quilt* (1990): "For where have we seen images something like these before? In much later, 'professional' (as opposed to 'folk') art: in the explicit geometries of the sixties and seventies, the stripes and targets of Noland, the concentric squares of early Stella, in Sol Lewitt's grids and the blocks of muted, saturated color deployed by Brice Marden; in the whole emphasis on seriality, repetition, and exalted emotional silence that was the mark of a certain phase of American modernism" (Hughes and Silber 1990, 14). The Esprit collection was assembled by Esprit Corporation cofounder Douglas Tompkins and is perhaps the best representation of a large, valuable collection of Amish quilts acquired specifically for the aesthetic appeal versus their significance as cultural artifacts. Julie Silber, the former curator of the Esprit collection, notes in her text that accompanies the images of the quilts, "At Esprit, we almost never purchase quilts directly from the Amish, and only rarely are given histories on acquisitions" (Hughes and Silber 1990, caption to image 27).

Smucker's (2010, 249) thesis is that the Amish "old dark quilts" became the darlings of the art world because, "for this curator and others, it was not enough for a quilt to be made by an Amish person; it had to look and feel distinctly 'Amish,' based on complex criteria about what made a good Amish quilt." This formula that proscribed an ideal Amish quilt can be seen over and over again in the numerous catalogs of quilt exhibitions, coffee table books, and museum collections that have formed the basis for Amish quilt scholarship in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. What most researchers do not know, and now may never know due to the anonymity that has befallen so many old quilts, is the style of quilts that were not prized and preserved by the dealers and collectors and how they differed from the favored "old dark quilts." Smucker (2010, 68) claims that, "as a result, the quilts in private and public collections tend to be of a certain variety [and]

in excellent condition because they were not used in a utilitarian fashion." In the real world, however, the Amish quilt contains great variety that reflects cultural aesthetics of different communities. After exploring various Amish groups and their representative quilts, through personal interviews and photographs of the quilts, Eve Wheatcroft Granick (1989) emphasized the concept of the transition of home-produced cloth to purchased goods among the Amish, and in many ways Granick's ideas can be applied across the Pennsylvania German spectrum. The perception of value in something made by an Amish person—whether it be quilt, a roof, a barn or a piece of furniture—is a potent selling point to tourists in Lancaster County and others who equate the Amish with high standards of hard work, authenticity, and purity (fig. 13.3).

Fig. 13.3. Photographing an Amish home for the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1941, Irving Rusinow wrote "Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. This is an interior view of a Church Amish home. The woman of the house, who had been engaged in quilting, left the room before this picture was taken. Notice the ever-present china cupboard." A sheet with quilt blocks lies on the floor surrounded by braided and woven rugs. The quilter's pedal-driven sewing machine sits by the window. Other textiles include cloth coverings on the furniture and pillow coverings. *National Archives and Records Administration (5307166)*

Amish-produced goods, or even goods simply made in "Amish country," have become big business. Smucker discusses the role of Hmong women who have found work making quilts for Lancaster County shopowners because of their extraordinary appliqué skills. In the text for the 2006 exhibition *We Try to Be Strong* mounted by the Philadelphia Folklore Project, curators Pang Xiong Sirirathasuk Sikoun and Debora Kodish describe the Hmong contributions to the contemporary business of quilts:

> Since 1984, Pang and other Hmong women have been stitching "Amish" quilts, their labor and skill needed and welcomed, but their identities usually hidden for fear of diminishing the "authenticity" (and value) of these saleable goods. By 1987, some say that 99% of appliqué work in Lancaster County was done by Hmong women—including Lancaster and Philadelphia-area Hmong, and a global network of kin. Some Lancaster-area shopkeepers went to great lengths to hide their relationships with Hmong artists, making them enter through back doors or after hours. Controversies have erupted over this, and hard feelings abound, but Pang is one of a network of area Hmong women who still continue to make and trade "Amish" quilts— adapting yet another ethnic needlework tradition in a long history of trade and exchange of patterns and labor. (Sikoun and Kodish 2012)

Museum holdings of large Amish quilt collections are important to the understanding of Amish quilt construction and the regional and national differences in color and pattern. These collections, including the Holstein Collection at the International Quilt Study Collection at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln and the aforementioned Esprit Collection of Lancaster County quilts, now owned by LancasterHistory.org, are resources for the study of Amish quilts as objects. As Julie Silber pointed out in her text for *Amish: The Art of the Quilt* (1990), collectors frequently acquired their quilts with little to no provenance.

Shifting away from the challenges of Amish quilt documentation and study, researchers are faced with the questions regarding the development of quilting among the Pennsylvania Germans in general, which has long been a subject of discussion and assumption. Quilting among the Amish developed, in part, as a result of the availability of inexpensive mass-produced cotton and wool. It has long been assumed that Pennsylvania German quilting in general developed for similar reasons—namely, the availability of the inexpensive mass-produced cloth. Given the fact that the Germans had no quilting tradition—unlike the weaving and needlework knowledge that would have accompanied them from their Old World homes—it has also been assumed, by nearly every scholar and museum curator, that quilting was learned from neighbors of British ancestry. This sharing took a while to catch on, it was believed, because of the inclination of the Germans to use their hand-spun and hand-woven textiles, which required little outlay of cash on the part of the family, as a farmer could grow his own flax or raise sheep for wool, process it, spin it, take the thread to the friendly neigh-

borhood dyer and weaver, and have the yardage that the family needed for household purposes.

Quilt historians, dealers, and museum curators are well aware of the dearth of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century quilts with Pennsylvania German provenance. The artifact record alone underscores the fact that quilting was not a popular activity for the ladies of that period, although it is not completely absent. By the mid-nineteenth century quilting begins to gather popularity, and its growth continued until the late nineteenth-century boom, which included the Amish. The question remains, however: What was the influence?

Patricia J. Keller (2007, xviii) was able to tease out data showing the "rates of ownership and appraised valuations of fiber-processing tools, spinning wheels, looms, and household furnishing textiles, as primary evidence to develop and interpret patterns of household textile production and consumption from the mid 1700s through the mid- and late-1800s." Keller's work focuses specifically on Lancaster County, in both the city of Lancaster and two townships in the county, one of greater "English" population and one of German. Because Lancaster was the most significant inland urban settlement in the American colonies in the mid-eighteenth century, it holds a curious and important position as a mirror of what was occurring in fashionable port cities such as Philadelphia. According to Keller (2007, 251–52),

> The Lancaster Borough and City estate inventories detailing the worldly goods owned by townfolk of German and British descent provide a valuable perspective with which to consider the social meanings of bedquilt ownership. Arranging the data chronologically, in comparative fashion, allows consideration of the timing and extent of home quiltmaking within the social and economic contexts of household textile production in the borough and city of Lancaster in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. In the earliest years of settlement, quilt ownership among inventoried households was exceptional, and limited to persons of extraordinary wealth, as measured by inventoried personality. The quilts Lancastrians owned in this period were most likely imported ready-made, and worked up from costly fabrics by supervised needleworkers and outworkers in England. Although no hard evidence exists, there is a possibility that home quiltmaking was practiced in Lancaster before the Revolution by women in the households of the borough's "principal inhabitants," who followed closely the fashions and behavior of the Philadelphia elite.

Keller emphasizes throughout her work the importance of dispelling the fallacy that quilting by Pennsylvania Germans was not influenced by contact with "English neighbors" but in fact was due to the social trends of the time, and this included learning by fashionable ladies to make fine quilted bed coverings. Accordingly, Patricia Herr in *Quilting Traditions: Pieces from the Past* discusses the 1810 Margaret Gundacker quilt that is in the collection of the former Heritage Center of Lancaster County. Herr (2000, 27) notes the "English influence on quilts made and used in affluent Pennsylvania German homes," but Keller argues that it was not the ethnic influence but the

influence of fashion. Keller maintains that the appearance of quilts in Lancaster city inventories of persons of German descent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was due not to their rubbing shoulders with their English neighbors but to something much simpler and easier to understand in our consumer-driven twenty-first-century society—the desire to have the best, most fashionable things that their money could buy. It was coincidental that the sought-after luxuries were made popular by the English whether it be in the "British Framed Center design quilt" of a prosperous early nineteenth-century Lancastrian German family or the "Anglo-influenced furniture frequently owned by well-to-do German immigrant families" (Herr 2000, 27). All of these desirable items would be quite fitting for a fashionable Georgian-style house owned by a German family.

Keller's analysis of probate inventories works well for Lancaster but might not be applied as effectively for other areas of Pennsylvania German settlement. York, for example, was another urban area of prosperous Germans in the late eighteenth century, and possibly Germantown and Chestnut Hill in Philadelphia County also. The Germans who were living in town settings, in contrast to the farmers who ventured into the hinterlands, may have had experiences similar to those identified by Keller among the Lancaster Germans. In an example using another form of textile, the daughters of one prosperous extended Schwenkfelder family, the Yeakles, living in the Chestnut Hill–Springfield Township vicinity in Montgomery County in the mid- to late eighteenth century created Irish stitch and queen's stitch embroidered wallets, pocketbooks, and pin balls that are not in the least bit Germanic but were certainly fashionable for the time period among British American ladies in Philadelphia and vicinity. The Yeakle family members' enthusiasm for creating some of these lovely pieces of needlework may have sprung from wanting to keep up with the fashions of the day (C. Perry 2015, abstract). This non-German needlework by German women in an urban or suburban setting is a further indication that Keller's theories are correct.

Toward the mid-nineteenth century, this inclination to participate in fashionable trends of the day would continue, as scholars have identified women of German descent making signature quilts, where family and friends signed quilt blocks that were then pieced into a quilt top. These quilts were in vogue in the 1840s and 1850s in the Delaware Valley among Quakers and other British American women. In one small area near the Route 100 corridor in Berks and Lehigh counties, a specifically Germanic version of the signature quilt, known popularly today as a "fraktur quilt" began to appear in the 1850s; friends or families of young women commissioned a professional scrivener to inscribe the blocks in traditional fraktur handwriting. These blocks were frequently pieced in the Rolling Stone pattern.

Keller (2007, 82–99) also used inventories to track the popularity of quilting in two rural townships in Lancaster County. Using the data she discovered, she was able to show the value placed on spinning and weaving equipment and how it declined into the mid-nineteenth century and, conversely,

track the appearance and rise of quilts in these inventories. Keller's findings match what is known from the artifact record; spinning and weaving tapered off for most Pennsylvania Germans in the mid-nineteenth century, and handspun and handwoven textiles were replaced by commercial mass-produced fabrics.

Building the artifact record and identifying Pennsylvania German quilts through their provenance have been aided by quilt documentation projects over the past thirty years. These projects have been used in many counties and geographic areas to locate and identify quilts in public and private collections. Depending on the location, the documentations were implemented by either paid or volunteer staff, though usually a combination of both, and often included persons with extensive expertise in the evaluation and appraisal of quilts. In Pennsylvania there have been varying degrees of success for the projects, mostly due to administration of the efforts.

Among quilt historians and collectors there are frequent conversations about what makes a quilt "Dutchy," the term often used to describe Pennsylvania German quilts with certain characteristics (Lasansky and Oliver 1994, 37; Shaw 2009, 148–49; Silber 2010). These characteristics are frequently applied by quilt historians and collectors to assign a Pennsylvania provenance, although styles and patterns also diffused outside of Pennsylvania to German settlements in the Midwest and South. Foremost on this list of "Dutchy" indicators are the color combinations for cotton quilts, which are often vibrant and appealing but sometimes lead the modern viewer to question the taste of the maker. The use of a color known as chrome orange, antimony orange, or commonly "cheddar," in reference to its cheeselike hue, has been a focus of many quilt researchers as an identifier for Pennsylvania German quilts, particularly as an element of appliquéd designs of the mid-nineteenth century. By and large this theory about color holds true, although it is always risky to overgeneralize. The chrome orange color appears regularly in some areas of German concentration in Pennsylvania but not in all. In other geographic locations in the late nineteenth-century Pennsylvania, combinations of pink, blue, green, and yellow are dominant. The quilt element that most frequently says Pennsylvania Dutch to a knowledgeable historian or collector is the utter lack of white in pieced or appliquéd quilts, although this is also not universally true. Many Pennsylvania German quilters, specifically of the Goschenhoppen region, in the late nineteenth century followed the fad of using a black "conversational print" (i.e., a small whimsical print, such as an anchor or other design) on a white ground as the background for their vivid pieced Lone Star designs (Roan and Roan 1993, 47).

By the boom period for Pennsylvania German quilting—the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century—quilt patterns became more universal because of their dissemination in women's magazines and newspapers and the popularity of quilting in general in the United States (fig. 13.4). It would be highly uncommon to find a non-Amish pattern that a researcher might be able to identify as uniquely Pennsylvania German; more

Fig. 13.4. Photograph by Marjory Collins (1912–85) in November 1942 in Lititz, Pennsylvania, of the oldest members (in their nineties) of the Moravian sewing circle. According to the original caption, "Members of the circle quilt for anyone who wants it at the cost of one cent a yard of thread and the money goes to the church." *Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division*

beneficial for research in the field overall would be to identify the small pockets where specific patterns were most loved and repeated within communities. The Bowmansville Star pattern in Lancaster County and the Lone Star, Rising Sun, Rainbow, and Perkiomen Valley in the Goschenhoppen region are a handful of examples where this is true.

Needlework

The needlework of the Pennsylvania Germans—which includes samplers (fig. 13.5), needlework pictures, household and farm textiles, and small personal objects—was a relatively unexamined textile category until the late twentieth century. Before the 1990s Pennsylvania German samplers were usually presumed to come from British American traditions. Curators rarely acknowledged the Netherlandish and Germanic roots of Pennsylvania German samplers. By the 1990s, more comparative transatlantic research on

Fig. 13.5. Sampler, made by Regina (Heebner) Schultz (1777–1862), 1794, Worcester Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania (see also color photo gallery). Silk on linen; 20 x 23.75 in. unframed. *Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center*

material culture coupled with ethnographic studies of crafts opened new perspectives on the needlework of the Pennsylvania Germans.

It is important to understand the two groups of embroidery techniques when researching eighteenth- and nineteenth-century work. The first, surface embroidery, is the type of academic, sophisticated work that was taught to the young girls at the Moravian schools in Bethlehem and Lititz. This type of embroidery was done on the surface of the foundation cloth and includes crewel embroidery. Counted-thread embroidery, on the other hand, is made by stitching through the fabric mesh foundation, which also serves as a guide for the creation of the motifs on the fabric. Among Pennsylvania Germans, counted-thread embroidery was most commonly represented by cross-stitch.

Embroidery traditions for the Pennsylvania Germans also evolved and were adapted as new techniques, styles, and materials appeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In contrast to quilting, which was not Germanic, counted-thread embroidery was an Old World tradition that German immigrants brought with them to the American colonies. The large body of existing Holland Dutch and Germanic samplers from the seventeenth century to the time of the immigrations to Pennsylvania shows the direct link to sampler making in the colony. These samplers were a means to an end and were specifically European, rather than the type of girlhood embroidery that would evolve in the British Isles. Girls from the European continent learned their embroidery skills in order to be able to mark household textiles. Notably, one sampler that is known to have crossed the Atlantic is Anna Wagner's 1733 sampler that is presently in the collection of the Peter Wentz Farmstead located in Worcester Township, Montgomery County. Anna was a Schwenkfelder who made the long voyage to her new Pennsylvania home in 1734. The imprint of her sampler can be seen on samplers of her American descendants through the early nineteenth century. Anna's sampler is indicative of the transplanting of an Old World tradition to the colony of Pennsylvania, a tradition that would continue for several generations to follow.

A young Pennsylvania German girl would be instructed in plain sewing (the simple process of sewing a seam or a hem), which would be a necessary skill for her as a grown woman. Some girls, then, would learn cross-stitching and other embroidery stitches that would be practiced and saved for reference on samplers. Making samplers was certainly not a universal activity, and even among groups such as the Schwenkfelders where sampler making seemed ubiquitous, not all young girls participated in the activity. It was most likely tied to an individual family's economy.

Samplers of the Pennsylvania Germans were generally motif samplers (also known as spot samplers) of the type that had been made by the foremothers in German-speaking areas (Anna Wagner's sampler is a prime example) (Hersh and Hersh 1991, 41). The pictorial sampler, which is most identified with girlhood embroidery, developed in the late eighteenth century in Great Britain and North America and was an evolution of the earliest type of sampler, known as band samplers. Band samplers were just what the name implies—a series of bands that were used to separate and define sets of motifs on a sampler, including alphabets, names, and verses. Sometimes a band sampler would include a section of motifs, but sometimes the motifs were simply scattered randomly across the sampler. The samplers that are today recognizable as typical girlhood embroidery—those that have some sort of pictures, such as a building with figures—represent an expansion of the band of a band sampler in which the band essentially disappeared.

The great divide for Pennsylvania German samplers lies in the purpose. The motif samplers served as a reference and practice for motifs that were used to decorate household textiles, which were usually put away and brought out only for personal use. The sampler made under the tutelage of a

nonfamily member, whether in a school or in the home privately, had a more public purpose. Much as quilts may have been made in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century to be fashionable and to conspicuously display affluence, samplers served a similar purpose. The samplers were tangible proof that a father could afford to send his daughter to a school or to retain the services of a teacher to instruct her in these necessary skills of womanhood (Peck 2015). Samplers made in these circumstances were sometimes framed and displayed in the home, reminding visitors that the family who lived there had the means to educate its daughter beyond local community schools. The assumption cannot be made, however, that a girl who learned her embroidery at home with her family had a less affluent father than her school-going peer; many families certainly had the means but, perhaps in adherence to tradition, chose otherwise.

Pennsylvania German girls were not necessarily taught by Pennsylvania German teachers. If the existing samplers attributed to a nonfamily female teacher were analyzed and quantified, it probably would be found that most of these women were of British American descent. Before the slow but definite move toward public schooling that occurred following the Pennsylvania Free School Act of 1834, choices for schooling ranged from local subscription schools organized by religious groups, such as those of the Lutherans, Mennonites, and Schwenkfelders, to the costlier boarding schools run by the Moravians or by private individuals. Male teachers served the subscription schools and taught boys and girls, which therefore meant that such gentle arts as sewing had to be learned at home.

Most "traditional" needle arts among the Pennsylvania Germans that were the domain of girls and young women took place during the period of nonpublic schooling. By the 1840s these activities, which had been carried and nurtured from the Old World to the colony of Pennsylvania, began to dissipate until they became only distant memories. Women continued to take up the needle to create other types of needlework—and, of course, quilts—but the traditional forms faded into the past, as can be seen in the surviving artifacts of the second half of the nineteenth century. Teachers tended to have designs that they used again and again; even if a student did not include her teacher's name on the sampler, it can be frequently identified stylistically. These samplers are often found in groups in specific geographic locations, such as Germantown or Chestnut Hill in Montgomery County, Oley or Kutztown in Berks County, or Easton in Northampton County.

The first needlework done by girls and young women within a Pennsylvania German context to come to the attention of embroidery aficionados by the late nineteenth century was taught in schools administered by the Moravian Protestant group. For those writers, collectors, and researchers such as Candace Wheeler (1921, 62–73) who had been exposed to the embroidery traditions of the Quakers or New England, Moravian needlework was easy to place into the overall context of the development of needlework done by schoolgirls in the United States. It was high-style silk embroidery

that reflected a more refined aesthetic and pricier materials—more in keeping with Quaker and New England gentry—and perhaps loftier aspirations for the students who were creating these works. It is important to note that while the Moravians are part of the greater Pennsylvania German sphere, the girls who attended the schools were not necessarily Moravian or German. The Moravians' contribution should be considered when discussing an overview of Germanic needlework in Pennsylvania, because of the shared ethnic heritage and experience with other Pennsylvania Germans.

The Moravian faith developed in Bohemia during the fifteenth century, but by the eighteenth century and the mass immigrations of German speakers to North America, the group known as the Unitas Fratrum or Bohemian Brethren was ethnically German and under the protective and guiding hand of Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf in Saxony. Like the Schwenkfelder group, the Moravians had their roots in eastern Europe. Given their shared Germanic ethnicity and language, however, both the Moravians and Schwenkfelders should be considered as part of the Pennsylvania German milieu. The Moravians subscribed to dress customs that were quite different from the other Germans and also taught a more formal style of needlework to their girls and young women.

Like Amish quilts at the height of their production, Moravian surface embroidery is distinct from other Pennsylvania German work. The needlework reflects a higher style that is manifested in the very history of the Moravian school structure. Learning needlework in a Moravian school was part of the finishing of well-bred young ladies (or at least those who might have aspired to that station) (Wheeler 1921, 65). Needlework instruction was a fundamental teaching tool for the students in a Moravian school as part of the "ornamental branches" that were part of these schools' curricula. The girls would need stitching skills for their futures as competent wives and mothers.

The Moravian female school, initially open only to Moravians, was first established by Countess Benigna Zinzendorf, the daughter of Count Zinzendorf, in Germantown in 1742 but was soon moved to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. In 1785 the school began to accept non-Moravians. Linden Hall in Lititz was first established in 1746, and a school for girls in Salem, North Carolina, opened in 1772. By the late eighteenth century, the Bethlehem school was providing its students with a basic education for a flat fee, including plain sewing and knitting. The fancy needlework and painting that would be the hallmark of Moravian needlework could be had for an extra fee.

The Moravian Single Sisters—unmarried and widowed women who lived together—also produced small needlework and sewn gift items, which were possibly for sale as well. Moravian embroidery by the Bethlehem Single Sisters was immortalized as no other Pennsylvania German needlework would ever be in the words of the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who wrote *Hymn of the Moravian Nuns, at the Consecration of Pulaski's Banner*. It is believed that the sisters made the lush silk flag at the behest of the Polish Revolutionary War hero Count Casimir Pulaski, who commissioned and paid the

sisters to make it for him ("Count Pulaski's Banner" 1880). The description of the flag is in keeping with the high style of surface embroidery that was taught in the Moravian female schools in Bethlehem and Lititz. Remarkably this flag, though fragile, still exists and is owned by the Maryland Historical Society.

Betty Ring devoted a chapter in *Girlhood Embroidery* (1993) to "Samplers of the Pennsylvania Germans," which was focused on counted-thread samplers, with the work of Schwenkfelder teenage girls especially well represented. Ring also proposed the three distinct groups of Pennsylvania German needlework: samplers made at home; samplers made under the auspices of teachers specifically in Lebanon County and the Lehigh Valley, among other locations; and the needlework of the Moravian schools in Lititz and Bethlehem. Samplers made under instruction of professional teachers are usually highly identifiable stylistically, as these works usually share specific motifs. More samplers are found in collections and at auction that can be linked to specific teachers, providing new opportunities for researchers to examine specific sampler groupings.

Ring's work was important for drawing attention to Pennsylvania German schoolgirl needlework and separating it from the samplers and other needlework that were done in the home under the tutelage of a family member or friend. The needlework, either done in schools run by Pennsylvania Germans or made by Pennsylvania German girls within a school setting, is a research area ripe with possibility, as few individual schools and groups of Pennsylvania schoolgirl samplers have been examined in publications or in exhibitions. More generally, Tandy and Charles Hersh's *Samplers of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1991) is a reference that remains, decades after its publication, the indispensable introduction to the needlework created by young Pennsylvania German women in the home.

In 1985, Pennsylvania German textile historian Ellen Gehret, in conjunction with Tandy Hersh, published a volume on decorated hand towels (*Handtuch* or *Handduch*) that were a staple addition to young women's marriage preparations (fig. 13.6). Decorated hand towels are not a Pennsylvania German invention, nor are they even only German: the inclination to embellish towels is seen in many cultures throughout all parts of Europe and in Asia. Gehret's comprehensive work covers not only the towel form but the foundation fabric, weaving, needlework technique and motifs, and a brief discussion of sewing tools and customs of the Pennsylvania Germans. Since Gehret's publication, the needlework traditions that are specific to the Nebraska Amish, a small, conservative group in central Pennsylvania, have been examined by the Reverend Frederick Weiser in his article "Handlumpe, Naameduch, and Kelleduch: Embroidered Textiles among 'Nebraska Amish'" (1987) and by Tammy J. Friedrich in her thesis "Nebraska Amish Needlework Textiles: Female Makers in the Yost B. Yoder Family, Voices of Self and Community" (2004). These unusual forms of Germanic domestic textiles are used only by this group. The *Kelleduch* is a cloth that is hung on the

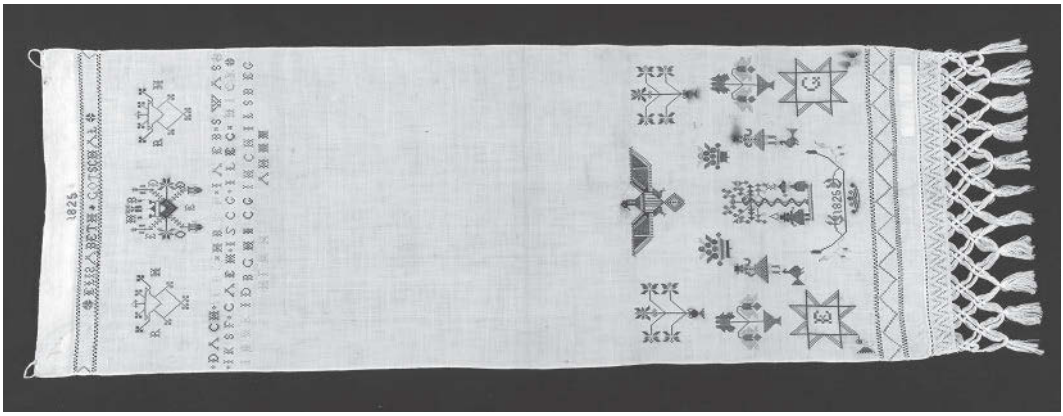


Fig. 13.6. Decorated Hand Towel, made by Elizabeth (Godshalk) Metz (1803–81), 1825, Lower Salford Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. Cotton on linen; 12.75 x 39.5 in. *Mennonite Heritage Center, Harleysville, Pennsylvania*

wall behind cooking utensils and is essentially a horizontal rendering of the more common vertical hand towel. Gehret did not include this information in her book, so these works are welcome additions to the body of knowledge on the subject.

Clarke Hess considers embroidery styles and uses by a religious-ethnic group within the Pennsylvania German diaspora in *Mennonite Arts*. Hess focused on a small, but carefully selected group of decorated hand towels, tablecloths, and other embroidered and sewn pieces that are among the best-known work of their types from rural Pennsylvania Germans in terms of design and decoration. By focusing on the work of the extended Bamberger family of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Hess underscores the Hershes' concepts of the importance of familial relationships in the production of Pennsylvania German textiles, particularly samplers (fig. 13.7) and related objects. As Hess (2002, 142) notes in his text, "It is apparent that some Pennsylvania German families placed great emphasis on needle arts while others were considerably less enthusiastic. For this reason, there are groups of exceptional textiles that were created by siblings or multiple generations within the same family. Perhaps some of this phenomenon could be attributed to sibling rivalry, but I would prefer to view it as the successful transfer of the respect and love for a folk tradition, from one generation the next." Hess's point is well taken. The familial bonds expressed through Pennsylvania German needlework are seen time and time again. Indeed, the rendering of family registers in needlework among Pennsylvania Germans is evident in nineteenth-century examples into the twenty-first century (fig. 13.8) (Earnest and Earnest 2004).

Whether the scarcity of eighteenth-century decorated textiles suggests a New World break with the Old World or continuities remaining to be uncovered is unclear. As Clarke Hess (2002, 144) states in *Mennonite Arts*: "The paucity of eighteenth century decorated textiles suggests that few of the daughters or granddaughters of early Pennsylvania immigrants stitched decorative needlework, even though it was a part of their folk culture. In

Fig. 13.7. Sampler, made by Mary Ann Donges (1832–72), 1841, Stouchsburg, Marion Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania (see also color photo gallery). Silk on linen; 17.625 x 15.2 in. *Kathryn G. Lesieur*

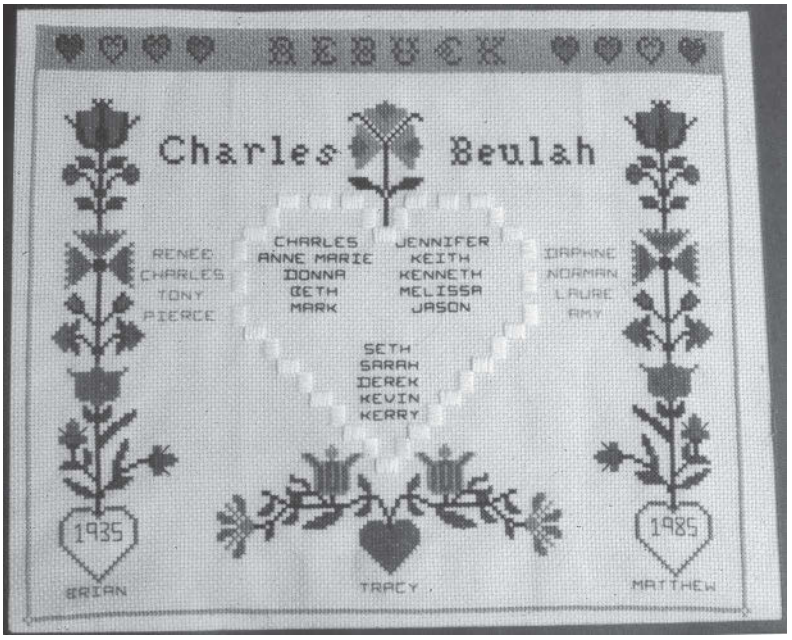


Fig. 13.8. Embroidered family register made by Beulah Rebuck, Klingerstown, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, 1989 (see also color photo gallery). *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

all probability the demands of pioneer life caused a temporary cessation of some folk traditions that were not as necessary for sustaining and advancing the agricultural communities of these early settlers." The Schwenkfelders have extraordinary surviving examples of pre-Revolutionary Irish stitch wallets and pocketbooks that seem to have been learned from or inspired by British neighbors (C. Perry 2015, abstract). These examples, which are the exception rather than the rule, may themselves illuminate the dark corners of colonial needlework. In general, Pennsylvania German samplers are considerably less common from any time period than those of Quakers and other British Americans.

Looking for links to sampler and needlework production among more affluent families may provide insight into whether families of a certain economic level were needlework-rich in contrast to those families that could not afford the luxury of sampler and needlework production, whether at home or in a paid school. Within the Schwenkfelder group, the samplers tend to be associated with families—often large extended families—and inevitably most of these families were somewhat affluent.

Another understudied category of needlework is the Berlin work craze that began to surface in the late 1830s, at the very earliest, and continued well into the late nineteenth century in different forms. Berlin needlework, a type of wool embroidery using mass-produced patterns that were imported from Berlin, Germany, inundated the more traditional forms of cross-stitch and embroidery when it arrived on American shores. Berlin patterns were especially adapted to the English taste, with dogs, parrots, and stags being frequent subject matter, mirroring the paintings of the enormously popular mid-nineteenth-century British animal painter Edwin Landseer and also Queen Victoria's personal affinities. Religious and historical topics were also popular among Berlin pattern designers. One of the most interesting groups of the Berlin pieces was made by Pennsylvania German girls attending a school in Reading, Berks County, in the mid-1850s. There are examples in both the Smithsonian Institution's collection and the Berks History Center of these large-scale needlework pictures. Each piece is different, but each includes one common motif: a dominant central image of the three Virtues (faith, hope, and charity).

Transitional samplers of the time often show an intriguing relationship of traditional sampler making to the new Berlin style and use of brilliantly colored wools. Some of the old sampler motifs would linger for decades—particularly among the more conservative Pennsylvania Germans—but the girls and women often used wool yarn instead of silk thread. Perforated paper also began to appear as a foundation for needlework. The proliferation of these wool embroideries, though all the rage in the nineteenth century, would be looked upon with great disdain in the twentieth century by some textile historians and ignored by others. The late Florence M. Montgomery (1969), former assistant curator of textiles at the Winterthur Museum and textile historian, referred to it as "a morass of Berlin wool work."

What appears to be a successor to Berlin needlework in the late nineteenth century is plushwork, a type of clipped and brushed wool that was most frequently done by using a tin star-shaped template. To be sure, the templates could have been made of cardboard or other materials. These resulting yarn stars were usually stitched on a heavier foundation fabric, such as wool or velvet, and were most often used to embellish nonwoven coverlets, quilts, rugs, or decorative pillow covers. The plushwork star is very often attributed to the Amish in Lancaster County but can be found throughout areas of the Pennsylvania German diaspora and was probably made by women of other ethnic backgrounds also throughout the country (Roan and Roan 1993, 79). The making of these vibrant wool stars (sometimes called rosettes) remained popular into the mid-twentieth century.

Following in the wake of Berlin work were numerous types of needlework popularized nationally in women's magazines from the mid-nineteenth century and into the twentieth. The availability of these magazines, such as *Godey's Ladies' Book* and *Pearsons*, provided American women of all ethnicities and backgrounds with accessible patterns for needlework and crafts of all types. Pennsylvania German women were no exception. These forms of needlework, which included pictures, domed parlor arrangements, decorative objects, and other pieces, evolved from the instructional material and patterns that became increasingly available through these publications. Included in this group would be hair work—the craft of carefully braiding and weaving human hair for jewelry and decorative pictures—that had been around for at least a century previous but seemed to gain more popularity with the Pennsylvania Germans in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Because these objects do not bear the markers that make something "Dutchy" or "folky" and subsequently more desirable, it tends to be overlooked by students of the culture and collectors. Late nineteenth-century needlework and crafts, however, which represent the assimilation of the Pennsylvania German into greater American culture, signifies an important transition for women and suggests an increased availability of leisure time and the significance of self-expression through handicraft. During this period, the aforementioned crazy quilts soared in popularity. Of note is that all of these stitching and craft activities were part of a national trend, not something confined to Pennsylvania German women.

Flax and Wool Production, Processing, Weaving and Woven Textiles

In William Penn's 1691 "Charter Granted to the Inhabitants of Germantown," two members of the Germantown corporation, Dirck Isaacs op de Graf and Abraham Isaacs op de Graf, are listed as linen makers. This is one of the earliest acknowledgments of immigrants from the Germanic states working as weavers (the Op de Grafs were not German, but Holland Dutch migrants to the Palatinate, who would later immigrate to Pennsylvania).

Colonial records indicate that Penn wanted to encourage weaving in his fledgling colony. In a 1686 petition to the proprietor, Abraham op de Graf asked for a reward promised "to him who should make the first and finest piece of linen cloth" (J. Bishop, Freedley, and Young 1861, 317). What would follow over the next decade is the establishment of Germantown as the center for linen production in Penn's Woods. The importance of the weaver's trade to the Germantown residents is readily apparent in the village's motto "Vinum, Linum et Textrinum" (vine, linen, and weaving) and the seal of Germantown, which bears a three-leaf clover and grapes, a distaff, and a spool of thread.

The ubiquitous growing and processing of flax, as well as the spinning and weaving that would develop during settlement and that was common to nearly all rural Pennsylvania Germans, is well documented, probably due to the fact that these activities were common to all rural American people, in Pennsylvania and beyond, and were nostalgically remembered as part of a simpler time (the proliferation of spinning wheels at the Montgomery County 1884 exposition are evidence of that). The processes needed to produce linen yardage, coverlets, blankets, tablecloths, and other household materials were understood by chroniclers of the culture even after the customs had ceased. The methods and tools required to create the finished products remained nearly unchanged from the time of the earliest immigrations in the late seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, when Pennsylvania Germans began to realize it was simply not cost effective to continue with the yearlong process of growing and processing flax, spinning the thread, and delivering the thread to a local weaver. It was much easier on all fronts to purchase mass-produced yard goods.

The emphasis on Pennsylvania German flax culture, however, has been so prevalent that virtually no published work—and apparently little research in general—has been done on the raising of sheep for wool by Pennsylvania Germans. It is a huge gap in the understanding of this aspect of the group's textile history. There is evidence that most established farmers in southeast and central Pennsylvania had small flocks of sheep that would provide the wool needed for their families' household textiles and clothing (Shultze and Berky 1952, 94, 126). Mentions of these flocks can often be found in estate inventories (Shultze and Berky 1952, 134). Some lamb and mutton were also consumed, although not in as great quantities as pork, and sheepskins were also processed by white tanners for breeches and aprons.

The processing of wool was somewhat dependent on fulling mills for processing and dying the wool and carding mills for preparing the wool for spinning in the home. The invention of the carding machine in England in the eighteenth century would make the process much more efficient. According to J. Leander Bishop (1868, 414), "Fulling mills were very numerous throughout Pennsylvania. There were ten in the vicinity of Reading. The number of oil mills indicated a great production of flax and as no regular linen factories existed a vast household manufacture of linen was to be inferred." The

production of wool cloth was especially critical during the American Revolution, when Pennsylvania residents were instructed not to butcher sheep or lambs in order to encourage production of wool, which was urgently needed to clothe the soldiers (Bishop 1868, 381). The team of Gehret and Keyser was among the first to explore the history of weaving and weavers of agrarian and domestic textiles in *Homespun Textile Traditions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1976). Keyser, writing with Marjie Thompson and Kathleen L. Grant, continued his work in weaving with *Forgotten Textiles of the 18th and 19th Centuries* (2005). The monograph focuses on historic three- and four-shaft weave structures. The authors note in their introduction: "More has been forgotten in the weaving world than is remembered today. How some textiles were woven, how the looms were configured, and what certain drafts and terms mean have become mysteries to twenty-first century weavers" (6).

Prior to the late nineteenth-century popularity of quilting among Pennsylvania German women, the woven coverlet was the bed covering of choice for Pennsylvania Germans in the late eighteenth century (Keyser, Thompson and Grant 2005, 11), and many examples survive in museum and private collections. Fancy and figured coverlets (also known as jacquard coverlets) were made and used by Pennsylvania Germans in huge numbers in the 1830s and 1840s, though shortly thereafter the custom weave period began to wane. The Pennsylvania Germans before the jacquard period generally preferred what a contemporary viewer might call a woven blanket; these are softer, woolen bedcoverings, unlike the overshot coverlets (fig. 13.9) that were a combination of cotton or linen and wool.

An aspect of home weaving that has received less scholarly attention is the manufacture of linen tape with the tabletop or freestanding tape loom. The tape produced on these looms was used as drawstrings, garters, or any other loops of tape, such as the hanging loops on towels. Another subject area worthy of exploration is the gradual introduction of cotton into Pennsylvania German life and the changes that occurred in the lives of rural families. The home-produced linens and woolens that had been the staples of the Pennsylvania German household since the immigration period could now be replaced by mass-produced cotton goods. By 1850 Philadelphia was lauded as "the center of a greater number of textile factories than any other city in the world" (Pennsylvania 1900, 37). This is a minor exaggeration, given the preeminence of Massachusetts in cotton production; however, it is worth noting the role that the burgeoning textile industry in Philadelphia played in the abandonment of spinning and custom weaving by the rural German population. Research on the Philadelphia textile industry is more challenging than work on New England mills, in part because these concerns were small. By 1850, when the industry was firmly rooted in and around the city, both rural folks and townspeople could afford inexpensive mass-produced cloth made by mills in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, and the spinning wheels were consigned to the attic.

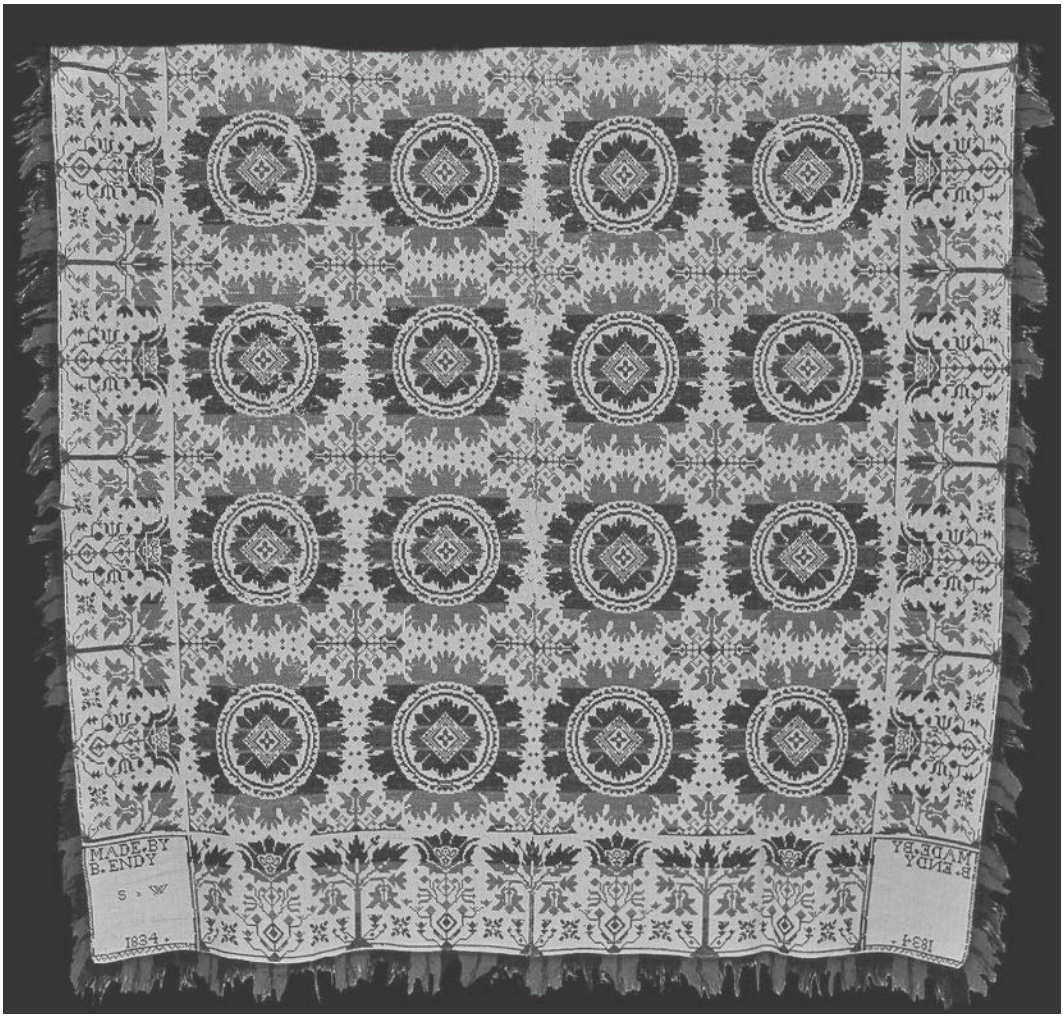


Fig. 13.9. Coverlet, woven by Benjamin Endy (1811–79), 1834, Oley Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania (see also color photo gallery). Cotton and wool; 82 x 88 in. *Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center*

Rugs—woven, hooked, and braided—were typically homemade in Pennsylvania German communities and sometimes became cottage industries (fig. 13.10). In documenting iconic examples of rugs from the colonial period to the nineteenth century, the Index of American Design generalizes that the Pennsylvania German examples are distinguished from New England floor coverings because of their "bold colors" (particularly deep reds and greens) and symmetrical patterns of birds, hearts, and stars that can also be found in fraktur designs. The most common type was hooked rugs made by taking short pieces of yarn or cloth and pulling them through the mesh of a backing—usually linen or burlap—with a tool shaped like a crochet hook (fig. 13.11). Women saved burlap bags containing grain, feed, and coffee, and outlined designs on them. Using fabric from outgrown clothing, mill-end fabric, and other scraps, they would select colors they wanted or occasionally

dye the fabric for effect. The crafts worker trimmed the loops to a form the pile of the highly decorative rug meant usually for a special place, such as a chair pad. Embroidered rugs were less common because they had to be made from new materials instead of scraps. Braided rugs tended to be larger and could be placed in living areas.

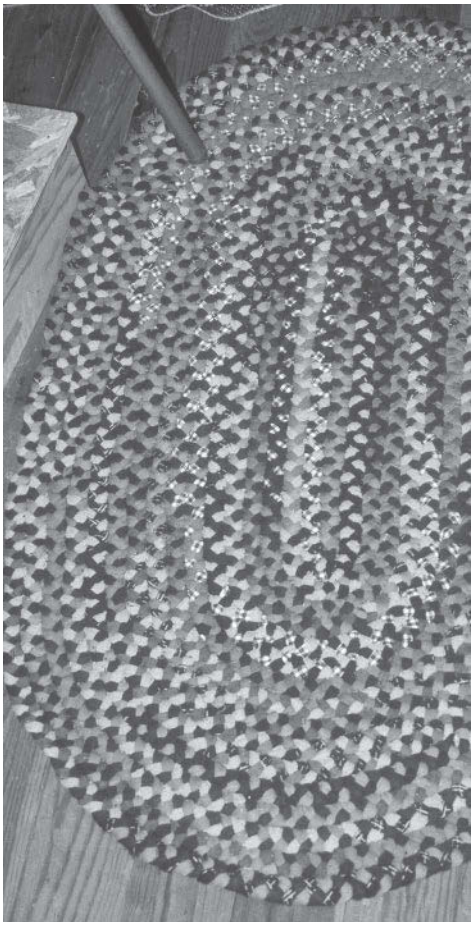


Fig. 13.10. Braided rug made by Beulah Rebuck, Klingerstown, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, 1989 (see also color photo gallery). *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

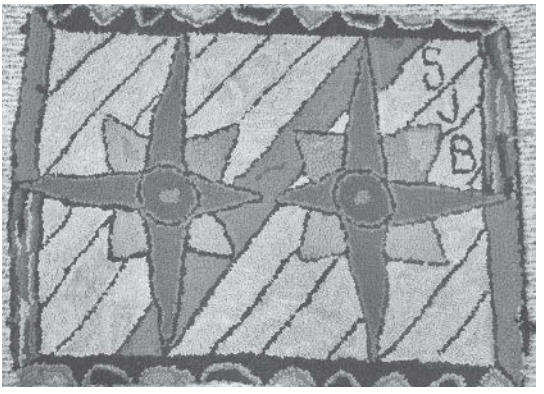


Fig. 13.11. Hooked rug made by Helen Bradley Griebel, Carroll County, Maryland, 1991 (see also color photo gallery). *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

In many Pennsylvania German communities rug making is a living tradition alongside quilting. Helen Bradley Griebel (1991), for example, documented thirty-five rug hookers of German background in one county of Maryland. All of them were women, but she noted that all of the hand-made hooks and the standing frames to hold the rugs were made by men. Griebel found that floral designs were the most common motif on hooked rugs, with frequent use of farm pets and livestock, rural landscapes, hearts, and stars. "Motto rugs" with sayings such as "Home Sweet Home" were also common. Although many of the rug hookers also quilted, the designs on the rugs tended to be different from quilt block designs. Coming from agrarian backgrounds, most of the women did needlework during the winter and devoted the spring and summer to gardening and preserving food. They perceived the rug less as a utilitarian object than their mothers; now the rugs accorded them an opportunity to express their creativity, especially as they had more time than previously in the seasonal cycle to craft. In addition, the rugs symbolized for them ethnic, family, and agrarian roots within homes that increasingly relied on mass-produced clothing and products (Griebel 1991, 52).

Clothing

Clothing is perhaps one of the most powerful identifiers in Pennsylvania German culture, owing largely to the survival of plain dress customs among the Amish and other religious groups. When tourists visit Lancaster County, the expectation is to see some individuals attired in their traditional garments, as well as seeing horse and buggies and hex signs. In the 1930s the author and illustrator Katherine Milhous, a woman of Quaker descent, drew charming images of Amish men and women for her Works Progress Administration posters promoting tourism in Pennsylvania. These images helped to advertise the anachronistic lifestyle of the Amish to Americans outside of Lancaster County and associated their clothing, often mistakenly, with Pennsylvania Germans generally.

The existing research on Pennsylvania German clothing can be divided into two categories: the Pennsylvania German groups that use dress as a religious identifier (often called "Plain" groups), and everybody else. Much has been written on the clothing of the Amish, Mennonites, and Brethren, which formally manifested itself in the United States in the nineteenth century and continues today in varied forms (fig. 13.12). The "why" of plain dress is often explained to the outside world by the concept of nonconformity. These scripturally based principles, which also defined the groups' pacifism and other essential tenets of life in a changing world, are mandates for members of the group who chose and continue to choose to be separate from that world (see Bender et al. 2013). The clothing of these traditionally Pennsylvania German sectarian groups conveys a message to other members of the group and to outsiders.

Fig. 13.12. Amish men and women in sectarian clothing provide a contrast to the "English" in front of them who are watching Old Faithful in Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, 2006 (see also color photo gallery). *Photograph by CGP Grey licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license*

A group that has sometimes been identified as Plain is the Schwenkfelders, the eighteenth-century German Protestant group that settled in Montgomery County and the Goschenhoppen. Using the ideas of plainness as emanating from biblical mandate and nonconformity, it is clear from what is known of the Schwenkfelders that they were not Plain. They made no conscious choices to "freeze" their mode of dress, nor did they seek conformity within the group via symbolic garments. At most, the Schwenkfelders were a conservative and frugal group that valued humility and modesty.

The Schwenkfelders were the followers of sixteenth-century radical reformer Caspar Schwenckfeld (1489–1561). Exactly 208 individuals immigrated to Pennsylvania in a series of voyages in the 1730s. The Schwenkfelders originated in German-speaking Lower Silesia. The eastern European, yet still Germanic, origins of the group—which were not dissimilar to the Moravians or the Hutterites—may have set them apart from the Palatine immigrants in the decades immediately following the large wave coming into Philadelphia in the early eighteenth century, but by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Schwenkfelders began to melt into the greater Pennsylvania German culture, and by the late nineteenth century this group had assimilated into American society.

In terms of dress, there is evidence that some of the Schwenkfelder lay pastors had encouraged dress rules and regulations, but there is no indication that individuals followed through. On the basis of photographs taken by Berks County, Pennsylvania, resident H. Winslow Fegley around 1905 that depict elderly Schwenkfelder matrons wearing clothing of previous generations, historians identify "Schwenkfelder garb" developing in the latter half of the nineteenth century. An adaptation of the costume was worn by women representing the Schwenkfelder group at the Kutztown Folk Festival in the 1960s and 1970s and at the Goschenhoppen Folk Festival as late as the 1990s. The outfit, which consisted of a black cotton dress with long sleeves, a white kerchief, cap, and apron, bears little authentic resemblance to anything from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, except perhaps some mid-nineteenth-century garments worn by extremely conservative and somewhat old-fashioned matrons. Even then, the matrons never dressed identically. Although the Schwenkfelder group is small compared to the larger Plain Anabaptist groups, the use of an adapted costume to depict an imagined dress tradition is significant to the image that was conveyed to the community by the Schwenkfelders in the twentieth century.

Another distinctive style of dress, also influenced by the notion of conformity and symbolism of garments within a group, was the dress of the Moravians in the eighteenth century. Moravian women's costume includes some customs specific to the group that evolved in Herrnhut, Saxony, their spiritual home in the Old World. Moravian historian Paul Peucker provides an excellent overview of Moravian clothing in general in "Function and Meaning of the Colored Choir Ribbons." As Peucker (2010, 181–82) notes, "The clothes of Moravian men did not differ much from other Pietists of the time. Women, on the other hand, were clearly recognizable as Moravians."

Peucker describes the unusual headwear known as the *Haube* of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Moravian women. These close-fitting white caps with ribbons used to tie the caps under the wearers' chins were notably and peculiarly Moravian in North America and had evolved from peasant costume in Saxony. The ribbons became a way of identifying the Choir or *Chor* with which the individual was affiliated (fig. 13.13). Eventually the ribbons were distributed to boys also.

The clothing of "everyone else" from the time of immigration to the early nineteenth century, when most Germans began to dress like their British American counterparts, is at once straightforward and elusive. Generally rural Pennsylvania German women and men of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century had limited wardrobes of a few specific garments made from handspun linen and some wool. Ellen Gehret defined this costume in *Rural Pennsylvania Clothing* (1976), and it remains today the definitive work on the subject for identification of the types of garments worn during this period. Although few generalizations can be made because of the paucity of surviving artifacts, some localized studies have been able to

Fig. 13.13. *Young Moravian Girl*, by John Valentine Haidt (1700–1780). The girl and artist were Moravians in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, c. 1755–60. The red ribbon on the girl's bodice indicates that she was a member of the older girls' choir, a subgroup within a Moravian church congregation (see also color photo gallery). Oil on canvas; 30 ⅜ x 25 ¼ in. *Smithsonian American Art Museum (1987.3)*

give a glimpse of historic clothing patterns. In *Cloth and Costume 1750 to 1800: Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (1995), Tandy and Charles Hersh reported their findings on the types of clothing worn by residents after extensive investigations into inventories of household goods in the county on specific clothing forms. Quite significant to the Pennsylvania German woman of that era was the short gown, or bodice. Through analysis of inventories, the Hershes were able to identify the period, from approximately 1780 to 1800, when the short gown seemed to be the main female garment. The bed gown, which enjoyed early popularity, may have been a European transplant and fell out of favor by the late eighteenth century. The artifact record shows a shortening of the short gown that would coincide with the rising waistlines

in women's dress of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, so not even these rural garments were immune to some influence of fashion.

Photograph collections may also give significant clues to mid-nineteenth-century dress and, possibly, clothing styles from the early nineteenth century that were still being worn in the 1850s (fig. 13.14). Cased photographic images from that time that are identified have been investigated more closely for evidence of clothing traditions that were carried over from the earlier period. By the 1860s, the generation of individuals who were born in the eighteenth century had begun to pass on, and with them some of the markers of earlier dress customs that can be seen in the 1850s images. Photographs of mid-nineteenth-century Mennonites (some of which can be viewed in Melvin Gingerich's *Mennonite Attire through Four Centuries*, 1970) and Schwenkfelders show the generational differences of clothing of the elders born in the late eighteenth century to their grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Photographs from this time period are valuable tools in seeing the adoption of typical dress of the period by most Pennsylvania Germans, or the adoption of plain dress by some sectarians who elected to have photographs taken.

Extensive databases for the identification, interpretation, preservation, and even reproduction of historic textiles in general and Pennsylvania German textiles specifically are now available (see, e.g., quiltindex.org for quilts). In addition, quilters, spinners, and weavers, re-creators of historic clothing,

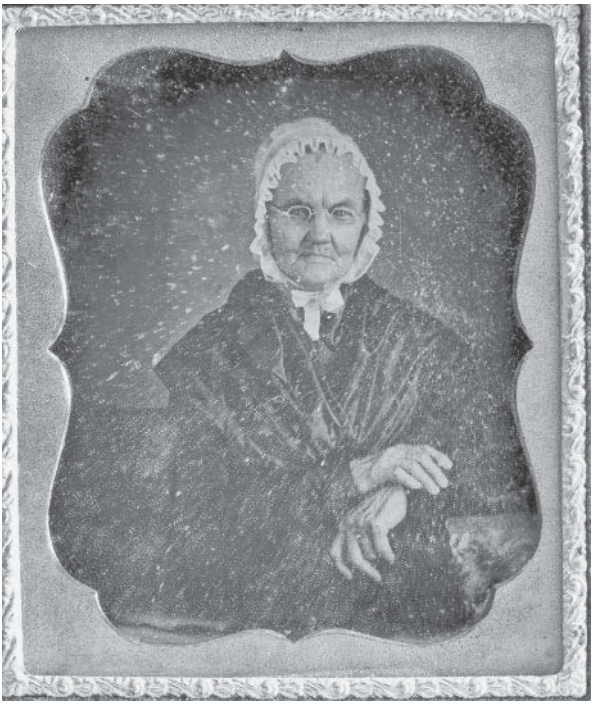


Fig. 13.14. Photograph of Mrs. Andrew (Susanna Schultz) Krauss (1778–1860), c. 1850–60, Lower Milford Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania. *Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center*

and even proponents of plain dress have blogs to write about their work and ideas. Some ideas about quilts—for example, that a red square in the center of a Log Cabin pattern quilt block symbolizes the hearth, or that an out-of-place section of patchwork in a meticulously pieced quilt top might signify the maker's expression of humility—are notions that continue to be transmitted over the years, now via the Internet, and have their detractors and supporters, if not documentation.

Textile crafts were an essential aspect of daily life for the Pennsylvania Germans and came to feature decorations that marked work as distinctively "Dutch." Some had cultural meaning and symbolism, and in some cases even the techniques for making textiles were informed by belief systems and traditions rooted in the group's agrarian Old World past. As interest grows on the literal *embodiment* of Pennsylvania German identity, attention has turned to textiles as part of the tactile world of Pennsylvania Germans that connected them to one another and differentiated them from others. Once preoccupied with the inventory of tools and designs, new Pennsylvania German studies of textiles explore divergent paths of social meaning in gender, class, religion, ethnicity, and region in relation to other material and bodily expressions.

14 Food and Cooking

YVONNE J. MILSPAW

Pennsylvania German foods have been historically linked to the cookery of central Europe, which the folklorist Don Yoder (1972, 329) called "maize plus the shifting key of basic European foods." In this chapter I am referring to food in relation to folk cookery, that branch of food preparation that was practiced by ordinary people. It is not cooking by professionally trained chefs, nor is it food for the elite, nor is it food that has been scientifically studied and designed by food science professionals. It is not about sharing unusual recipes, the artistry of celebrity chefs, or commercially distributed foods. What is ordinary is important in Pennsylvania German studies, for without understanding the norms of everyday practices, researchers may not be able to understand what is different, what is new, what is borrowed, or what is adapted. Foodways, referring to practices revolving around the use of food, can be used to unearth historical identities and techniques and, as such, are significant to folklorists, sociologists, historians, museum professionals, and historical reenactors.

Additionally, food has social and ethical meanings that transcend its basic use as physical nourishment. Food is part of a cultural system of meanings and practices that is an expression of cultural values and ideals (Douglas 1971). As a gift of the hands, it can become an expression of caring, concern, and value and can set up deeply entangled systems of reciprocity (Douglas 1977). It contains, according to anthropologist Mary Douglas (2008), "embedded meanings of social status, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and negotiation of boundaries." Especially significant in Pennsylvania German studies, the distinctive kinds of food that developed among German-speaking settlers in Pennsylvania have been viewed as carrying metaphorical and symbolic meanings related to cultural identity. For their descendants, the association of foods with Pennsylvania German heritage is essential to identify and interpret even if those dishes are not consumed every day. They might be ceremoniously eaten on special occasions such as New Year's, Christmas, Groundhog Lodge meeting, or a festival in what folklorists refer to as "performances of identity" that reveal the social psychology of ethnicity in modern life.

As a guide to this research and its interpretative themes, I examine aspects of traditional practices typically analyzed by food scholars: food types and their regional varieties; historical context; names given to foods, dishes, preparation methods; technology of cookery, which includes the material culture that supports and dictates food preparation methods; traditional preservation and storage methods for foods, including such methods as souring, salting, drying, and smoking; the systems that determine how food is used in the home, including the traditions and beliefs associated with specific foods; and structure of meal systems.

Foods, Dishes, and Preparation Methods

There is no shortage of cookbooks and recipes for traditional Pennsylvania German cooking. One of the earliest and most popular is *Die Geschickte Hausfrau* (1848), which could be kept in an apron pocket, and it was interpreted by William Woys Weaver in *Sauerkraut Yankees* (1983) as a transitional work in the development of Pennsylvania German identity. Its contents, he claimed, marked the beginnings of an association with common foodways of diverse linguistic-religious groups from west-central Europe. With descriptions of sausages, mincemeat pies, and pot puddings (but an absence of the later iconic shoofly pie), the cookbook through more than twenty editions established a New World culinary identity that was, in Weaver's (1983, 7) estimation, "not German in the Old World sense, but something that was uniquely *Pennsylfaanisch*." But such compendiums were rare and generally were associated with elite cookery (e.g., the cookery books of president's wives) or for large-scale cookery for taverns or banqueting. There are some extant eighteenth- and nineteenth-century domestic manuscripts from the German-settled area of Pennsylvania that include complex recipes or brewing information, along with other information, largely powwowing cures or treatment for ailing animals and people, but only a few published examples of actual cookery recipes are noted. For example, *Powwows: The Long Lost Friend* (1971), published as *Der Lange Verborgene Freund* by John George Hohman in 1820, includes some brewing directions along with occult prayers and practices.

The requirements of a new settlement made inventiveness and the influence of non-German neighbors a necessity. The adoption of the cookery of the English Midlands, represented by the Quaker settlers of southeastern Pennsylvania, in addition to the sometimes underestimated effect of the market gardening and distribution system that continues to dominate the food economies of Pennsylvania, cannot be overlooked. That said, the German settlers were often identified, even in early writings, with the use of sauerkraut in their cookery (Weaver 1983; 1993; D. Yoder 1961c; 1990a). Phebe Earle Gibbons, whose essays for the *Atlantic Monthly* on the Pennsylvania Germans drew popular attention, also noticed the preponderance of sauerkraut. This preference for fermented cabbage among the Germans in Penn-

sylvania was the context for the pejorative moniker of "Sauerkraut Yankees," representing the New World hybrid of Pennsylvania German culture (D. Yoder 2002, xiii).

The most influential early writers on Pennsylvania German cookery have largely been from the easternmost part of the region—from around Philadelphia (Gibbons, Heller, Roan, Weaver) and the Bethlehem-Easton area (Frederick). Fewer writers have hailed from the western part of the region, near York, Lancaster, and Harrisburg, which lacks dishes like gumbis or apees and has different nuances to its cookery. Hence, much of what was described as "Pennsylvania Dutch" cooking characterizes a regional tradition in southeastern Pennsylvania. Additionally, as Weaver (1993) points out, there is a significant difference between the cooking of the wealthy (who benefit from the availability of bake ovens) and the more prosaic, often one-pot cooking of ordinary, relatively poor people.

When George Frederick published *The Pennsylvania Dutch and Their Cooking* in 1935, he set a model for almost all subsequent Pennsylvania German cookbooks. He claimed quite truthfully that "Pennsylvania Germans were never accused of being undernourished or badly fed" (94). He pointed out several foods as particularly Pennsylvania German—pretzels, scrapple, pepper pot (tripe) soup—and he helped to establish the erroneous notion that a well-set meal must contain seven sweets and seven sours, including such specialties as chowchow (relish) and pepper cabbage (salad). Finally, he noted quite correctly the dominance of starches in the diet—breads, noodles, and dumplings—and other Dutch specialties such as sauerkraut, dandelion greens, dried corn, and hot bacon salad dressings. Most importantly, he distinguished between the Pennsylvania Dutch and European German cookery, an extremely important distinction during the rise of Nazi Germany (Weaver 2013).

Edna Eby Heller's influential 1968 cookbook, *The Art of Pennsylvania Dutch Cooking*, added other nuances of cookery to the list. Heller, a Pennsylvania Dutch woman from Lititz, helped to reshape Pennsylvania Dutch cooking on "nostalgia foods" (Weaver 2013) and festival fare. She noted several unusual traditional cheeses, including soft cheese (*Schmierkaes*, like cottage cheese), cup cheese, and ball cheese. Neither of the last two has been commercialized, and both are now difficult to find. She also noted that soups were generally thick like stews and were almost always served as a main course, not as a starter. Heller devoted far more time to baking as a characteristic part of Pennsylvania German cooking, noting that pie was eaten three times a day. She identified several characteristic pies—shoofly pie (molasses pie) (fig. 14.1), montgomery pie (lemon cake pie), and snitz pie (dried apple pie)—and differentiated cookies that were made for specific holidays, particularly for Christmas, from those made on regular days. Christmas cookies were rich with nuts and spices, or difficult to make, while everyday cookies were the big sugar or molasses cookies, locally called "cakes."

Homemade candies—again usually made for holidays—included potato

Fig. 14.1. Sign at the Pennsylvania Farm Show, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for Good Food, Inc. (Honey Brook, Chester County, Pennsylvania), showing an Amish boy against a rural landscape, eating a wet-bottom shoofly pie, 2010. The tub is filled with molasses used in the making of shoofly pie. The Farm Show annually sponsors a shoofly cake or pie contest. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

candy and mints in the eastern part of the Pennsylvania Dutch region, pull-taffy, "clear toys" (clear molded sugar candy now usually called lollipops), and the almost ubiquitous coconut cream or peanut butter Easter eggs dipped in melted chocolate, and still sold by many churches as Easter time fund raisers.

Pennsylvania German cookbooks are filled with recipes for foods that are stuffed or filled: chickens and turkeys and pork chops are stuffed with a mixture of breads and vegetables and eggs, butter and milk; pig stomachs (hog maws) are filled with sausage and potatoes and onions; dumplings are filled with potatoes or fruits; pies are filled with sweet fruits or savory vegetables; pots are filled with stews and soups that contain all categories of food. Filled is also a metaphor for how one should feel when he or she has eaten. And it is a gesture of hospitality—guests should always feel full, stuffed.

From the 1980s on, there have been many fine cookbooks about Pennsylvania German cooking, many featuring unusual aspects of the cookery. Several examples from the many good treatments of the subject are Virginia Bartlett's 1980 essays on food in *Pickles and Pretzels: Pennsylvania's World of Food*; Phyllis Pellman Good's 1984 publications, such as *Cooking and Memories*, essays on the relation of food and Anabaptist lifestyle, and Betty Groff's nationally recognized 1981 cookbook, *Country Goodness Cookbook*, in which she helped transcend regional barriers by adapting traditional food to elite

cookery. To get at family and localized traditions, many cultural scholars in Pennsylvania German areas draw upon "community cookbooks" compiled at the grass-roots level by churches and civic organizations (see Roan 1978).

Don Yoder (1972), active in ethnography of Pennsylvania German foodways after the mid-twentieth century, observed that many ancient methods of food preparation and preservation are retained in regional folk cookery. He postulated that people develop a "taste" for such foods, which become markers of ethnic identity and reconstruct nostalgia for home and the natal family. Yoder was able to connect different methods with different strata of European civilization—souring and drying he connected with older methods of food preservation; salting and smoking, with newer methods. Pennsylvania German cookery does indeed depend on most of these preservation methods. Modern methods of canning to safely preserve fresh fruits and vegetables are relatively new technologies. The canning jar was patented by John Landis Mason, from Philadelphia, in 1858, although the technology did not become popular until the 1880s, after Mason's patent was bought out by a rival company (NNDB). It was not until about fifty years later that the technology to safely flash freeze fresh foods became available. It was developed by Clarence Birdseye, after, he watched Native people freeze fish for later usage on a trip to Labrador in 1912. His series of inventions and patents eventually made fresh frozen foods available year round across the country. Nonetheless, thousands of years of food tastes were not to be outdone easily by new technology. Most traditional foodways, including Pennsylvania German, display a preference for foods prepared by older methods. Consequently, church dinners with foods associated with Pennsylvania German ethnic identity such as *Schnitz un Gnepp*, stuffed pig's stomachs, and ham and dandelion draw upon intensive communal labor from congregants.

Souring—either by fermenting or by adding fermented substances like vinegar to foods—was applied almost entirely to pickling vegetables or to the use of vinegar in dressings on fresh vegetables. Cucumbers, the most frequently pickled summer vegetable, were packed into straight-edged, ten-gallon crocks along with a brine of salt, vinegar, and spices (such as dill and garlic) to create sour pickles. Families used a sugar and vinegar syrup flavored with exotic spices like allspice and cloves to make sweet pickles; many makers covered the cucumbers with syrup or brine and weighted them down with a plate with a rock on top. The pickles then could be safely kept in a cool place such as a basement or springhouse for many months (Showalter 1950, 393; J. Weirich 1960–78). Sauerkraut was probably the most important soured and fermented food made by the Pennsylvania Germans. Its preparation was at minimum a day-long process; it was largely the work of men, though women participated too. Special slicing boards, called slaw cutters, were designed for this process alone: long, narrow boards, about twenty-four inches long and eight inches across, with slightly raised edges, with a diagonal opening that contained a sharp blade.

Sauerkraut makers laid the boards across the top of a large twenty-gallon heavy pottery crock, and sliced the cabbage directly into the crock. After a few inches of cabbage slices filled the bottom of the crock, the preparer sprinkled a handful of coarse salt on it, and pounded it with a large mortar—a cylindrical knob on a long stick, called a kraut stomper (or kraut stamper or stumper)—until the cabbage was crushed and juicy. Then the maker added another layer of cabbage and proceeded to salt and pound it until the crock was full. The contents were weighted with a plate and rock, then set aside to ferment in a cool place, like the springhouse or a dirt floored basement (Frederick 1935, 261; Gibbons 2001, 17; Heller 1968, 86; Showalter 1950, 147, 393; Weaver 2013; J. Weirich 1960–73; D. Yoder 1961c; 1990a; Zirkle 1975–78).

Sometimes cooks spiced fruits, peaches and watermelon rind in particular, and preserved them in a syrup made of sugar, vinegar and spices such as clove and cinnamon. Preparers made these treats in small quantities and usually served them only on holidays. Fruits that were permitted to sour were more likely encouraged to ferment, as the only way to preserve fresh fruit juices was to turn them into wine, brandy, cider, or the extremely useful vinegar. Cooks used slightly soured cream in baking, or churned it into butter, or made a soft cheese with it.

Preserving fruits with thick cooked sugar syrup was another important method for of keeping fruits over time. Sugar was expensive and used carefully in making fruit jams, jellies, preserves, and butters. Naturally, cooks experimented with sugaring all sorts of foods, and fruit jams and preserves were the most successful. Although preserves and jams can be made from almost any fruit, strawberries, rhubarb, quince, and occasionally grapes are most often mentioned in historic accounts, and they are the easiest to make without commercial pectin. Making jams is an exacting technical process, sometimes requiring making extracts of an acidic fruit product called pectin, essential for jelling the fruit and sugar mixture. Some fruits do not have enough pectin to jell, and before the availability of commercial pectin, cooks had to create their own, usually by adding green apples. Recognizing the perfect moment when the fruit jelled is central to this exacting cookery. Jellies, jams, and preserves were made only in very small batches and were decanted into crocks and later into small glass jars as soon as they were available. Cooks topped them with a layer of paraffin, and then further covered them with a layer of cloth or paper, which was tied around the outside of the glass with string. Apple butter and pear butter look more like a thickened applesauce than like jams or jellies, but are the most commonly made preserve (fig. 14.2). Apple butter was stored in large, specially designed crocks, which potters made with an outer lip on the rim to make the tied cloth or paper cover easier to keep in place.

Drying was generally reserved for fruits or corn (fig.14.3). Even though almost all fruits and vegetables are easily dried and preserved, Pennsylvania German cookbooks focused mainly on sweet corn and the ubiquitous apple or pears. Occasionally one finds references to dried peaches and plums,

Fig. 14.2. Cooking apple butter on a Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, farm, early twentieth century. Note the crock near cooker's feet. *Photograph courtesy Simon J. Bronner*

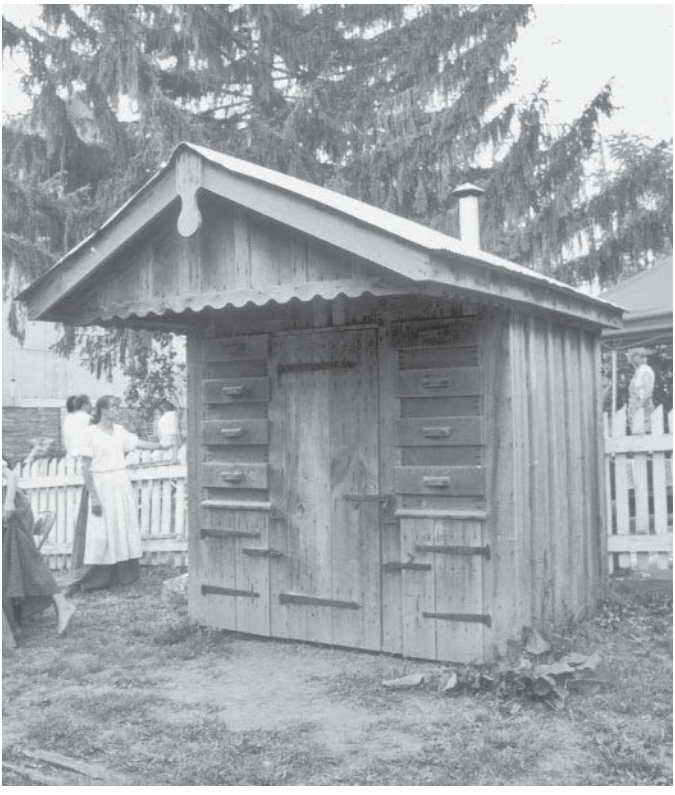


Fig. 14.3. Fruit drying house, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. The drawers have screens on which fruit such as apples are placed to dry, 2000. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

but the dried fruits that eventually became the staple ingredient of Christmas cakes and cookies—raisins, dates, and figs in particular—seem to have been purchased at markets rather than made at home. Families preserved some meats by drying at least in part—the much-loved dried beef comes to mind—but most meats were smoked and salted as well. Don Yoder (1972) identifies salting and smoking as later forms of food preservation, and these seem to have been reserved primarily for meats among the Pennsylvania Germans (as well as among most Americans).

Pork was reportedly the preferred meat of most Americans during the past century, and hence the variety of ways to preserve pork meat far outnumbers preservation methods for chicken (which, though occasionally canned during the Depression, was almost always eaten fresh) or for beef. High-quality boneless beef roasts could be salted and dried, and beef-based Lebanon bologna (which was fermented before being put into casings and smoked) were staples of the cuisine. Pennsylvania Germans treated pork to far more intense uses. They salted and spiced hams and then smoked them. Sometimes they buried hams in barrels of salt. Families smoked bacon, fresh sausages, and hams in a separate smokehouse, a small vented building with a crisscross of bars and hooks from which meats were hung. They kept a fire, often of an aromatic wood like hickory or apple, burning for several days. When they deemed the hams or sausages or bacon sufficiently dry, they removed and sometimes hung them in special closets, a tiny room in an attic right next to the chimney, which kept them drying. Another extremely important preserved meat was scrapple (fig. 14.4), a pork-cornmeal pâté, which was cooked off, thickened, and poured into loaf pans and covered with a layer of lard (L. Bell 1995; Fager 1974–78; Weaver 2003). It could be stored in a cool place, along with crocks of rendered pork lard, one of the most important ingredients for cooking and baking.

Springhouses, another small outbuilding, generally built right over a spring or a small stream, were the primary refrigerators of a country home, although only wealthier farms in prime locations might actually have one. Often slightly subterranean to keep things cool, they frequently had a stone or cement trough for the running spring water. Families submerged dairy products in crocks into the water, and shelving around the small building kept other foodstuffs cool. They also stored meats and some vegetables in these buildings. Springhouses were essential for dairy farms; because most ordinary houses did not have them, foodstuffs were stored in a cool, dirt-floored cellar (see Milspaw 1983a; 1983b; Richman 2003, 20).

Many essential vegetables store well in cool, dark conditions. Cellars often had shallow slatted and slanted bins on which potatoes, root vegetables, and apples could be stored. They were deliberately designed to be shallow, so the winter vegetables and fruits could be stored in a single layer, and any spoiled ones could easily be culled. Winter squashes and pumpkins could also be stored this way. Onions prefer a dryer cool storage space and might be hung in bunches from the ceiling. Mature beans and peas would be dried

Fig. 14.4. Pennsylvania German man prepares scrapple in a hearth. Previous to this step, he boiled cut meat in a broth. He then removed the mixture, ground it, and then returned it to the kettle. He has added meal and is pictured here stirring the mixture with a wooden stick while it thickens. *Photograph by H. Winslow Fegley, between 1890 and 1925, Berks County, Pennsylvania. Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center*

and stored in fabric bags or tightly covered containers in a warm, dry place. Many families also stored winter vegetables in an outside pit, lined and covered with straw and a layer of soil, forming an efficient refrigerator that prevented vegetables from freezing while keeping them fresh. Apples, squash, pumpkins, potatoes, carrots, turnips, parsnips, and beets could be safely kept for many months in this way. Fresh eggs were also preserved in a crock covered with a slimy chemical mixture of isinglass.

Names of specific dishes vary locally, although that variation is less pronounced than it is with some other kinds of regional material culture, such as quilt block names. Some dishes retain their dialect names—*Schnitz un Gnepp* (a ham, dried apple, and dumpling stew) (fig. 14.5), *buwwe Schenkle* (filled dumplings), *Seimaage* or hog maw (stuffed pig stomach), *Schnitz* ("snips," dried apples), and *Riwwele* (small egg dumplings). Cottage cheese is sometimes called by its dialect name, *Schmierkaes* (soft cheese), as is its frequent culinary companion, *Lattwarick* (apple butter). Swiss cheese is often called *schweizer* cheese. Sauerkraut maintains its German name in most of the nation, despite some patriotic attempts to change its name during World War I to "Liberty Cabbage" (Heller 1968, 47; Thursby 2008, 80; D. Yoder 1990a, 294–95).

Fig. 14.5. Serving *Schnitz un Gnepp* at a Grange-sponsored event, Halifax, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, 1989. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

Some dishes are a confusing appropriation of English food names to which a distinct regional meaning is attached. The bread and egg mixture that is used to stuff either a chicken or pork chops is called filling or stuffing—never dressing, as it is in some parts of the country. Dressing is synonymous with what the rest of the country calls gravy. The extremely popular dish called pot pie can be a boiled dinner with meat, vegetables, potatoes, and square, preferably hand rolled noodles as it is in central Pennsylvania where I live, where it is specifically called "boiled pot pie" (fig. 14.6). However, the same ingredients can be baked in a pie crust, which is also called pot pie, usually specified as "baked pot pie." Frederick (1935) and Heller (1968) use the terms interchangeably. Roan's recipe calls for layering the ingredients as one would for the baked pot pie, but she recommends boiling it. According to surveys of my students, conducted in the mid-1990s, most of whom hailed from central Pennsylvania, boiled pot pie is the most familiar and preferred form. Baked pot pie appears to be somewhat favored to the east. The latter needs an oven to prepare, something available only to relatively well-to-do cooks. "Pot pie" can also refer to the actual square noodles for the dish. These noodles are readily available commercially, and several brands are easily

found in most local grocery stores. Structural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss famously interpreted the cooking methods of baking and boiling as expressing oppositional cultural values: boiling meals, in an enclosed pot, he called endocuisine, a style related to home, culture, family, femininity, and economy (boiling preserves all the meat juices). Baking, he called exocuisine, a style related to the bush, nature, high value, masculinity, and destruction, involving loss (juices are not preserved). Baking is an expression of value, generosity, and excess (Lévi -Strauss 1966, 589; 1977, 226). Even in traditional Pennsylvania German culture, his constructions of the meanings of boiling and baking seems appropriate: baked meats are served for special meals, Sunday dinners, feasts, and company. Boiled meals belong to the family.

The summer sausage or salami called Lebanon bologna after Lebanon, Pennsylvania, bears little resemblance to national commercially produced bologna, other than its shape and its use as a lunch meat, although it tastes like many central European smoked salamis. Lebanon bologna is a mixture of finely ground beef, suet, and spices (including coriander), which is aged and fermented, and then smoked for about three days over a wood fire. It generally comes in two forms—regular Lebanon bologna, and sweet bologna—the latter predictably containing fewer spices and more sugar than the former (Bongiovanni 1987). Additional variations are produced by small local butcher shops by varying the meats (deer bologna is a fall favorite) or spices, by double or even triple smoking, or by adding other signature spices.

Fig. 14.6. Mildred Runion prepares dough for chicken pot pie on a Hoosier cabinet in her kitchen, Hummelstown, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, 1982. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

Named for the city in which it first became commercially viable, Lebanon bologna boasts a number of local producers and ardent fans beyond the locality. It is one lunch meat that now seems to have some national distribution, and it is a profoundly respected marker of Pennsylvania Germanness for natives far from home. It may be the most requested care package item from home among expatriate Pennsylvania Germans.

Sausages are another food of German or central European origin that have maintained their importance in local cuisine. Unlike the summer sausages (Lebanon bologna), which are made of beef or venison, regular sausage is primarily made of ground pork and some light spices. They are produced and sold in two forms—fresh sausage and smoked sausage (L. Bell 1995; Fager 1974–78). In spite of the extraordinary number of ways a fresh sausage can be spiced, Pennsylvania German fresh sausage is nearly free of additional flavorings beyond salt and pepper. Smoked sausage is no more than fresh sausage that has been smoked. In addition to creating pork products with the natural sausage casings from the intestines of pigs (fig. 14.7), Pennsylvania Germans also stuff pork, potatoes, and bread in pig stomachs (fig. 14.8). Known in the dialect as *Saumagen*, *Seimaage*, or *Seimawe* (Weaver 2013, 42–47; also Weaver 1993, 131–137), stuffed "hog maw" appears to have been transplanted from the German Palatinate. With the distinctiveness of the dish in the American diet and perhaps the knowledge by many Pennsylvania Germans that outsiders turn up their nose at the idea of eating organ meat, it has been used in festivals and church events to highlight the hardiness and persistence of Pennsylvania German identity. It has historic associations with the celebration of the harvest on Pennsylvania German farms. Pennsylvania Germans perceive it as a filling meal in a small package with the value of "nothing wasted" implied because it contains a variety of foods or leftovers from the farm.

Occasionally one may find veal sausage in local butcher shops. Called *Weisswurst* (white sausage), it is often flavored with parsley. Other locally favored lunch meat specialties include head cheese (pressed tripe in vinegar) and liverwurst. Hams are also salted and smoked, but they are cut and served in a distinct Pennsylvania German manner. Instead of baking and serving whole, the ends are cut off and reserved for one-pot meals like *Schnitz un Gnepp* or ham, green beans, and potatoes or a thick ham, bean, and *Riwwel* soup, while the center is sliced into thick "steaks," which are fried for breakfast and generally served with eggs and potatoes.

The widely known meat dish in the Pennsylvania German diaspora, scrapple, is a mixture of stewed and ground pork parts, including the head and internal organs, which are cooked, ground fine, then combined with cornmeal and spices and further cooked until the mixture is thick enough to set up. Cooks pour it into loaf pans and allow it to cool; then they cover it with a thin layer of lard, which acts as a preservative (L. Bell 1995; Fager 1974–78; Frederick 1935; Heller 1968; Weaver 2003). Scrapple is served by turning it out of the loaf pan, slicing it, and frying it. It is generally considered breakfast fare

Fig. 14.7. Cleaning casings in anticipation of making fresh sausage on a farm in Huntingburg, Dubois County, Indiana, 1979. This family gathering is an annual event in conjunction with butchering hogs the day after Thanksgiving. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

Fig. 14.8. A member of the Salem Church of Rough and Ready, Pennsylvania, serving stuffed pig stomachs at an annual festive event celebrating the church's German roots, 1984. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

eaten along with eggs and syrup. Sometimes it may also be accompanied by *Pannhaas* or *Puddin*, a dish made of the same ground pork mixture that is in the scrapple but not thickened with the cornmeal, and hence of a much softer texture and more intense taste. It is also fried and then served on top of the scrapple along with the eggs and syrup. To distinguish this dish from other soft dishes also called puddings, the final "g" is dropped, so that the variation "puddin'" can be used to refer exclusively to the intensely flavored meat dish (which nonetheless has the soft texture of the egg and milk custards normally called pudding in Pennsylvania German cookery) (Weaver 2003).

Pudding is name borrowed from English, but it does not always mean the same dish in Pennsylvania German tradition. An English "pudding" is a rich boiled cakelike dessert; Pennsylvania German pudding is almost always a soft-cooked dish of eggs and milk: corn pudding is a thick savory custard made of dried corn, milk, and eggs. Cherry pudding is a cakelike baked fruit dish with central European analogues. Called *clafoutis* in French gourmet cookbooks, it is a traditional (and much-loved) summer dish, usually made with sour cherries. It appears in handwritten recipe books as "cherry cake" or "cherry pudding," a baked dish of fresh fruit covered with a custardlike mixture of eggs, sugar, milk, and a little flour, which is served warm with additional milk or cream. Other recipes for fruit puddings seem to reference dishes that are more usually called by the English name "cobblers." One intriguing stovetop fruit pudding recipe combines fresh or dried fruit stewed with sugar and covered with sweet dumplings. The word *cake* sometimes appears interchangeably with puddings. Weaver (1983, 116) identifies the Pennsylvania German word *Kuche*, cake, with anything that is not bread.

Among the special foods identified with Pennsylvania Germans foodways are the one-pot boiled meals that combine meat, broth, vegetables, potatoes, and noodles or dumplings. Seasoned with salt, pepper, and parsley, they are served in shallow bowls with a side of bread. The archaeologist James Deetz (1996, 170) has connected this kind of cooking to medieval cookery, which "was marked by combining all manner of foodstuffs into stews, pottages and other exotic mixtures," a cookery style that changed drastically in the late eighteenth century, at least outside of German Pennsylvania. Deetz connects it to the "shift from a worldview of corporate nature to one that places great emphasis on the individual." Like medieval peasant antecedents, one-pot boiled meals can be made from leftovers and scraps, can cook slowly all day while other work is completed, and can still taste wonderful.

In addition to the most common Pennsylvania German one-pot boiled meal called pot pie, other common combination meals are green beans (or peas), ham, potatoes, and onions; *Schnitz un Gnepp* (ham, dried apples, and dumplings); pork and sauerkraut (served with mashed potatoes and chopped onions on the first day, and dumplings on subsequent days); pot roast (beef braised, then boiled with potatoes, onions, carrots, celery, and parsley); and a variety of "soups," thick stewlike meals with similar vegetable,

meat, and starch combinations. One common (and diagnostic) Pennsylvania German soup is chicken corn soup, a thick soup of chicken meat and broth, fresh corn, parsley, hard-boiled eggs, and small egg dumplings called *Riwwele.* Some cooks add extra noodles as well. All of these dishes can also be baked, often in a pie crust: baked pot pie, corn pie, and oyster pie. Baked casseroles, not in pie crusts, but utilizing the ingredients of the boiled dinners, are also early favorites. Weaver (1993; 2013) uses the term *Gumbis* for these baked casseroles, a name that is not universally known in the Pennsylvania German diaspora.

Judging from the evidence of manuscript and published cookbooks, cheese was rarely used as an ingredient in traditional Pennsylvania German cooking. Instead, it is used as a side dish, almost always as a spread for bread and often served with molasses or a sweet fruit spread like apple butter. Soft cheeses, like a *Schmierkaes*, egg cheese, or the semiliquid, strong-smelling cup cheese were made at home (Frederick 1935, 122–23). Cured cheeses were available, but bought from professional cheese makers at markets, and were used mostly for sandwiches, often paired with Lebanon or Sweet bologna. However, Pennsylvania Germans adopted an imported dish, macaroni and cheese, in their cuisine, serving it distinctively with thickened and sweetened stewed tomatoes.

Sweet pies, cakes, and cookies appear regularly in modern cookbooks. Pies, filled with just about anything, were certainly part of early cookery. Pies can refer to both single- or double-crust pies filled with fruit or other sweets. They can refer to entire meals baked in a crust, or they can mean just about any pie-shaped, baked food (Weaver 1983, 117). Cakes and cookies suffer a similar linguistic confusion: cake can mean any baked breadlike food that is not bread: in late nineteenth-century cookbooks, cakes (plural) are what we call cookies; a cake may be what we would call a cake, or maybe a torte, or something cakelike (Weaver 1983, 116). One also finds pies with cakes baked in them (Roan 1978, 36–42).

Another commonly recorded belief is that uncooked or untreated vegetables were not healthful, and some, like cucumbers, were possibly even poisonous. Hence, only a few vegetables—carrots, celery, spring onions, tomatoes— were ever served fresh. Raw vegetables were treated (and rendered safe and edible) by salting, souring, and pickling. This treatment could take the form of traditional pickles—cucumbers and other garden vegetables (green beans, lima beans, peppers, corn, green tomatoes) that are soaked in a brine of vinegar, salt, and spices over a period of several weeks or months, or it may refer to the common method of serving fresh garden vegetables with a sour dressing of vinegar, water, and sugar. Fresh vegetable salads of bell peppers and cabbage (pepper slaw), of cabbage, celery, and carrots (coleslaw), or of sliced cucumbers and onions were all prepared this way. Even some cooked vegetables—notably red beets, turnips, and occasionally carrots and celery—were also sometimes prepared in the same way. Only salad greens were generally eaten raw, and then only when a hot sour dressing

(made of bacon fat, vinegar, and sugar, or sometimes of butter, eggs, vinegar, and sugar) was poured over them. The greens range from dandelion greens in the early spring to endive in the late fall. The overriding notion is that vegetables need some preparation, some kind of cooking or other treatment (primarily salting or souring) to be considered palatable and safe to eat. In the same way, fresh fruits were also often "treated" with sugar before consuming. Pennsylvania German eaters treated melons, particularly cantaloupes, like vegetables, with salting, while they considered tomatoes to be fruits, by sprinkling them with sugar before eating them raw, or by cooking them into a sweet rich sauce made with lots of sugar, butter, and milk.

Technology of Cookery

Traditional foodways are only partly determined by culturally suggested preferences and by the availability of specific food items. Technology and material culture also play an unusually important role in the development of food culture. The persistence of the one-pot, stovetop meal among the Pennsylvania Germans is a good example. Deriving from preemigration continental peasant foodways, the one-pot meal also reflects important technical considerations.

The earliest German houses in America followed a central chimney floor plan, where a large open fireplace with six-plate stoves and external bake ovens dominated the house. Rooms were essentially arranged around it. However, by the late eighteenth century, two trends emerged that had a profound impact on house form and cooking. One was the overall expansion of space that characterized American rural architecture (Milspaw 1983b). Functional spaces within the house expanded outward, resulting in the fragmentation of the living spaces and permitting other uses. New spaces could include a springhouse, a bake oven, a smokehouse, or an out-kitchen (fig. 14.9). Each small building was attached visually by a series of walkways, but each stood as a specific unit. In the late eighteenth century, wealthy rural homeowners added a large external bake oven, while large urban houses appear to have had bake ovens attached to the gable end of an L-shaped hall, generally as a kitchen wing of the building (Falk 2008, 33–38; Long 1972b). Both the freestanding and incorporated ovens were about the size of a small room, six to eight feet square, built on a stone base with a high brick floored center on which a fire was built, and a rounded internal ceiling. A chimney came out of the back of the oven, curved over its top and vented into a large chimney. Pennsylvania Germans called the ovens "squirrel tail" because of its shape, and most large farms and large urban houses had one.

It took several hours to heat the oven with a wood fire, allow it to burn down, then remove the ashes and put in the goods to bake. Each item to be baked required its own special heat levels, and had to be queued up in order. Cakes and cookies require relatively high, steady temperatures, and the former are extremely fussy about exact, steady heat and thus difficult to do well

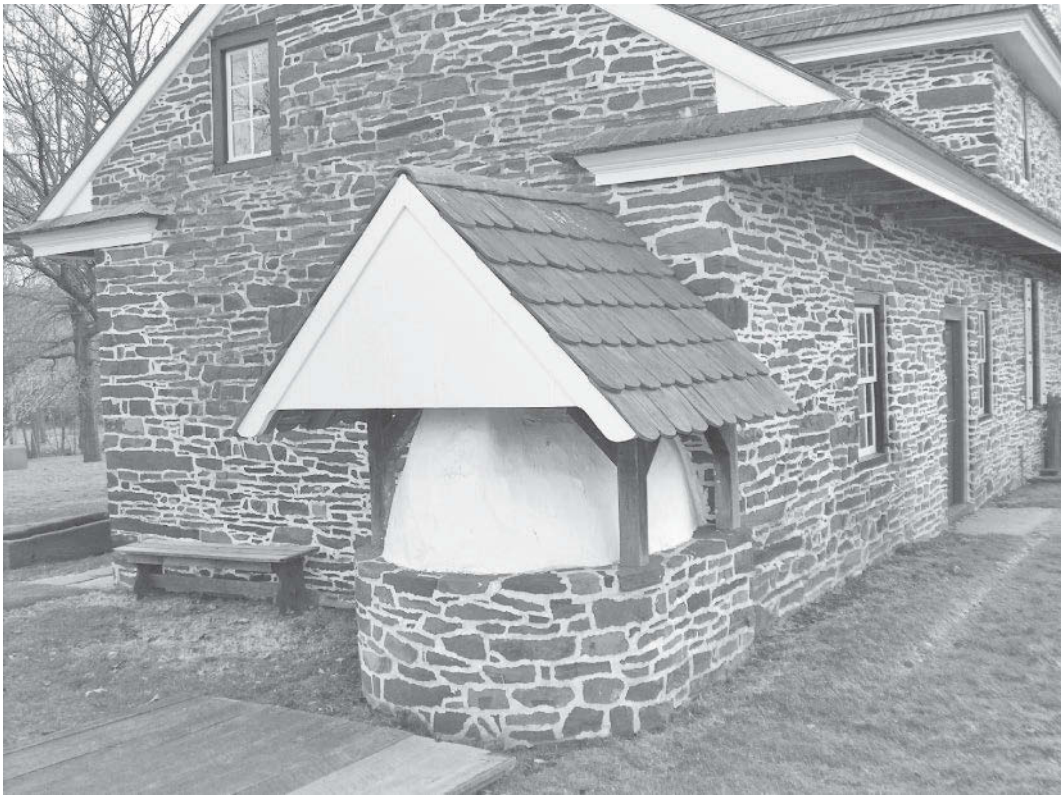


Fig. 14.9. Bake oven protruding from an out-kitchen on the Peter Wentz farmstead, Worcester, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, established 1744. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

in a wood-fired oven. Roasted meat could be started while the oven was still at a high temperature but would do well over a long time at a lower temperature as the oven cooled, as would baked pot pies and casseroles. Finally, fruits or vegetables needing to be dried for winter storage (most commonly apple and pear slices or blanched, partly cooked corn and beans) could be added to the nearly cool but dry oven. By all accounts, baking day was extremely labor intensive for the women who were cooking (fig. 14.10) (Roan 1978, 35–42).

By the mid-nineteenth century, most ovens were no longer freestanding, but had been incorporated into small semiattached buildings called out-kitchens, a room with a large gable end hearth where large-scale messy household tasks, including laundry, butchering, sausage making, canning, preserving, and baking, could be performed without soiling or overheating the entire living space. A bake oven was often attached externally to these out-kitchens, and the few remaining nineteenth-century ovens, or the material traces of them—distinctive square platforms, half-circle openings of the old oven still traced in the outside wall, repairs high in the wall where the oven flue once vented into the chimney—are of this type.

Few outdoor ovens remain on the landscape. Most were destroyed when

Fig. 14.10. Photographer H. Winslow Fegley (1871–1944) labeled this image "A Pennsylvania German housewife who baked in her day hundreds of loaves of rye bread for 'the nine o'clock repast,' in this old bake oven. Mrs. Enoch Rohrbach, Sigmond [Upper Milford Township, Lehigh County], Pa., 1903." *Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center*

they were no longer needed or used. However, I would like to suggest a second idea—that there were never many to begin with. Probably 90 percent of the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century ordinary houses of central Pennsylvania—and there are a great many of these still extant—show no sign of ever having had a bake oven, either internal or external (Milspaw 1983b). Most of both the extant ovens and their traces are limited to large, prosperous houses, whether urban or rural. The wealthy had access to bake ovens; ordinary, poor, and middle-class folks might not have been so lucky. Furthermore, the urban homes with bake ovens or their traces were mostly structures that had served at some point as taverns or inns, not specifically as individual dwellings.

Probably most people, even those of modest means, could occasionally purchase bread or cakes from the more prosperous farms, rent time to use a local farm's bake oven, or purchase baked goods through the extensive farmer's market system that pervaded the economy of the area. However, the lack of easily available baking technology would also lead to a dependence on

breadlike foods made by other means: boiled (as in dumplings and noodles), fried or grilled (as in pancakes and batter clad vegetables and fruits called fritters), and possibly even baked by an open fire (like cornmeal cakes) or in a "Dutch oven," a tightly covered cast-iron pot that sat directly in an open fireplace and had a flat lid, upon which one could heap coals and create a small, fairly efficient oven. Even the name of the pot suggests an ethnic identification of usage, if not of origin (fig. 14.11).

The development of the cookstove is another crucial technological milestone. Even by the mid-eighteenth century, the small cast-iron six-plate stove was developed and readily available (Falk 2008, 33–38; Milspaw 1983a; 1983b; Richman 2003, 20–22). It was a staple product of the series of iron forges that

The York Hotels, Kept In 1800.
No Better And good Cooks Can be found no where
to prepare Victuals for the table, As these Taverns.
See the names—Mrs. Abraham Miller, mrs. Polly waltemyer,
mrs Foster, mrs Lamb, mrs. Lipp, mrs. Kunel, mrs. baltzers Spangler,
mrs George Hay, mrs. Beard, and mrs. Eichelberger, not far
from town, the two last names, old Style Cooking.
the Bake oven, baking Bread.
Smoking Sausage and Bullones.
they had plenty of raw Materials, to cook them, Beef, veal, Lam, Mutton,
Pork, and fish, oysters, Poultry, Eggs, Butter, Cheese, milk and honey,
And all kind of vegetables and fruit. See mrs. Hersh in 1804. She
Could Take every Drone out of A Chicken, for the table it was good to Carve,
for the Customers at her Tavern.
After Saying The Sausage
The potatos put in the pan.
Little Sally.
Mrs. Lottman Frying Sweet potatos and give to Lewis Miller,
Some of them the first I ever tasted the where good Eating.
It was in her tavern South George Street. 1799.

Fig. 14.11. Drawing by Lewis Miller of bread baking, smoking sausages, and frying of sweet potatoes in York, Pennsylvania, around 1800. Note the use of Dutch ovens and kettles in the fireplace and use of baskets, probably made of rye straw, near the bake oven (see also color photo gallery). *York County History Center*

dominated the mountainous ridge curving through German-settled Pennsylvania. After about 1820, homeowners abandoned large central hearths and fireplaces for small centrally located woodstoves. The chimney stayed in the same place but was sometimes replaced with a smaller one; homeowners often removed the huge internal hearth (leavings its traces only in the foundation of the houses) and increased the internal living space (Milspaw 1983b). These stoves were small and rectangular, with an end opening for the firebox. They also generally had several rounded openings on the top surface, exactly the size for two cooking pots.

Cookery before about 1840, when more elaborate, much larger wood- and coal-fired cookstoves were introduced, has likely set the standards for what is considered "traditional" Pennsylvania German cooking (Weaver 2013, 64). If such small stoves were used for food preparation, it certainly helps to explain the predominance of one-pot meals with their extraordinary emphasis on starches. If bread and pastry were extremely difficult to come by, or too expensive to purchase for everyday use, then ordinary food needed to make up for this lack by emphasizing noodles, dumplings, and potatoes to accompany the meat and vegetables that make up a "good" meal. Signature dishes such as pot pie, chicken corn soup with *Riwwele*, pork and sauerkraut with dumplings, *Schnitz un Gnepp*, and Dutch eggs (scrambled eggs, bacon, and potatoes) are the legacy of both European ordinary cookery and individual creativity in the face of these technical constraints on cooking. Indeed, Don Yoder (1972, 331) characterized Pennsylvania Germans as developing a *Teigkultur* or "dough culture." Differentiating it from the Old World, the Pennsylvania German emphasis on dishes revolving around the noodle to Yoder "betrays the ethnic origins of the people in south Germany and Switzerland, where *Mehlspeisen* [pastries] are the characteristic food."

Not until the 1880s were domestic cookstoves with relatively reliable ovens introduced into the commercial market, making them affordable to ordinary folks (fig. 14.12). The more-reliable gas stoves were not commercially available until about 1910. Hence home baking would not have been a major part of ordinary Pennsylvania German cookery until the latter part of the nineteenth century at the earliest. Just as the ready availability of domestically produced and affordable textiles in the early nineteenth century led to an explosion of needlework creativity in the form of American quilts, so also when reliable home baking technology became affordable to ordinary cooks, the craft of baking became widely popular. The same foundries that had produced heating stoves in the early nineteenth century began to produce cookstoves in the early twentieth century.

A survey of handwritten family recipe books from the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth century is further fuel for this idea. I suggest that women recorded only foods that were new or unfamiliar in terms of either ingredients or techniques, and baking fits those categories. Hence, early recipe collections emphasize fancy baked goods. Furthermore, recipes would be exchanged then, as now, as part of networks of reciprocity and

Fig. 14.12. A Pennsylvania German woman uses corn cobs to produce a quick, hot fire in a cookstove for the purpose of preparing Easter eggs. *Photograph by H. Winslow Fegley, between 1890 and 1925, Berks County, Pennsylvania. Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center*

friendship, with the recipes of prized friends noted as such. There would be no need to exchange or even document recipes for everyday foods that anyone should know how to prepare.

Seven handwritten recipe collections dating from about 1880 to 1940 that I have reviewed provide an inside view of Pennsylvania German households. All of the collections placed an enormous emphasis on cakes and cookies, in some cases their recipes dominated all the others. The handwritten recipe book of Mrs. O. H. Swartz of Middletown, Pennsylvania, dating from the early twentieth century (and used with the gracious permission of her daughter, the late Louise Swartz Maxwell) contained 112 recipes, 76 of which were for cakes, cookies, pies, and other desserts; 25 recipes were for cakes alone, another 20 were for cookies. And given Pennsylvania German naming, sometimes it is difficult to distinguish the difference in recipes for a

cake and those for the large cookies commonly called "cakes," the plural being a crucial indicator. The oldest recipe collection, dating from the 1880s, and belonging to Alice Eichelberger Cleland of Royalton, Pennsylvania, contains only forty-one entries, twelve for cakes, ten for cookies, and seven for pies. It has only one unusual entry for a meat dish (beef stew) as well as two recipes for salve and three for powwow cures. The recipe book of her daughter Louella Cleland Weirich, which she assembled as a bride in 1920 (and who importantly had the reputation of being an excellent cook) contains only thirty-four recipes, some of them the same as her mother's, and like her mother's her collection is completely dominated by thirty recipes for pies, cakes, and cookies. Only three of the seven manuscript cookbooks I accessed had recipes for bread, and almost all of those were from the more recent collections. Overall, close to 75 percent of all recipes in each of these manuscript cookbooks were for baked desserts, primarily cookies and cakes.

This suggests two things. First, the relative novelty of the reliable technology for baking led to an explosion of new ideas and recipes and techniques. Because these were not part of these women's inherited language of cooking, it was necessary to write them down. Almost none of the recipe books recorded recipes for dumplings, noodles, *Riwwele*, potato dishes, soups, or boiled or baked one-pot meals—the dishes popularly associated with Pennsylvania German traditional cookery. Few recipes appear for pickles and jams, and none for the preferred sweets and sours of the Pennsylvania German traditional table: no pepper slaw, coleslaw, chow-chow, pickled red beets and eggs; no dandelion salad or hot salad dressings. Nor were there many recipes for the vast numbers of jellies, jams, spiced fruits, and preserves that were produced as a matter of course during the summer.

Second, the wealth of cookie and cake recipes in the handwritten cookbooks suggests that the recorded fare was not regarded as everyday cooking but rather was reserved for special occasions. Because cake and cookies are extremely fussy to make, requiring exact measurements of ingredients far more than for any other kind of cooking, perhaps this also contributes to the plethora of these particular sorts of recipes. Pennsylvania German food researchers often report that particular cookies were reserved for Christmas baking and some cakes for Easter and that pies were made to utilize fresh fruit in season.

Traditions, Beliefs, and Systems of Foodways

It is difficult not to be astonished by the number of pie variations created by German cooks in Pennsylvania. Most food scholars believe that the true pie was an English contribution to American cuisine, although food historian William Woys Weaver (1983; 2013) also notes that pies seem to have been known in Germany. All agree that Pennsylvania German cooks over time took to pies. My family liked apple pie with milk for a cold supper, and corn pie for any meal (see Weaver 2013, 182, 210). However, pies made up

the smallest number of dessert recipes in the seven manuscript cookbooks I examined, mostly less than 10 percent of each recipe collection. But by the latter part of the twentieth century, cookbooks attest that pies were a regular part of the traditional diet of Pennsylvania Germans. The dearth of recipes suggests that once a cook knew how to make a good pie crust (or several kinds of pie crust), the filling was a simple decision of what was available. Two pie recipes that show up often in manuscript recipes and are designated as diagnostic Pennsylvania German foods are shoofly pie, possibly a late nineteenth-century addition to the cuisine, and montgomery pie (Weaver 2013, 256–70). Both are distinguished from more traditional two-crust pies in that they have one crust only and are topped by a cake layer. The bottom "sticky" layer is made of molasses or sweet lemon custard, while the upper layer is a cake or crumb (or both) layer. Because cakes require careful measurements and steady heat for a good result, these particular two pies appear in recipe collections.

Just as some cookies are made only on specific holidays, raisin pie (or sometimes *Schnitz*/dried apple pie) is also called "funeral pie" because it was considered the appropriate gift to contribute to the meal that follows a funeral, although it could be served at other times of year. Since funerals have an unhappy way of happening without regard to season, Pennsylvania Germans believe that pies made of dried fruit, especially dark colored fruits like raisins, fit the occasion. To serve a *Schnitz* pie or a raisin pie during fresh fruit season, except for a funeral, would be considered a breach of good cooking.

Before prohibition, Pennsylvania Germans favored mildly alcoholic fermented beverages, such as beer, lemonade, and cider (fresh or hard) (Weaver 1983). Homemade fruit and dandelion (blossom) wines tended to be used only on special occasions, on holidays, or for gatherings of male friends. Alcoholic beverages seem to have been made and served a bit surreptitiously. Men seemed to know the recipes and control the technology of wine making. A few wine recipes were found in the manuscript collections, but many interviews with local people indicate that it is the men who know how to make wine (and in fact do make the wine), while women write the recipes down.

Common beverages appearing in manuscript cookbooks were vinegar punch, made of a small amount of vinegar, water, sugar, and ginger, and raspberry shrub, a concoction of raspberry juice, sugar, and apple cider vinegar, made in advance and preserved, then served as the base of the summer drink by adding water (Frederick 1935, 235; Heller 1968, 217–19; Roan 1978, 143; Weaver 1993, 128). These drinks are surprisingly refreshing and tasty; they were a favorite summer drink of agricultural workers, kind of a precursor of lemonade or iced tea. Root beer was made at home from the roots of the sassafras tree or, later, from a commercially produced extract that was mixed with sugar and yeast, bottled, and allowed to cure in the sun. Explosions were frequent. Coffee and tea were popular imported goods; home brewed herbal teas were reserved for medicine.

Meals were served three times a day. Breakfast was a full meal with eggs, meat (pork products like bacon, ham, or sausage predominating, although thinly sliced "frizzled" and creamed dried beef might be served). Hardy Pennsylvania German diners could add potatoes or pancakes or scrapple with molasses or syrup, along with toast and jams to constitute a country or Dutch breakfast, suggesting nourishment for vigorous labor on the farm. Vegetables and soured foods were rarely present at this meal, and there seems to be general agreement that soured foods are inappropriate at breakfast. Coffee was the preferred beverage. This meal would normally be served in the kitchen.

The main meal of the day was dinner, served at noon, and was almost always a full cooked meal with lots of extras. A meat and starch dish predominated—a pot roast (with beef and potatoes), chicken pot pie (baked or boiled), ham, green beans, and potatoes, a stuffed and roasted chicken, hog maw (stuffed and roasted pig stomach), or any hearty combination of meat, starches and vegetables. Additionally, there would be sides of soured vegetables (slaws, pickles, red beet eggs, salads with hot cooked dressings) and of sweets (fresh or canned fruit in gelatin, applesauce, jams, jellies and preserves, or apple butter), and desserts, almost always cake or pie or possibly cookies.

A formal meal, a holiday meal, a birthday, or a Sunday dinner with company other than immediate family would be served in a more formal dining room, if one were available. A fancy tablecloth would be on the table, and matching china and cutlery would be used, if the family owned some. On the other hand, the "lunch" meal that emerged in the twentieth century refers to a lighter, generally cold, and much more informal meal, probably served at the kitchen table, without tablecloth or concerns about "good" china or silverware.

The evening meal was an informal meal, traditionally called supper (and not at all synonymous with dinner). It designated a lighter meal, usually consisting of soup and cold meat and cheeses made into sandwiches, or even fruit pie, shortcake (a large sweet biscuit) with fresh strawberries or other berries, or apple (or other fruit) dumplings covered with milk. The same array of sour salads and pickles and of sweet fruits, jams, and desserts appears at this meal. Leftovers from the more formal noon dinner might be served as well. If the noon dinner was extremely large and formal, the supper would be correspondingly lighter and more informal. As a rule, the bigger the dinner, the lighter the supper.

The oldest male family member generally sat at the head of the table, and the women who were serving the meal sat to the side nearest the stove or kitchen or serving area. The father or most senior adult male was usually asked to officiate as a priest and ask a blessing at the beginning of any major meal. Sometimes the youngest child might be asked to "say grace," but this would occur only after the eldest male voluntarily relinquished his role.

Occasionally, if friends visited, a late afternoon snack of coffee and cake (or other pastries) might be served.

The anthropologist Mary Douglas (1971) has devised an analytical approach to food systems that can be applied to Pennsylvania German meals. She worked to uncover the syntactical rules that "govern the presentation of food," looking at such patterns as the variations permitted on special occasions and the rules of precedence and combination. Her significant point is that food categories encode social events. Her own analysis of the differences between meals at home (for family) and meals for social strangers ("drinks") differentiates between the fluid and unstructured nature of "drinks" and the formal highly structured nature of the family meal, between the social poles of intimacy and distance. The rank and scale of meals range from the high feast (as produced on Christmas or Easter, or meals prepared for high-status guests) through lower feasts (for birthdays, guests, or Sunday dinners) to the informal meals that include only immediate family. She suggested observation of the rules that govern the foods served, the number of separate dishes, the formality of the setting, and the rank of guests. The meals also serve as calendar markers and function as a nested set of analogies about social and ethical imperatives.

Traditional beliefs and practices, customs, and rituals are a powerful force in any culture, and many of those beliefs revolve around foodways. For example, consider the calendar year by way of foods associated with feasting. Thanksgiving is a federal holiday that was set by Abraham Lincoln but not accepted by Pennsylvania Germans until well into the twentieth century. Pennsylvania Germans had their own thanksgiving harvest festival, usually called Harvest Home, that was a religious as well as secular holiday celebrated in early October with the decorating of churches and acts of Christian charity (D. Yoder 1958). Pennsylvania German novelist Elsie Singmaster wrote a short story "Thanksgiving Isn't Christmas" for *Atlantic Monthly* in November 1937 to indicate the Pennsylvania German appropriation of the New England Thanksgiving (Singmaster [1937] 2009, 253–64). In the story, Mennonite farmwoman Mrs. Eichelberger prepares the usual turkey but surrounds it with corn pudding, sauerkraut, chow, hot slaw, pies, and cherry custard with materials, she humbly points out, all raised, gathered, and preserved on her Pennsylvania farm. The message that Singmaster conveyed was one of the joy and abundance derived from simple country life. According to her biographer Susan Colestock Hill (2009, 43), "The rich potential of Mrs. Eichelberger's land parallels the open-hearted, hospitable character of the Pennsylvania German woman. As the stirrings of Nazism began to be felt in Germany, the Pennsylvania German woman's personality and productivity emphasized her American traits and the contributions of her forebears."

Among the Pennsylvania Germans, the most opulent feasts were held at Christmas and Easter, and both were seen as a time for large family gatherings and thus featured a vast number of foods—two meats, generally turkey

and ham, two or more potato dishes (sweet and white), other starch dishes (including bread and rolls), multiple cooked vegetables, many sours, and many rich sweets (possibly even seven of each). Additionally, some foods, typically sweets, were prepared only at Christmas (fig. 14.13), and another set of sweets reserved for Easter. Some of the foods believed to be appropriate to the feast is a practical use of what is readily available at the season, but Christmas feasting also always featured exotic imported ingredients, including a lavish use of sugar, imported spices like cinnamon and cloves, and imported dried fruits like raisins, dates, and figs (see Shoemaker 2009).

Sauerkraut and pork is a required dish for New Year's Day across the Pennsylvania diaspora. People explain its symbolism by saying that a pig roots forward, just as one must look forward on the holiday. Folklorist Simon J. Bronner (1988, 265) attributes the custom to a sympathetic magic in which eating the meal results in humans reproducing the life-cycle process of the food's source. He writes that pork and sauerkraut "carry the symbolism of growth and abundance for the New Year . . . pork comes from a pig which increases its weight 150-fold during the first eight months of its life, and sauerkraut is made from cabbage which yields more produce per acre than any other vegetable." In addition to its presence on New Year's Day, pork and sauerkraut is a favorite winter meal for Pennsylvania Germans (D. Yoder 1961c), especially for large gatherings such as Super Bowl parties.

Fig. 14.13. Photographer H. Winslow Fegley (1871–1944) labeled this image "Pennsylvania German women baking the Christmas cakes." English observers might think of the treats they are making as cookies, but in *Deitsch*, cookies were called cakes. Rolled, cut-out cookies were restricted to Christmastime, part of the continental tradition of shaped-food for festivals. *Photographed between 1890 and 1925, Berks County, Pennsylvania. Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center*

The German settlers of Pennsylvania practiced many different religions, and many of them, though not all, were strict in their observance of Lent. The most observant restricted meat during these days, but many practiced a less austere form of fasting by restricting sweets or rich foods. Ash Wednesday was a fast day for many, and as with their central European counterparts, the day before Lent began, called Shrove Tuesday in English, was observed among the Pennsylvania Germans as *Fastnacht* (literally fast night), the day on which a rich sweet fried pastry called *Fastnacht* is served. The religious intention may have been to use up all the sugar and fat in the house (which the observant would not serve again until Easter), in one last gesture of extravagance. A *Fastnacht* is a square (usually) pastry, very like a sweet raised doughnut, deep fried in oil and served with molasses for breakfast. They should be eaten first thing in the morning to assure good luck in the coming year (Shoemaker 1960, 2–6). Once regularly made at home, by the late twentieth century their labor-intensive production in ample quantities was taken over by church groups, bakeries, and grocery stores.

Other food customs pervade the springtime, most associated with planting or firstfruits. Maundy Thursday (the day before Good Friday) is sometimes called Green Thursday and is regarded as a day to eat green food—the earliest greens, like dandelion, are often available by then (Shoemaker 1960, 16–18). It is also a day to plant peas, potatoes, and lettuce, all "green" crops that thrive in cool weather. Sometimes the same planting beliefs are associated with St. Patrick's Day, and are also linked to the color green. In any case, both holidays occur generally within about two or three weeks of each other.

Food restrictions apply on Good Friday. It is a day of fasting for many but also has beliefs that bespeak a rich set of analogies. Because Good Friday is a day about death, one must never cover a pie on Good Friday, or it will cause death in the family (covering the pie is equated with covering a coffin), according to folklorist Alfred Shoemaker (1960, 17–21). Shoemaker also mentions that it was considered wrong to work in the garden between Good Friday and Easter because Jesus was buried in the earth those three days. The day was set off from the tradition of Friday as a baking day for the week's supply of bread, pies, and cakes, and beliefs persist that baking should not be done on Good Friday.

For the Old Order River Brethren, breadmaking takes on religious significance as the high point in the preparatory service for the most sacred of rituals, their love feast communion. Women perform the ritual, while prayers are said by men. Dough is passed by each woman to the others, kneaded, and then baked. The bread cannot be browned, and it is unleavened. It should remain white to symbolize the purity of Christ and communion. Ethnographer Margaret Reynolds (2001, 142) suggests a psychological, functional analysis of participants' performance to explain the central role of the bread in the sacred ritual. The bread is familiar to the group as the staff of life as well as a Pennsylvania German tradition. It also has communal symbolism as an item that forged relationships at the meal. She found that the ritu-

al was introduced at a time when the group was threatened by pressure to modernize from outside the community. She writes that "the breadmaking ritual became important to most River Brethren groups in order to reinforce traditional values at a time of increasing outside threats. Sisters who perform breadmaking learn far more than the pattern movements involved: performing a ritual 'kitchen task,' the women publicly act as bearers of tradition for their sect. River Brethren women . . . forge a link between breadmaking and the preservation of the social order." She also raises a feminist issue of the apparent submissive role of women in Plain groups related to their "kitchen duties" but finds that from the viewpoint of the women, exemplified by rituals such as breadmaking at the love feast, their domestic roles are empowering because of their relation to the maintenance of tradition. For Reynolds and other ethnographic scholars, issues of gender, religion, and the body are projected in, and negotiated through, the performances of food in and out of the kitchen.

The Easter feast is more broadly celebrated by Pennsylvania German Christian groups as one of the most joyful and extravagant of the ritual year. Ham is almost always served, and sometimes a second meat as well—generally a beef roast or a turkey. And like all feasts of the Pennsylvania Germans, multiple forms of potatoes, breads, vegetables, sweets, and sours are served as well. Dishes featuring eggs predominate, and particular sweets are served only at this season. White cakes with white icing and coconut, sweet breads with icing, and candy Easter eggs predominate. Candy Easter eggs with soft fillings of peanut butter cream or coconut cream dipped in chocolate are made throughout Lent ostensibly for Easter baskets, both at home and increasingly by church groups as fund raisers. Parents give children baskets of sweets, candies, colored hard boiled eggs, and handmade Easter candies.

Ethnographers observe the specialness of the festive meals among Pennsylvania Germans and reflect back on the ethnic components of an "ordinary" meal and the way they differ from the "English." Mary Douglas (1971) has suggested that a proper English meal has a tripartite stressed-unstressed structure containing one stressed main dish and two unstressed companion dishes, represented as A + 2B, with A representing a stressed food (a meat) and 2B representing companion dishes (a starch and a vegetable). A Sunday dinner or holiday meal contains one or more large stressed items A (a ham, chicken, turkey, or other roast meat) and two or more unstressed items B, usually one starch (potatoes, sweet potatoes, bread) and one vegetable (green beans, peas, or corn). This seems to apply to the Pennsylvania German meal as well. However, it also seems necessary to add another minor set of unstressed food, those processed but served cold—sweets and sours. We can call them 2b, one of which must be sweet (fruit sauces, jams, jellies, and desserts) and the other sour or savory (slaws, pickles, relishes). So the formula for the Pennsylvania German meal —for food served hot is: A (stand-alone meat) + 2B (starches + vegetables) + 2b (sweets and sours).

The Pennsylvania German formula can be stated: A (meat) + B (several kinds of starches served warm) + B (several kinds of vegetables served warm) + b (several kinds of sours or savories served cold) + c (several kinds of sweets, served cold). With B, starches and vegetables may be combined into one dish, such as sugar peas or green beans and potatoes. The fancier and more important the meal, the more items appear in each of these categories, and the more separate these foods are kept from one another. If Douglas is correct, then smaller, more ordinary meals should also follow this model. Consider a typical one-pot dish meal such as chicken pot pie. It contains 1A (boned chicken meat and broth—no skin) + 2B (potatoes and noodles and vegetables—onion, carrots, parsley) + 2b cold dishes of sours (such as coleslaw) and sweets (fruit in gelatin). The one pot meal, the much older, less formal meal style, makes Douglas's formula a bit different: the foods that are served hot are combined with one another, while foods that are served cold are served separately. The more formal the meal, the more likely it is to follow an English model, while the more informal the meal, the more likely it is to combine foods this way.

For example, a "typical" old-style Pennsylvania German breakfast contains ham or bacon, eggs, potatoes, and toast and jam. Fruit juice has been added to this mix in the twentieth century. Served hot is A (eggs and meat) + 2B (potatoes and onions plus toast). The only cold dish is a sweet (jam and more recently fruit juice). Savory tastes (like the salty bacon or ham) seem to replace the sours at breakfast, where almost no cold dishes are served. Pie doused in milk, however, was considered an appropriate dish for breakfast (it combines dairy with fruit and starch, just like toast and jam).

Traditional Pennsylvania German cooking (and peasant-based cookery in general) is rarely served in separate courses, with the possible exception of dessert. This, however, is a mixed category in Pennsylvania German cookery. What the larger realm of food science calls *dessert* is part of the more general category of foods served at any meal, which I have designated b. The most important structural division apparent in traditional Pennsylvania German cooking is the division between foods served hot (and often in combination with one another) and foods served cold, with a further subdivision in cold foods between those that are sour or savory and those that are sweet. A proper meal combines something from each category.

Just as breakfast might slightly transgress these categories by replacing sours with savories, a supper, particularly one following a huge dinner, may also alter categories. Hot food might be absent, although hot soups and warmed leftovers are frequently served during cold weather. During summer months, cooks often set a cold meat and cheese platter on the table along with bread, fresh raw vegetables (like carrots, celery, sliced tomatoes, and spring onions), sours (slaw, pickled red beet eggs), and sweets, including fruit or a fruit and gelatin salad. The formula reads: A (meat) + 2B ([1] starch, bread, and [2] uncooked vegetables) + 2b (sours and sweets). An un-

usual anomaly to outsiders is the notion that hot apple pie or warm strawberry shortcake may be the main dish of a summer supper. They are served in bowls and covered with milk. The meal still looks like a proper meal: A (milk) + 2B ([1] warm starch—biscuit or pie crust and [2] warm fruit, substitute for vegetables). Such a meal might well be accompanied by additional cold items in 2b, sours and even more sweets.

A significant trajectory for the new Pennsylvania German studies advocates for more than the compilation of food histories and treasured recipes. It seeks to find meanings in the ways people eat and use the representations of foods that are perceived as Pennsylvania German for identity, ritual, and community. As an expression of ethnic and regional identity, foods serve as a buffer against a larger culture that seeks to assimilate ethnicity. Identification with carefully selected food traditions—including recipes, customs, and beliefs—reminds people of their regional and ethnic identity. For many individuals of Pennsylvania German background who feel an affinity with "Dutchiness" but do not engage in traditional ethnic markers of speaking the dialect or maintaining traditional crafts, partaking in Pennsylvania German dining, especially at holidays and festivals, can constitute an intentional form of ethnic performance as well as association with other Pennsylvania Germans in community. Choosing traditional foodways acknowledges indebtedness to one's heritage, according to which one expresses a willingness to preserve old ways in the form of labor-intensive foods that speak of strengthening family and social ties, while declaring ethnic difference in a mass society. Food, Mary Douglas (1977, 2–3) reminds researchers, "is an apt medium for purely social symbolism . . . it is a medium of relationships." Pennsylvania Germans are unrepentant in their love of rich food and their tendency toward generosity in hospitality and large servings. Food is part of a cultural system of meanings, and if that meaning encompasses images of plenty, tropes of incorporation, and values of generosity, so be it. As the much-quoted Pennsylvania German proverb recounts,

> A plump wife and a big barn
> never did any man harm.

15 Medicine

DAVID W. KRIEBEL

Medicine among the Pennsylvania Germans is a broad topic indeed, for Pennsylvania German populations have patronized a variety of practitioners, from biomedical (allopathic) physicians to "complementary and alternative medical" (CAM) practitioners to powwow doctors. Into the twenty-first century, biomedicine remains the treatment of choice for most Pennsylvania Germans, although certain traditionalists and Plain people, such as the Old Order Amish, tend to reserve biomedical treatment for acute ailments and injuries and consult chiropractors, reflexologists, naturopaths, hydrotherapists, acupuncturists, and other nonallopathic practitioners for chronic conditions before resorting to the "strong medicine" of prescription drugs and surgical procedures (Hostetler 1976; Kraybill 2001). However, while both biomedical treatment and the CAM practices just listed have a long and rich history in the culture area, they are not distinctly Pennsylvania German in origin. Consequently, this chapter does not address them directly but focuses instead on the two characteristic forms of folk medical practice among Pennsylvania Germans—powwowing (known in the Pennsylvania German dialect as *Braucherei*, or *Brauche*) and herbal medicine.

Some scholars would not distinguish the two, since powwowers have frequently employed plant substances as material components in spells and used herbal cures as an adjunct to their supernaturally based healing practice. As folklorist Don Yoder (1990a) notes, the preparation and administration of herbal medicines in some subcultures may be accompanied by ritual. Moreover, knowledge of powwowing and herbalism was widespread before the mid-twentieth century, and the same relative who employed a powwow charm to heal a loved one might at the same time administer a herbal preparation. Knowledge of both powwowing and herbalism was passed down through families, many of whom kept notes of such recipes.

However, the two can be distinguished, at least in principle. Practitioners have traditionally viewed powwowing to be under divine control, whereas the use of herbs, though many believe that God placed herbs on earth for our use, is under the control of humans. The powwow patient was healed by God and faith, but the recipient of a herbal remedy was cured by the natural

virtue inherent in the medicine. The conceptual division between herbalism and powwowing has a long history in scholarly analyses, appearing in the works of Thomas Brendle and Claude Unger (1935), John Hostetler (1976; 1993), and Don Yoder (1990a). Hostetler believed that powwowing served as an adaptation to social alienation, following the Amish principle of mutual aid, and Yoder theorized that it may be a folk expression of Roman Catholic ritual in Protestant groups. Herbalism, on the other hand, was widely accepted by many groups apart from the Pennsylvania Germans, and its link to culturally specific supernatural beliefs was less clear.

Powwowing is a magico-religious practice whose chief purpose is the healing of physical ailments in humans and animals, although it has had other aims as well, such as conferring protection from physical or spiritual harm, bringing good luck, and revealing hidden information. The practice has been present on this continent since the first German-speaking settlements were established in Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century, although it has its roots in much older German esoteric traditions (D. Yoder 1976b). Ethnic Germans in Russia ("German Russians" or "Volga Germans") also practiced it, and some brought the practice to North America later than, and independent of, the Pennsylvania Germans.

The exact nature of the supernatural element is disputed. Christians who believe that powwowing really works because some sort of supernatural power is being mobilized are divided about whether that power is divine or demonic in nature, and the dividing line between the powwower (*Braucher*) and traditional Pennsylvania German witch (Hex), who uses the power of the Devil to harm, can be hard for an outsider to discern. In the past, many considered powwowing to be a kind of white magic (natural or divinely powered magic, as opposed to the black magic of the witch). However, traditional powwowing in the early twenty-first century appears to be transitioning to a religious healing, vice magical, model. Yet it is important to note that *Braucherei* in Germany, as evidenced by both the Pennsylvania Germans and German Russians, is a Trinitarian Christian practice through and through.

A further wrinkle is added by the presence of two new types of powwow practice, both informed by esoteric knowledge unknown to most traditional powwowers. The first of these I refer to as "neo-traditionalists," a small group of individuals who view powwowing as a Christian mystical and esoteric practice and are influenced by the work of Christian mystics, alchemists, and hermeticists of the Middle Ages. The second is a larger, diverse group of neo-pagan and neo-heathen practitioners, some of whom emphasize environmental concerns and connections with American Indian spirituality and, increasingly, ancient Germanic practices. These practitioners tend to blur the distinction between the powwower (*Braucher)* and the witch (*Hex*). For this group, cultural preservation and Pennsylvania German identity are important, but Christianity is not. Indeed, some of this latter group suggest that the Christianity of powwowing was imposed as a means of protecting "witches" from Christian persecution. Because of this one departure from

traditional Christian interpretations of the practice, I refer to this group as "neo-powwowers." Both of these lines of development emerged within the last years of the twentieth century and the early part of the twenty-first (D. Kriebel 2010).

Herbal cures (the "non-occult" or "rational" cures, in the parlance of Brendle and Unger 1935) refer to the use of natural plant substances (teas, powders, salves, poultices) to cure. Every home had these substances, and residents probably used them more widely than powwowing, although many parents were able to powwow to a limited extent as well. Both powwow doctors and biomedical doctors in the culture area grew and prepared herbs for healing purposes. In fact, about 100 years ago, at least some Pennsylvania German physicians derived their income from the herbal preparations they made from herbs grown in their garden, not their diagnostic skills. However, most of the people who administered herbal remedies were family members.

Many herbal preparations were the forerunners of prescription drugs, while others come down as "home remedies." However, that a cure is "natural" does not mean that it is scientific, or that its action is well understood. The herbalist uses remedies that have been passed down, backed by the cultural authority of tradition and the testimony of experience. That does not mean experimentation of a sort did not occur, but it was in the nature of trial and error, not the controlled test of efficacy and safety found in modern laboratories. Moreover, the putative cause of an herb's efficacy is often rooted in spiritual or metaphysical beliefs (O'Connor and Hufford 2001).

Powwowing

Since the late twentieth century there has been a perception within the culture area that powwowing (*Brauche* or *Braucherei*) is a thing of the past. Its imminent demise was predicted by a powwower more than a century ago in an article in the *New York Sun* ("Peter Bausher—Powwower" [1895] 1953), and early physicians researching the subject, such as Walter Hoffmann, suggested powwowing should not be associated with Pennsylvania Germans because it was found only in "backward" areas. Fewer than half of the Pennsylvania German people I spoke with during the initial period of my fieldwork (1998–2000) reported having heard of it. Former patients and practitioners are afraid that others will label them crazy or, at a minimum, old-fashioned and "Dutchy." There is also sizable religious opposition to the practice, particularly among members of the Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonite Church, many of whom consider powwowing and other esoteric traditions to be the work of Satan. Within the past decade, with the publication of books and Internet articles, powwowing has attracted more attention, and the number of openly self-identified powwowers has increased. Much of this increase has been among the neo-pagan and neo-heathen community and has become the centerpiece of a larger movement by younger Pennsylvania Germans and others with esoteric interests to link Pennsylvania German cultural

practices to pre-Christian Germanic religions. This contrasts with traditional powwowing as it has been practiced both in this country and among Germans elsewhere, which is founded on a Christian worldview.

Most traditional powwowers are known to potential clients through word of mouth and do not depend on their powwow practice for their income. The interest in the practice shown by children and grandchildren of active powwowers suggests that the practice in its traditional form will persist in southeastern and central Pennsylvania in some form for at least two more generations. However, the growth in knowledge about powwowing has further increased interest in learning the practice among those individuals I describe as neo-traditionalists and neo-powwowers (D. Kriebel 2010). It is likely that more and more powwowers will follow one or the other of these perspectives.

Traditional powwowers may be either nonprofessional (the housewife, older relative, or neighbor whose clients are limited to those in his or her family or circle of friends) or professional (whose clients may be drawn from the general population). Professionals are further subdivided into those who charge for their services (which I term "entrepreneurial" powwowers) and those who do not, but who may accept free-will "offerings" for healings performed.

Most contemporary powwowers working within the tradition memorize the rituals they use, making it difficult to trace specific rituals to specific written sources, and traditional powwowers use a strictly oral means of transmission. Furthermore, more practitioners have used recipes and charms copied into notebooks, ledgers, diaries, and other repositories of personal writing, rather than books. The decline in the use of such books is probably a result of the sensationalized 1929 York "Witch Trial" involving a murder charge against individuals who thought they were "hexed" (although the court case hinged on the robbery that occurred, newspapers across the country issued stories of the "hex books" and the supposedly bizarre practices of the Pennsylvania Germans) and the subsequent calls for backward "superstition" to be eradicated by the introduction of scientific education. However, this decline seems to be reversing in the past decade, with recent publications by both neo-powwowers and neo-traditionalists aimed at teaching powwowing to their readers.

Following are some traditional published sources of powwowing rituals, and most orally transmitted rituals probably have their origin in them. They are listed in decreasing order of importance.

Bible

The Bible is by far the most common source of powwowing incantations. Many of my consultants cited the use of the Bible by powwowers as evidence that the cures must come from God, rather than the Devil, as some critics have alleged. The fact the cure was "taken out of the Bible" has also been used to explain why a powwower should not request payment (Reimensny-

der 1989, 49). Certain verses are considered effective for specific ailments. The most famous is the use of Ezekiel 16:6 to stop bleeding: "And when I passed by thee and saw thee polluted in thine own blood, I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, Live; yea, I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, Live" (Reimensnyder 1989, 62). This verse is said to be usable and effective by anyone, not just practicing powwowers, and to be effective over great distances.

The Long Lost (Hidden) Friend

The Long Lost Friend, or *Der lang verborgene Schatz und Haus Freund* by John George Hohman was first published in 1820 in Reading. It has been reprinted in numerous German editions and twice translated into English, once in Harrisburg (1850) and once in Carlisle (1863), the latter under the more accurately translated title *The Long Hidden Friend* (D. Yoder 1976b, 236). All subsequent English editions derive from these two independent translations, but the Harrisburg edition is the only one still in print. A precursor to this work, *The Friend in Need*, was published in German in 1813 (for English translation and annotation, see Hohman 2012). The work is a collection of recipes, spells, and procedures, most of them involving some sort of supernatural power. Hohman, an 1802 German immigrant who was himself an occult healer, borrowed heavily from other sources, especially the German charm book *Romanusbüchlein*, the "Romanus" book (D. Yoder 1976b). He also borrowed from Albertus Magnus's Egyptian Secrets and other sources. Other than the Bible, *The Long Lost Friend* has been the most common reference book for powwowing incantations.

Albertus Magnus's Egyptian Secrets

A significant source for *The Long Lost Friend* is a book putatively compiled by the Swabian Dominican monk Albertus Magnus (A.D. 1200–1280), a saint in the Roman Catholic Church, as well as a scientist, philosopher, and theologian. Albertus Magnus was known for bringing ancient Greek philosophical works, particularly those of Aristotle, from the Islamic world into Europe. While the author (individual or corporate) remains unknown, the book derives from European magical traditions (for the European background of the book, Don Yoder [1976b] refers the reader to "Albertus Magnus," *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, 1: cols. 241–43; also "Kunst," 5: cols. 817–36). The 1900 edition is laid out much like *The Long Lost Friend*, containing "sympathetic as well as natural" remedies based in "white and black art." According to Yoder (1978, 242), the first American edition appeared in German in Pennsylvania in 1842, under the title *Albertus Magnus bewährte und approbirte sympathetische und natürliche egyptische Geheimnisse für Menschen und Vieh* (Albertus Magnus: Verified and Approved Sympathetic and Natural Egyptian Secrets for Man and Beast), and the first English edition was published in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1875.

The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses

Considered a more problematic text than the others, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* is associated with black magic because it contains procedures for conjuring spirits. Few powwowers will admit to owning one or using it in their practice, and it is often considered a hex book. There is also a volume called *The Eighth and Ninth Books of Moses*. Like the Albertus Magnus work, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* derives from European magical traditions. In nearly all other respects, however, this volume is quite unlike the others books in this section. While the others contain fairly straightforward (if sometimes hard to implement) instructions and recipes, this book has the obscurity characteristic of many magical texts, both ancient and modern. It is geared toward what today would be called a "ceremonial magician," with many depictions of magic circles, seals, incantations, and other diagrams supposedly drawn from the Kabbalah, the Key of Solomon, and other ancient magical texts. The inscriptions and incantations include many of the mystical names of God, archangels, demons, and celestial bodies. The language of the ritual includes some Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and the plates contain mainly Hebrew inscriptions, with some Latin characters. However, many of the characters are neither Latin, Greek, nor Hebrew. Some at least superficially resemble Egyptian hieroglyphs and characters from demotic Egyptian, a late form of the indigenous hieroglyphic Egyptian language.

Secrets of Sympathy

One of the smaller charm books used in powwowing, *Secrets of Sympathy* may be considered representative of such works. Its author was William Wilson Beissel of Leck Kill (Northumberland County) in 1938. It was originally published as a sixteen-page chapbook and republished in 1998 as a section of the book *Powwow Power*, by his great-nephew James D. Beissel of Willow Street (Lancaster County). The spells ("sympathies") in this book resemble those in *The Long Lost Friend*, and all have some explicit Christian referent, mainly from events in the life of Jesus. It also includes a *Himmelsbrief* (a "Holy Fire-and-Pestilence Letter" to protect from illness and fire), which "the author" considered "the most important part of this entire booklet" (Beissel 1998, 33). Don Yoder (1976, 248 no. 24) has identified the "sympathies" contained in this book as translations from another Pennsylvania German work, *Dr. G. F. Helfenstein's vielfältig erprobter Hausschatz der Sympathie; oder, Enthüllte Zauberkräfte und Geheimnisse der Natur*. This book was published in 1853 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, by Scheffer and Beck in a joint edition with *Der lang verborgene Freund*. Like Hohman's work, this book claims to be itself an amulet of protection from harm for its possessor.

Yoder (1990a, 95) considers powwowing to be based on ancient religious healing traditions sanctioned and even blessed by the Roman Catholic Church but driven underground among Protestant populations, such as the Pennsylvania Germans, and placed into the hands of lay practitioners. His

tracing of powwowing to pre-Reformation church practices and beliefs is supported by the invocation of Christian saints in powwowing incantations (1990a, 201–3) and by the way in which beliefs about saints help define the social identity of the powwower. As Yoder (1952) notes, healing was often attributed to Christian saints prior to the Reformation. Some powwowers also came to be viewed as partaking in the aura of holiness, such as Yoder's own consultant, "Aunt" Sophia Bailer, who was known as "The Saint of the Coal Regions." Probably the best known of these was the powwower and herbalist Maria Jung, known as "Mountain Mary," or "Barricke Mariche," in the dialect. She is said to have been a holy woman who lived alone in the mountains tending her herbal garden and is credited with miraculous cures. Her fame spread far beyond the Oley Hills, and today she is considered a semi-legendary figure. A body of literature has grown up around her, including two poems, an account by Quaker writer Benjamin Hollinshead, a highly sentimentalized 1880 novel by Ludwig Wollenweber, and several newspaper articles. In 1934 the Berks County chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution erected a monument to her (D. Yoder 1990a, 213–17).

Powwowing rituals involve the use of one or more acts that I have classified as verbal (incantations), somatic (gestures and body position), and material (manipulation of physical objects) components. Three distinct ritual genres may be distinguished, which I refer to as type I, II, and III rituals. Type I rituals are simple, easy to learn, limited to specific ailments, and almost always used by nonprofessionals. Type III rituals are complex, difficult to learn, generally applicable, and always used by professional powwowers. The "General Brauche Circuit" described by Chris Bilardi (2009) is a detailed blueprint for a type III ritual. Type II rituals form an intermediate class, comprising relatively simple rituals that are quick and easy to learn, yet are used by professionals and nonprofessionals.

Examples of type I rituals are passing a child around a table leg to cure livergrown and rubbing the skin with a potato or penny to remove warts. In the typical type I performance, the powwower will ask the patient what the problem is and, without many preliminaries, begin a simple ritual to cure it. The rituals often include a material component but rarely a somatic one. Material objects used are most commonly potatoes, pennies, string, or, in the case of livergrown, a table leg. Ailments are typically minor, the most serious being livergrown. There is no payment, not even a donation. Most often the patient and powwower are either relatives or neighbors.

Type II rituals include the "all-purpose" rituals used by some powwowers to heal a variety of injuries: blood stopping using the well-known verse from Ezekiel (16:6), and burn healing. In the typical type II performance, the patient is seen by the powwower in a special area or treatment room. The powwower asks the patient what the problem is, then lays hands upon the affected area and murmurs a simple subvocal incantation. The entire ritual takes a few minutes. There is no payment.

In the typical type III performance the client is seen in a special room

of the house separated from the main living quarters, such as an enclosed porch or a small room close to one of the entrances. The powwower asks the patient his or her full name and what the problem is, if the patient has not volunteered the information already. The patient then sits in a chair, or lies down, depending on what the problem is. The powwower runs his or her hands over the body of the client, usually lightly touching the client's body, with special focus on the area of complaint. The powwower is speaking subvocally all the while, so that the patient cannot hear what he or she is saying, even when the powwower's lips are inches away from the patient's ears. Each movement is performed three times. After running his or her hands over the patient, the powwower will make wringing motions with them in order to shake off the affliction removed from the client. At various points of the ritual, the powwower may draw signs of the cross on the patient's body. At the end, the powwower will run his or her hands over the entire body of the patient. The ritual typically takes between fifteen to twenty minutes but can be longer if many specific areas of the body are affected. Once the ritual is completed, the patient will typically leave money for the powwower, although the powwower may not request payment.

As for the efficacy of powwowing, there are numerous accounts that the practice has been effective in accomplishing its therapeutic purpose, with success rates in cases collected approaching 90 percent (D. Kriebel 2007). While the true success rate is almost certainly lower—people might be less likely to recall an unsuccessful healing—researchers look for an explanation. Possible candidates are spontaneous remission, the "placebo effect," the effect of concurrent (but unreported) biomedical treatment; and the folk explanation—healing through supernatural intervention. I consider each of these in turn, giving primary focus to the first two, although no determination can really be made in the absence of controlled experimentation.

Spontaneous remission is most likely in the case of minor ailments, such as warts, which are known to resolve themselves spontaneously in regions outside the culture area. Of the cases I collected (D. Kriebel 2007), 16 percent involved the treatment of such ailments. The "placebo effect" can be discounted in cases in which the patient either was unaware that he or she was being treated or had no prior belief in the efficacy of the treatment, though the latter must be carefully eliminated through judicious questions. Nor can it be used to account for cases in which animals were reportedly healed by powwowing. However, it cannot be discounted in other cases, particularly when the ailment is culturally defined (such as "livergrown," or *aa-gewachse*, or "the take-off," or *abnehme* [*opnema*]). Culturally defined ailments were treated in 19 percent of cases collected. The third explanation, concurrent (but unreported) biomedical treatment, assumes either memory errors or deliberate withholding of information, and while either of these might occur, neither can be demonstrated. Most researchers would discount the fourth explanation without further evaluation under the assumption that spiritual intervention cannot occur or, if it does, cannot be substantiated or

distinguished from other causes. However, both of these are themselves untested (and perhaps untestable) assumptions.

The fact that 35 percent of powwowing successes involved either minor ailments, such as warts, known to resolve themselves over time, or culturally defined ailments that are not recognized outside Pennsylvania Dutch culture suggests that a combination of culturally conditioned belief and spontaneous remission may play a role in at least one-third of all cases of successful powwow healing. The formation of belief in powwowing appears to be related to the individual's age and experience as a powwow patient (although not a witness to a powwow healing). It does not appear to be related to status as a native-dialect speaker, although native-speaker status does relate to whether an individual is likely to have an opinion about powwowing, positive or negative.

Powwowing fits within a larger cultural model of disease and healing among the Pennsylvania Germans. In this model, the triune Christian God is ultimately responsible for all healing, whether by the intervention of powwowers or physicians, or the spontaneous remission of symptoms. Human practitioners and antibodies, then, are all under God's control. There is a Devil who can act in the world, just as God can, but neither he nor his evil spirits cause most disease. Thus, Pennsylvania Germans today have a "naturalistic" system of disease causation—most illness is caused by germs or heredity—although there are personalistic elements in the form of hexing, as well as a kind of Christian fatalism (Brendle and Unger 1935, 13–17).

Because the dominant disease etiology is naturalistic, physicians are able to cope with most diseases. However, powwowing (the exercise of direct divine power through humans) is needed to deal with hexes (the exercise of direct demonic power). The faith of the patient is not required for biomedicine to function effectively, but it is for powwow. In both biomedicine and powwowing, something harmful is removed from the body when healing takes place, whether that be a disease or a hex.

Under this model, since physicians control the use of their (God-given) skills, they may ask for payment for their services. However, powwowers serve as channels for divine action, and so they may not ask for payment, though they may accept a free-will offering, which the powwower usually gives to his or her church. For the powwower, though generally a respected member of the community, status is somewhat ambivalent. This may be due to the power the powwower wields and his or her status as a person chosen by God.

Contemporary traditional powwowing appears to have more in common with healing prayer than with any form of magic, white or black. Powwowing no longer requires the use of charm books, and today's traditionalists rarely use material components. They speak less of their own power now than they did in previous times and usually are quick to credit God for their results. Yet there remains much opposition to it in central and southeastern Pennsylvania, particularly from the various Mennonite groups. Some cite their belief

that the Devil works the cures, others claim that it conflicts with medical science, and still others hold that spiritual healing is the exclusive provenance of the church.

Most of the people with whom I have spoken who oppose powwowing do not oppose spiritual healing per se, suggesting that powwowing's detractors still view it as a magical practice rather than a religious one and that they draw a line between the two ways of mobilizing supernatural power. Perhaps this perception is behind the shift away from traditional white magic and toward a more generic type of spiritual healing, in which the powwower, knowing that he or she may be viewed as a witch by others, strives to eliminate those elements of traditional powwowing (such as material components and the use of spells), which might be seen by others as inconsistent with proper religious practice. The newer sorts of powwowers, however, do not shy away from the label of "magic." It seems likely that such an attitude would fuel opposition to the practice, although researchers have not come up with evidence for this.

Herbal Medicines

Powwowing has probably been present on this continent since the first German-speaking settlements were established in Pennsylvania, although it has its roots in much older German esoteric traditions (D. Yoder 1976b). The use of herbal medicines is universal—Swedish, Dutch, and English settlers in Pennsylvania, as well as the native population, had their own botanical pharmacopeias—but particular preparations and recipes peculiar to the Pennsylvania Germans arrived at the same time. Powwowing and herbal medicine alike have relied on collections of recipes, both published and handwritten; both have their "professional" practitioners; and, throughout their history in this country, both were mainly applied in the home by nonprofessional family members.

However, the secrecy that has traditionally accompanied powwowing is not found in discussions of herbal remedies. While few collections of powwowing rituals have been published—although some, such as Hohman's 1820 book, have been quite influential with practitioners—numerous collections of herbal remedies have appeared over the course of the past few centuries. The first such "herbal" published in German in Pennsylvania was a translation of an English-language work by Virginian John Tennent, *Every Man His Own Doctor, or the Poor Planter's Physician*, printed by Franklin and Boehm in 1749 under the title, *Ein Jeder sein eigner Doctor* (Weaver 2001). However, this herbal seems to have had little influence on Pennsylvania German communities (Brendle and Unger 1935, 223).

The first herbal published in Pennsylvania and written originally in German for a German-speaking audience was Christopher Sauer's *Kurzgefasstes Kräuter-Buch* (Concise Herbal),[1] recently edited and translated by cuisine

and foodways expert William Woys Weaver (2001).[2] Christopher Sauer—really Johann Christoph Sauer—was actually the second of that name. Like his father, the renowned immigrant, he was a printer, as well as apothecary, in the Germantown section of Philadelphia. He published his herbal in serial form from 1762 to 1778 and intended his remedies to be used in the homes of Pennsylvania German immigrants.

Much of his herbal is based on previous works, most notably Swiss physician Theodor Zwinger's *Vollkommenes Kräuter-Buch*, distributed through German booksellers in America by Leipzig publisher Johann Friedrich Gleditschen (Weaver 2001, 5). This work was based on various sources from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance periods. According to Weaver, Sauer selected portions of the Zwinger book that would be most useful to Americans and removed Latin terms so as to make his work more accessible. His intention was to place a body of herbal knowledge in one place and make it affordable.

Because it borrowed from older sources without much systematic updating, the Sauer Herbal was outdated even as it was being printed, representing the state of knowledge in the medieval and Renaissance periods rather than the eighteenth century (Weaver 2001). While not "state-of-the-art," the herbal reflected the popular use of herbs at the time and indeed was used for the purposes that Sauer intended, as an aid to Pennsylvania German families in search of an encyclopedic guide to plant-based remedies. Knowledge of Sauer's herbal, or portions of it, spread with the migration of German-speaking populations as they moved west and southward down the Shenandoah Valley.

However, Sauer's compendium was not the only herbal used in Pennsylvania German households. There was also the *Neue Kreuterbuch*, published in Switzerland in 1543, and the 1542 *Great Herbal* of Swiss German Leonhart Fuchs (Milnes 2007, 91), as well as the work of early eighteenth-century Germantown physician and mystic Christopher Witt (Haller 1994, 9). In 1784 Matthias Bartgis published *Der Erfahrner, Americanische Hause-und-Stall Arzt* (The experienced American home and barn physician), with succeeding editions in 1794 and 1796. As Thomas Brendle and Claude Unger (1935b, 224) note in their comprehensive volume of "non-occult" cures, the author was a well-educated surgeon in the Prussian army, who, when faced with a shortage of medical supplies, used herbal remedies to treat his patients. The work eschews techniques of the time, such as bloodletting and purging, and emphasizes hygiene and natural therapies instead. Herbal remedies were viewed and touted as traditional—and they are—but bloodletting to eliminate "foul blood" was common among the Pennsylvania Germans and practiced into the twentieth century (Brendle and Under 1935b, 44).

The Bartgis work was influential, since portions of it appear in subsequent German calendars, and it served as a source for other herbal compendia current among the Pennsylvania Germans in the early and mid-nineteenth

century (Brendle and Unger 1935b, 223–24). These include Johann Georg Hohman's *Die Land und Haus Apotheke* (The country and home pharmacy) (Berks County, 1818); Daniel Schmidt's *Das Gemeinnützige Haus Artzneybuch* (The charitable home pharmacopeia) (Carlisle, 1826; and Lancaster, 1829); and L. W. Weber's *Der kluge Land-Medicus und Haus Apotheke* (The clever country physician and home pharmacy) (Chambersburg, 1846). The latter also included material copied directly from Sauer's herbal (Weaver 2001, 132). Interestingly, such little household books probably offered better medical advice than the published almanacs of the time, which continued to recommend bloodletting (Brendle and Unger 1935b, 224).

Brendle and Unger compiled a comprehensive bibliography of medical works, mostly herbals, published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as late as 1900. These included fifty books and thirty-seven almanacs and calendars. In addition to these published volumes were numerous handwritten manuscripts and pages inserted in accounting ledgers, cookbooks, calendars, almanacs, Bibles, and other household reference sources. Recipes used in these family compendia were copied from published herbals or provided by neighbors or other more-distant family members.

Most medicinal herbs were edible, and herbals contained food recipes as well. The line between food and medicine was considerably more blurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than it is today. As one modern physician noted, the field of nutrition has not yet been placed on as firm a scientific basis as most of medicine, and Sauer's herbal (which includes food recipes) may be viewed as a book on dietetics whose general perspective is in tune with the "balanced diets" of today (Derenne 2001).

The close association of medicine and food reflects a perceived tie between maintaining health through providing nutritious meals and addressing threats to health posed by disease through medicine. There is also a sense in traditional Pennsylvania German culture that God placed the means of our healing in the natural world, so that for every illness there is a cure. Unsurprisingly, the renewed twenty-first-century interest in herbalism in the wider society, stimulated by the valuation and valorization of the "natural," with all its physical, social, and spiritual associations, has found an audience in the Pennsylvania German heartland.

A final hypothesis tested by researchers is that the exchange of herbal lore served as a means of uniting people separated by fields or walls, reinforcing norms of neighborliness and, with them, social solidarity and identity. This was more important in the past than the modern day, when rapid and accessible telecommunications has caused the world to undergo a sort of temporal and spatial compression. Yet, a postmodern "McDonaldized" world has caused many to experience a sense of alienation and to long for an idealized era of peaceful interdependence. This impulse surely shapes much of the rhetoric in the environmental movement and has, according to analysts, also led to a resurgence of interest in herbal medicine.

Neo-Powwowing, Religion, and the Resystematization of Traditional Pennsylvania German Practices

In the twenty-first century, researchers note a number of projects to preserve traditional Pennsylvania German folk medical practices. This effort is diverse, ranging from the Landis Valley Museum's Heirloom Seed Project in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, with its focus on conserving stocks of medicinal and cooking herbs, to the courses offered by the Three Sisters Center for the Healing Arts and its associated herbalism center, the Farm at Coventry, located respectively in Berks County and Chester County, Pennsylvania. However, not all visions of cultural conservation are mutually compatible, and there is disagreement over precisely what the tradition is. The major area of disagreement centers around the role of religion.

Pennsylvania German culture has always been inextricably bound up with religion. The first settlers from German-speaking parts of Europe, ranging from Alsace to Berne to Silesia, were sectarian Protestants fleeing religious persecution, and finding a refuge in Pennsylvania, with its "Holy Experiment" in religious toleration. The various Pennsylvania German communities are distinguished by sect, and their members often intermarried within their own religious community. There has been an enduring division between "Plain people" (who worshiped in meetinghouses or homes) and "Church people" (also known as "Fancy" or "gay Dutch," and generally referring to the Lutheran, Reformed, or Evangelical communities). Religion has figured prominently in folk medical practices and the local biomedical practices of the nineteenth century, which included homeopaths, hydropaths, Thomsonians, and eclectics. Today, individuals attracted to Pennsylvania German folk medicine, and powwowing in particular, frequently reinterpret "Dutch" culture in light of pre-Christian Germanic religious practices.

In 1997 a book appeared called *HexCraft: Dutch Country Magick*, by popular neo-pagan writer Silver RavenWolf, and a year later it was reissued as *American Folk Magick*. In this book, RavenWolf (the Wiccan "Craft name" of Jenine E. Trayer, who lives in central Pennsylvania and is of Pennsylvania German descent) describes powwowing as she learned it from Preston Zerbe, a traditional powwower working in Adams and York counties (D. Kriebel 2010).

However, RavenWolf reinterprets powwowing as an originally pagan practice that was cloaked in Christian trappings in order to protect its practitioners from being labeled as witches. This is a common narrative among neo-pagans, who emphasize the victimization of supposedly pagan witches by the church during "the Burning Times," a reference to execution by burning at the stake. In the case of powwowing, these claims are problematic on two grounds. If the intention was to disguise a pagan practice as a form of folk Christianity, the disguise was only partially successful, since many Pennsylvania German people do not distinguish powwowing from witchcraft.[3] And while a wide range of crimes, both secular and religious, were

punishable by various forms of burning, many victims in Europe, even those accused of witchcraft, were Christian heretics—including people whose theological views presaged the various German sects whose members emigrated to Pennsylvania. She also holds that traditional powwowers wrongly think their practice must be grounded in Christianity. Rather, a "powwow artist" (her term) may follow any spiritual path, and pagans may substitute the Triple Goddess (Maiden, Mother, and Crone) for the Christian Trinity. While some researchers have found connections between powwowing and Native American practice, the idea that alternative spiritualities may be substituted entirely for Christianity in Pennsylvania German powwow rituals is a novel one. RavenWolf's position that powwowing is an originally pagan practice is shared by the Urglaawe (Original Faith) movement, which locates the origin of powwowing in pre-Christian Germanic magico-religious traditions, rather than Christianity. Urglaawe, like RavenWolf's work, is part of the larger neo-pagan religious movement in North America and Europe. However, it is not clear whether Urglaawer (the in-group term for those who follow Urglaawe) adopted these ideas from RavenWolf's book, since many other sources are available. This resurgence of interest in ancient Germanic "heathenry" (as Urglaawe is often known) has affinities to the older neo-pagan group Asatru, which took root in the 1960s and is based on a worship of the Norse gods. Like Asatru and Wicca, it represents an attempt to connect with and recreate a distant, pre-Christian past. A major element of Urglaawe is its extensive use of the Pennsylvania German dialect.

While social scientists studying new religious movements and alternative spiritualities may be interested in Urglaawe as a religion, the movement merits discussion here because of the importance it places on powwowing (nearly always referred to using the dialect term *Braucherei*) and herbalism. As the president of the Urglaawe Kindred of the Distelfink (Urglaawisch Sippschaft vum Distelfink), which was founded in 2007, noted in a 2015 interview: "We are really very indebted to Braucherei for keeping all this [ancient Germanic spirituality] going" (Schrift 2015). In 2010 another Urglaawe group noted: "Our purpose is to weave the cultural experiences of the Pennsylvania Germans into the Heathen tapestry. Practices such as *Braucherei* and *Hexerei* as well as folklore and folk medicine will shed more light on the way our ancestors practiced the original faith" (Pennsylvania German Heathen Alliance for the Urglaawe website).

Urglaawe is closely connected with the emergence of what I term "neo-powwowing," to distinguish it from traditional Christian-based powwowing. Neo-powwowing embraces a broader conception of spirituality that may include paganism or Native American beliefs, as well as Christianity. Furthermore, as in Urglaawe, the use of the Pennsylvania German dialect is valorized, with powwowing referred to as "Braucherei," a male powwower as a "Braucher," and a female powwower as a "Braucherin." These dialect terms are also used by some traditional practitioners, though in my experience "Braucherei" was mostly shortened to "Brauche" in popular usage. A

final key distinction involves the training of powwowers. Unlike traditionalists, who accept money only as a free-will offering (which usually finds its way to the powwower's church), at least some neo-powwowers have charged specified fees for teaching the practice in courses that prepare students for apprenticeships, and have also organized practitioners into "guilds." Neo-powwowers therefore fall into the previously rare "entrepreneurial" category of practitioners (D. Kriebel 2007).

Much of the energy behind neo-powwowing initially derived from the Three Sisters Center for the Healing Arts, an organization that offered courses in powwowing, but whose powwowing training has transitioned to the Oley Freindschaft Guild of Braucherei Practitioners (which includes both Christian and neo-pagan practitioners) and the Guild of Urglaawe Braucherei and Hexerei Practitioners. As of at least October 2015, these two organizations published a blog on powwowing and powwow training, *Die Braucherei* (Oley Freindschaft 2016). The Three Sisters Center newsletter has also undergone progressive changes in title and focus, with ever more emphasis being placed on Urglaawe. Beginning in 2007 as *Hollerbier Haven: Newsletter for Herbal and Healing Arts*, in which the first "guild" (the "Hollerbier Haven Herbal and Healing Arts Guild") was announced to the public ("The Growing of a Guild" May 2007), as of 2015 it was published by the Urglaawe Kindred as *Hollerbeer Hof: The Journal of Urglaawe, Braucherei, Hexerei, and Deitsch Wisdom* ("New Year, New Name" Spring 2015). *Hollerbier* [*Hollerbeier, Hollerbeer*] means "Elderberry" in Pennsylvania German. According to another article on the Three Sisters, the term also has an association in Germanic myth with a wise, protective, earth mother goddess (Poncavage 2007).

The Three Sisters Center's stated mission was to preserve Pennsylvania German culture, especially knowledge of powwowing (Braucherei) and herbalism. In a 2008 newspaper account, one of the founding members[4] of the center revealed a clear knowledge of powwowing and appears to share the traditional understanding of the art (Shelly 2008b): "Determined not to let go of a culture that she holds dear, [she] continues to practice and educate others about Braucherei. While a few people denounce her efforts at traditional healing, she insists that it works, not because of any power she has, but because of the power of God and the Holy Spirit, which flows through her to the patient. 'I can't do the healing,' [the woman] said. 'All I can do is open myself to the power of God.'"

No traditional powwower I know would disagree with this statement. However, earlier in the same interview, this same practitioner noted: "[Braucherei] incorporates many aspects of healing and spiritual traditions. . . . We see all of this melting pot of traditions" (Shelly 2008b). This is not how any traditional powwower or powwow client would describe the practice. Rather, they view it as a form of Christian devotion, serving God by serving others, with Jesus often being considered the first powwower. Indeed, modern traditional powwowers often describe their practice as "prayer." By contrast, the organization's website spoke of powwowing as a "spirit path."

As of 2009, the center had a schedule of fees ranging from $25 for an annual Guild Membership to $700 for distance-learning students to take the course, "*Der Braucherei Weg*" (The Braucherei Path). In this course, students were to "explore the historical roots of Braucherei from pre-Christian times to present. In particular they will focus on the evolution of the mystical cosmology through the many waves of cultural influence in both Europe and America. . . . Students will engage in active discussion of the *ongoing re-systemization* of this living but severely fragmented tradition. This course will prepare interested students for a future apprenticeship in the practice of Braucherei, should they choose to pursue it" (Three Sisters Center website; emphasis added). The "ongoing re-systemization," is, in part, an attempt to rediscover an Ur-tradition of powwowing within pre-Christian religious systems. Indeed, an examination of the center's website and newsletter reveals much discussion of Braucherei as part of "the Urglaawe." Anyone familiar with neo-paganism will recognize elements "the Braucherei Path" has in common with Wicca, such as the "Wheel of the Year" and the importance of feast days such as Halloween and May Eve. At least one powwower practicing in the traditional way believes that the people at the center were trying to make Braucherei into a religion itself (D. Kriebel 2010). In describing the practice, the center refers to a "Braucherei tradition," "Braucherei wisdom," and "transition ceremonies . . . found among the Braucherei community," all descriptions that make this interpretation plausible. However, I suggest that Braucherei is viewed instead by neo-powwowers as a practice that leads to greater spiritual insight. Ethnographic research will help clarify this point.

An example of a neo-traditionalist powwower is Chris Bilardi, a college-educated student of esotericism who learned from the traditional powwower whom I elsewhere refer to as "Daisy Dietrich" (D. Kriebel 2007). Bilardi practices in the traditional way but came to powwowing with an extensive background in Christian mysticism. He does not reject the label of "magic" but insists on the essential Christian nature of powwowing. He has also written a book on powwowing in order to spread knowledge of the practice among the general public and to counter the perception (from RavenWolf's book and the influence of neo-pagans and neo-heathens) that powwowing is not, at its heart, a Christian practice (Bilardi 2009). While his action is not without precedent, it is a departure from the secrecy that has traditionally surrounded the practice for decades. The book has made him less than popular with the center and its associates.

Bilardi published the book knowing that the action was bound to be controversial. He felt compelled to do so in order to present an insider's picture of traditional powwowing to contrast with the teachings of neo-powwowers. According to him, some neo-powwowers have an active disdain for Christianity, while others simply find it dull: "The J-word [Jesus] just isn't very exciting for these people" (personal communication, 2009).

That there has been pre-Christian influence on powwowing seems clear to researchers. Many charms derive from Jewish Kabbalah and pagan-

influenced Coptic sources, as well as ancient Roman and Germanic sources. However, the bulk of scholarly research, both ethnographic and documentary, indicates that whatever the pre-Christian influences on powwowing may be, in the Pennsylvania German diaspora powwowing was grounded in Christian cosmology and symbolism. Ironically, by removing powwowing from its Christian context or downplaying that context in the name of a broader spirituality, those who seek to preserve this traditional practice are actually transforming it into something entirely different. As Bilardi notes, "Now, there are folks out there who have, indeed, stripped as much Christianity as possible out of *Braucherei*, and then added on reconstructed heathen elements. However, once that process has been undertaken, what one ends up with is a totally different 'creature,' and is no longer Pow-Wow or *Braucherei* in any sense that their ancestors would have understood or recognized it" (personal communication, 2009).

Less clear to researchers is a religious element in herbal medicine. Hence, the center's program of preserving herbal lore generates no discernible debate. Nonetheless, the "back to nature" approach of the center and associated organizations, such as the Farm at Coventry, is part of a larger ideological perspective in which cultural conservation is bound up with environmentalism, feminism, and an idealized past in which the Pennsylvania Germans (like idealized Native Americans) lived in harmony with the land. Under this narrative framework, the use of herbal medicine, which was in the words of the founder of the Farm at Coventry (and a founding member if the center), is a "tool that women used to have" but which has since been taken away from them by modern medicine (Shelly 2008a). The notion is that herbalism is a lost art, much like powwowing, that must be reclaimed.

Most traditional practitioners appear to remain unaware of this notion. Few routinely use the Internet, where much of the neo-pagan and neo-heathen discussion may be found, and it is doubtful that many know of the center or the Farm at Coventry or, even less, the Urglaawe movement. Moreover, the conservatism, both religious and political, that has traditionally dominated the Pennsylvania German heartland does not fit comfortably with the ecofeminist discourse of the (mostly) young people who post online about Pennsylvania German healing or Urglaawe and are interested in learning powwowing as a form of cultural preservation. However, it is important to note that this movement to reinterpret or "resystematize" traditional practices and then present the reinterpreted practices as an aboriginal tradition involves people with substantial ties to the culture. Many, perhaps most, of the people who support the neo-heathen and neo-pagan interpretation claim Pennsylvania German ancestry, value knowledge of the dialect, and appear sincerely dedicated to preserving what they believe is a tradition of their ancestors.

But by focusing on restoring an Ur-tradition with its roots in antiquity, the movement risks severing the "Pennsylvania" from the "German." Pennsylvania German culture is not German culture. My research and that of

most previous scholars suggest that powwowing is a set of customs and traditions with roots among German-speaking peoples, to be sure, but existing in the context of a deeply Christian worldview and shaped in America. Moreover, there was and is diversity within Pennsylvania German culture, even within formal denominations existing in the core counties, and this diversity has affected attitudes toward healing practices. Nonetheless, the idea that powwowing is really a pre-Christian practice with a Christian veneer fits in comfortably with popular views on many old religious practices. For instance, it is popular now to see the Christmas tree as a pagan cultural survival appropriated by Christians rather than a transformative process to create a new and meaningful ritual (Jolly, Raudvere, and Peters 2002, 8). That said, this injection of neo-heathenism is having and will have an impact on how powwowing is practiced.

In sum, medical choices of Pennsylvania Germans are not significantly different from those of the general population, although traditionalists and Plain people are more likely than others to rely on complementary and alternative medical (CAM) practitioners such as chiropractors, reflexologists, naturopaths, hydropaths, and acupuncturists. Even the Old Order Amish have no aversion to modern biomedical practice, particularly for acute or intractable medical problems or injuries, although they prefer CAM practitioners where possible, and especially for chronic ailments. Traditional medicine persists, but it is not nearly as popular as a treatment choice. Herbal medicine was once the first line of defense of many families and continues to be used by the Amish and in rural sections, particularly when the ailment is mild or familiar, but its widespread use has declined for decades, replaced by industrially produced pharmaceuticals (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner, and Nolt 2013; C. Palmer 1992).

In recent years, most people in the Pennsylvania German core area of central Pennsylvania seemed unaware that powwowing was still being practiced. Often, when they learned that it was, they requested a referral to a powwower to cure some ailment for which biomedical treatment either was too expensive or had not provided relief. Subsequently, awareness of powwowing has appeared to be on the increase, fueled in part by publications of popular and semipopular books, a surge of interest in esoteric and occult practices in general, and the emergence of neo-powwowing. Herbal medicine, stimulated by efforts to preserve traditional folkways and conserve the natural environment, has likewise made a comeback.

A key point in this phenomenon is how the public views these practices. In the past, their use was a matter of pragmatism—biomedical and pharmaceutical therapies were either unavailable or frequently dangerous. If the powwower's treatment did not cure, at least it rarely made the ailment worse. The home herbal remedy was readily available, familiar, and backed by long experience. Moreover, both powwowing and herbalism were widespread and a part of Pennsylvania German culture. But the rise in popularity of neo-powwowing and herbalism among younger generations seems to be

due not to pragmatism or cultural familiarity but to ideological commitment. Herbal cures make less of a "carbon footprint" than manufactured pharmaceuticals (Alves and Rosa 2005, 2) and powwowing is linked to pre-Christian Germanic peoples who are painted as closer to the earth, indigenous, and, in a sense, non-Western. An element of feminism is present as well. For most of history, women have been better represented in traditional medicine than biomedicine, and feminist leaders have championed herbalism and other alternative practices as an expression of women's power (Bix 2004, 154).

The testimony of a Delaware woman (also a practitioner of crystal energy and massage therapy) who learned about powwowing from one of the founders of the Three Sisters Center and the Farm at Coventry gives some idea of how the resystematization of powwowing is viewed by a sympathetic public (Murray 2014):

> The Pennsylvania Germans' Braucherei tradition, which was/is the folk medicine based on plants, astrology, and a strong connection to Nature, includes [goldenrod] as a good medicinal herb. The Braucherei, or wise women, may have all disappeared, because of the systematic destruction of any medical paradigm that did not fit the Johns Hopkins model pushed by the AMA in the 1930's. Much knowledge about folk medicine was lost as a result of this, and disciplines such as homeopathy and naturopathy were ridiculed and given quasi quackery status.
>
> However, there are a handful of courageous souls who have taken it upon themselves to save this tradition, and have transcribed the tapes of a man who spoke with one of the last "original" Braucherei some 30 years ago. They do wonderful work—check them out: www.threesisterscenter.com.

While this statement has a number of distortions with respect to "original" (traditional) powwowing, the point is that neo-powwowers appear to be creating a favorable reaction to powwowing by emphasizing its cultural as much as medical value. The public may therefore be viewing the practice as valuable, not only because of its efficacy in healing but because it is connected to nature, gives women a relatively high status, and has survived persecution by the medical establishment. It is also viewed as something precious and threatened, like the natural environment. This particular woman's own CAM practice suggests an openness to "New Age" ideas that may not be typical of the public at large but is probably shared both by many people interested in nonbiomedical healing and by younger individuals, whom research in a number of Western countries suggests are increasingly drawn to New Age religious beliefs (Roeland et al. 2010).

The resystematization begun at the Three Sisters Center—and now carried on by the Urglaawe Kindred—also offers the public an opportunity to become a healer, with considerably less expense, time, and effort than biomedicine requires, thereby empowering individuals over impersonal systems. Public interest in powwowing and herbalism appears to have much to do with the relationship of the individual to society. Traditional Pennsylvania German medicine has experienced a resurgence primarily because

it has been publicized and repackaged as an environmentally sensitive, female-friendly indigenous alternative to a dominant medical system that is seen as exploitative, impersonal, and alienating. Such a larger context offers fruitful terrain for future ethnographic research.

While this early twenty-first century neo-powwowing model, with its affinities to broader neo-pagan religious currents and introduction of a system of "guilds," is foreign to the traditional Christian worldview of Pennsylvania Germans and would not be recognized by the traditional practitioners with whom I have worked, traditional practitioners would appreciate neo-powwowing's emphasis on the connections between powwowing and herbalism and the attempts of neo-powwowing groups to preserve knowledge of medicinal plants. At the same time, researchers should avoid confusing neo-powwowing with traditional powwowing, which itself seems to be evolving into something more akin to intercessory prayer and other forms of Christian religious healing, and the small group of neo-traditionalists, who, like neo-powwowers connect powwowing to other esoteric traditions, but retain its status as a Christian practice. An awareness of all three strands of development will also assist in research on culture change, and reactions to such change, and help create a more dynamic model of the role of healing practices in Pennsylvania German culture.

NOTES

1. Weaver translates this as "Compendious Herbal." However, other scholars (Milnes 2007; D. Yoder 2003) use the term "Concise Herbal," and *kurzgefasstes* in High German is usually translated as "concise." Consequently that rendering is adopted here.

2. Weaver's edition provides most of the information regarding Sauer's herbal and contains a full and readable description. However, it is important to note that Weaver reorganized and annotated the original Sauer work in order to make it more accessible and useful to English-speaking readers.

3. There could, in many people's minds, be a fine line in between *Braucherei* and *Hexerei*, but for most, powwowers offered healing and protection from witchcraft in an unofficial Christian context. For a thorough description of powwowing from an insider perspective, see Bilardi 2009.

4. I have endeavored to avoid using names for individuals, even when such names were published, unless they were the authors or I have secured their consent.

16 Folklore and Folklife

SIMON J. BRONNER

The inaugural publication of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society (PGFS) in 1935 trumpeted a mission to preserve "the folklore of the Pennsylvania German past," which would reveal "the cultural aspects of Pennsylvania German life." Less concerned for recording a history of events than capturing "the folk-mind of our own people," according to its opening statement, the new society invoked the rhetoric of folklore to draw attention to the ties of tradition that bind members living in the modern age to their colonial forebears (Foreword 1936, iii–iv). By highlighting folklore, the founders suggested that the record of culture in the pages of their annual volumes would be drawn from living dialect speakers before their fading language and lore vanished forever. More so than anthropology that favored the objectivism of an outsider's perspective on supposedly primitive cultures, folklore studies, the leaders of the society observed, allowed for scholars of Pennsylvania German background to study themselves as insiders (D. Yoder 1990a, 5–6).

The founders, centered in Pennsylvania, inspired a vibrant contingent in Ontario to form its own folklore society focused on the Pennsylvania German experience in Canada (Bergey and Hunsberger 1986; Pennsylvania German Folklore Society of Ontario 2013). Both groups used *German* as the more bookish term for their organizations, although they understood *Dutch* as the native folk term. It is one of many instances of their precarious position between wanting to attach themselves to the "folk" as the main cultural inheritance that contributed to a sustainable ethnic identity in a North American modern context and at the same time wanting to distance themselves from their supposedly primitive forebears or redirect scholarly attention to particular aspects of the Pennsylvania German folkloric record. In this chapter, I cover their major movement to elevate folklore and folklife as evidence of, as well as an analytical approach to, Pennsylvania German experience and identity. Moreover, I evaluate several trajectories that grew out of their movement.

The rhetorical flourish of "our own people" underscored the society founders' resentment of literati and journalists in addition to anthropologists who often sketched Pennsylvania Germans as backward and superstitious. The

society folklorists additionally held a grudge not only against casual observers but also against fellow Pennsylvania German elites in the Pennsylvania German Society (founded in 1891). The former could not crack the linguistic barrier of the dialect and were therefore unable, in their opinion, to value the ethnic-linguistic group as an American cultural treasure or get inside the heads of Pennsylvania Germans as a distinct, and worthy, folk group. The latter they considered too concerned with the genealogical or fraternal uses of a parochial association. Prominent PGFS founders such as Edwin M. Fogel, John Baer Stoudt, Preston A. Barba, and John Birmelin were writers and educators who wished to address the deprecation of Pennsylvania Germans and the group's absence in school curricula and the annals of American "civilization" at the time. The PGFS leaders had educational outreach goals in mind, directed at their Pennsylvania brethren as well as observers of the American scene nationwide. They wanted to achieve both a "fuller understanding" of Pennsylvania Germans and a generous "appreciation of the culture of our people," according to their founding manifesto (Foreword 1936, iii).

The use of folklore to characterize Pennsylvania German peoplehood was also presaged forty-seven years earlier in Walter Jacob Hoffman's groundbreaking essay "Folk-Lore of the Pennsylvania Germans" in the inaugural volume in 1888 of the *Journal of American Folklore*, the publication of the American Folklore Society. Among contents that conspicuously presented the narratives and customs of Native Americans, African Americans in the South, Louisiana Creoles, and "Old English" settlers of Appalachia as folkloric, Hoffman's essay stood out for the sweep of material as well as oral genres in a regional-ethnic folk culture and his role as an insider to that group. A German-speaking medical doctor raised in Reading, Pennsylvania, Hoffman (1888, 128) coldly wrote, "Occasional newspaper articles have appeared from time to time purporting to present accounts of the customs and superstitions of this people; but as the writers were generally not of the people, and in addition many were unfamiliar with the dialect, the accuracy of such descriptions may reasonably be questioned." Yet Hoffman had not applied this methodological standard to his own field studies of Native Americans (Berlin 1907). He implied that as a subject, Pennsylvania German folklore differed from other ethnic-regional groups because of its linguistic distinctiveness. In his view, it also conveyed unusual lessons compared to other American groups because of the Germans' relatively tenacious hold on tradition through many generations or, stated another way, their resistance as a rurally based, and relatively homogeneous, group to American assimilation and industrial-urban modernization. Hoffman (1888, 128) underscored his point with a homegrown bit of Pennsylvania German folklore to epitomize this characteristic: the proverb "Wie der fadder gedu hot, so du ich aa" (As my father did, so I do) (cf. Fogel 1995, 54 [no. 469]).

Despite Hoffman's outward embrace of comparative folklorists, most of the charter members of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society wanted to look inward to the culture rather than follow a comparative path

among plural groups. Although aware of academic folklore studies, the independent-minded PGFS founders preferred to go on a separate path. By the time that three Pennsylvania German professors—Alfred Shoemaker, Don Yoder, and J. William Frey—formed in 1948 the first folklore department in the United States at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in the heart of Dutch Country, however, some attitudes toward keeping a parochial Pennsylvania German lid on folklore studies had changed (D. Yoder 1982, 18–19). To be sure, they established a Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center and a Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival to instill pride in Pennsylvania Germans for their folk inheritance, especially in the postwar period when prejudice remained toward things German. Yet they also launched an academic program based on ethnological centers in Europe that included field work by trained folklorists, archives of collected material, exhibitions and outdoor museums, and scholarly symposia on the interpretation of folklore among a variety of groups in Pennsylvania. Still, Pennsylvania Germans, in their eyes the most prevalent American folk group, remained central to the folkloristic enterprise, and part of their revised mission was to show the diversity within the group—religious, regional, ethnic, linguistic, occupational, and generational—rather than argue for a singular Pennsylvania German identity (D. Yoder 1983a; see also D. Yoder 1990a). An important segment of this project was the Seminar on the Folk-Culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch Country, an annual meeting that was open to students of various backgrounds attracted to the Pennsylvania Germans as, in the boastful words of the organizers, "the richest and most diversified folk-culture in America" ("Seminars" 1952).

Don Yoder (fig. 16.1) later brought this pluralistic concept to the University of Pennsylvania, where the Department of Folklore and Folklife produced doctoral students who fanned out across the countryside to document traditions for the purpose of analyzing, in Yoder's (1990a, 6) words, "the place of the Pennsylvania culture in the overarching American culture . . . as well as the spread of Pennsylvanian cultural phenomena to other parts of the United States and Canada through migration." Though concerned as a member of the PGFS about changes in the vitality of the Pennsylvania German world, Yoder advocated for looking outward to the ways that folklore of the present signified the rise of American cultural pluralism with multiple ethnic influences. In the pages of the magazine *Pennsylvania Folklife* (1957–97), which he edited until 1978, Yoder produced fifty questionnaires to ask about the cultural practices that were native to or inherited by residents in relation to Pennsylvania Germanness, even if they did not speak the dialect (see S. Bronner 1999b; D. Yoder 1990a, 4).

The background of major movements in folklore research by and about Pennsylvania Germans I have sketched so far raises the question of how scholars working in the culture defined folklore and whether this definition reflected the distinctiveness of the group. Hoffman in his use of "folklore" was concerned, as were many folklorists of the Victorian age, with speech,

Fig. 16.1. Don Yoder (1921–2015), original member of the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center at Franklin and Marshall College and later chair of the Folklore and Folklife Department at the University of Pennsylvania, standing in front of a barn sign display at the Kutztown Folk Festival, 2013. *Photograph by Patrick Donmoyer*

narratives, and customs that had been handed down through multiple generations. Like them, he also took a historical perspective and wanted to trace those customs that were, in his words, "the remnants of what were imported into this country at the time of the first settlements" (1888, 128). But unlike his English colleagues, he integrated traditional knowledge about the social and material landscape, including architectural and farming practices, into the scope of folklore. Indeed, giving a German spin to the holistic view of folklore, Hoffman's contemporary William Beidelman (1898, 147) noted that the word folklore derived from the German *Volk* for people and *Lehre* for learning (see also Grumbine 1905). Most English sources, however, cited W. J. Thoms's (1965) coinage of folklore in 1846 to replace the English use of "popular antiquities" or "popular literature" (see also R. Boyer 1997; S. Bronner 1987, 11–22). Both Beidelman and Hoffman believed that the Germans as a tradition-centered group had more of this lore, and a more sophisticated process of traditional learning, than surrounding communities. He fit Pennsylvania Germans into Victorian evolutionary views of the conditions

that generated folklore by noting that the settlers with their agrarian, tightly knit, and relatively isolated communities constituted a group akin to a European peasant class, celebrated by the Grimm brothers and other European "romantic nationalists" as the poetic soul of culture and the basis for a group's political claims for peoplehood (see S. Bronner 1998, 219–23; Cocchiara 1981, 187–276).

The PGFS scholars as rising professionals—doctors, ministers, educators, and entrepreneurs—who wanted to elevate their status and give homage to their ethnic heritage as colonial-era settlers both embraced and estranged the folksiness of their German forebears. Their compromise position was to value folklore as cultural historical evidence and therefore mark their place in American plural society, because of what they perceived as a general lack of documentary and literary legacy for the Pennsylvania Germans compared to other colonial-era settlers. They saw their group's folkloric trove as a means to write themselves into an American experience that most historians concerned for diplomatic events considered a British American–dominated subject. As the *Deitsch* dialect was a special oral tradition in a bound ethnic region marking the group as a distinctively American, the scholars surmised, so too was the surfeit of remnant lore a sign of the domination of an oral or traditional culture among the Pennsylvania Germans. In the absence of a written record and political clout, Pennsylvania German civic leaders felt an imperative to collect folklore if the group's legitimacy in a diversifying, progressive nation was to be claimed. With industrialization and social expansion breaking down Pennsylvania German fabled rural isolation, and early twentieth-century immigration refocusing attention on American ethnicity to the assimilation of southern and eastern Europeans, the rising middle class wanted to use folklore to declare the proud distinctive inheritance of an earlier arriving group from central Europe.

In the first book-length study of Pennsylvania German folklore published in 1915 (originally prepared as an address to the Pennsylvania German Society in 1910) by the Reverend John Baer Stoudt, the author echoes the historico-literary enterprise of Pennsylvania German folkloristic study. He pointed out a unique hybrid culture when he wrote:

> We are told by the learned in the new science of folklore that from the proverbs, folksongs, etc., one can almost reconstruct a vanished race; and he who knows the folklore of a people has sufficient data to write the history of their thoughts, their ethics, and their religion. The early German settlers in Pennsylvania came chiefly from the Palatinate, Baden, Swabia and Switzerland. They spoke the German dialects peculiar to the sections from which they came. From these several German dialects there developed in the course of a few generations the Pennsylvania German, in which these several dialects are blended but in which the forceful, direct and already mixed speech of the Palatinate predominates. In the same manner the folklore of these various localities was fused, and frequently given new settings, producing in a sense a new product. (Stoudt 1915, 5)

For Stoudt, too, folklore integrated traditional knowledge, for he characterized it as "the unconscious and naïve expression of the common life of a people" (ibid.). The study of folklore was appropriate to the Pennsylvania Germans because of their groupness or community orientation, Stoudt observed, especially since literature represented in his view the composition of individual authors. Folklore in this perspective was a collective as well as traditional knowledge, and the Pennsylvania Germans with their communities revolving around folk practices and expressions constituted the prominent folk group to study, and appreciate.

With their formation of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society in 1956, Yoder, Frey, and Shoemaker suggested "folklife" taken from the German *Volksleben* and Swedish *Folkliv* as a broader term than folklore for manifestations of tradition (S. Bronner 1998, 278–304; D. Yoder 1990a, 5–6). With the emphasis on tradition enacted in daily activity, folklife appeared to encompass more of a sociological dimension than a historical one. Rather than being concerned about the remnants recoverable in the present of ancient usages, observers examined the repetitive, persistent practices and expressions within face-to-face communities. Thinking of his native Pennsylvania German region, Don Yoder (1990a, 25) wrote that folklife represented "traditional culture, bound by tradition and transmitted by tradition, and is basically (although not exclusively) rural and preindustrial." The term folklife pointed to the interrelationship of "the total range of the folk culture, material as well as oral or spiritual." Prime examples of this approach to tradition-bound, rooted communities were with what he called sectarian groups such as the Amish and other "Plain" groups. His holistic folklife perspective drew a contrast to the overrepresentation, in his estimation, of narratives and speech as the defining genres in folklore by British American folklorists. The discourse of folklife drawn from Pennsylvania German studies influenced at the national level the pluralistic vision of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress (established 1976) and the Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife (begun 1967) (S. Bronner 1998, 304–12).

An outgrowth of the concern for social and material practices arising out of group interactions that could be called "traditional" was a further reorientation in the late twentieth century toward mobile individuals invoking and evoking tradition as symbolic, artistic, or expressive communication. The approach grew out of scholars noticing uses of tradition that were not handed down in multigenerational lines. The uses represented efforts by individuals to identify or negotiate with their Pennsylvania Germanness, such as the display of so-called hex signs, the telling of dialect jokes, or participation in German heritage festivals. This area of ethnic expression raised questions about the functions of tradition as a perceived as well as an objective category. Behaviorally oriented scholars introduced psychological as well as ethnographic analysis to outstanding artists and talkers who symbolized through their expressions the cultural work of Pennsylvania German traditions, often outside of their awareness. Despite Stoudt's erection

of a binary between individual composition as popular and collective as folk, new work in a modern context was challenging the wall between the two. Even Yoder (1990a, 51) acknowledged that "in many areas of everyday life, what is now increasingly called 'popular culture' turns out to be an extension or development from the older traditional forms of culture." The line of inquiry by the new ethnographers not only traced antecedents for popular activities such as the eating of pork and sauerkraut on New Year's Day and weather prognostication on Groundhog Day but delved more into the life stories, settings, and behavior of particular tellers, performers, and artists who convey "Dutchy" personas on certain occasions or in organizations. Of particular interest is the effect of mobility and migration outside the Pennsylvania German core on traditional practices and ethnic identity (Burke and Hill 1991). Rather than bemoan in a preservationist mode the passing of a Pennsylvania German golden age, the new wave of behaviorally minded ethnographers typically called for objective analysis of emerging traditions and consideration of conditions for change in relation to popular culture.

The three major orientations I have identified that came out of Pennsylvania German folklore work since the nineteenth century have an overlapping interest in the tie of traditional material to an overarching Pennsylvania German culture but differ in the questions and type of analysis they generate. I propose that they can be labeled by their special lines of inquiry: historico-literary, sociological folklife, and behavioral-ethnographic. In the discussion that follows, I provide a guide to major projects and ideas for these lines of inquiry and conclude with a reconsideration based upon this legacy of scholarship of the people and places perceived, or constructed, as Pennsylvania German, or folklorically as the Pennsylvania "Dutch."

Historico-Literary Studies

W. J. Hoffman presented Pennsylvania German speech, beliefs, and tales as historical material because these genres, particularly located in what he called "the rural districts," captured in his view the culture of German arrivals to American shores during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. He distinguished this group and their lore from nineteenth-century waves of immigrants who came after the revolutions of 1848 in the German states. Hoffman (1888, 126) observed that the Pennsylvania Germans "experience great difficulty in understanding a recent German immigrant, whom they regard in the light of a foreigner, as much as do people of English descent." Recording examples of old proverbs, beliefs, and ghost stories 200 years after the settlers first arrived, Hoffman (1888, 128) noted that *bushlait* (transcribed as *Buschleit* in Beam et al. 2004–2011) or Dutch "country folks" are "very averse to the adoption of the usages of polite society, and consequently adhere to many curious customs and manners with great tenacity." His rhetoric of "curious" indicated that the material was at odds with the rationality of modern science and a modern industrial class. He separated

what he called the "backwoods" Dutch with their abundant folklore from contemporary residents of Pennsylvania with German background who have had "the benefits of education and mingling in cultured society." Although admiring the predominance of German-derived folklore in Pennsylvania as a sign of the persistence of a distinctive Dutch identity in America, he nonetheless characterized the *bushlait* who possessed it as primitive and superstitious. The only narrative types Hoffman (1889a, 32–35) discussed, for example, were belief legends about ghosts, Devil work, and witches. By far the largest section of his report was on "superstitions" (even the choice of "superstitions" rather than "beliefs" indicated a value judgment about the primitiveness of the rural Dutch), and with rhetoric of "it is said" and "it is related," he conceptualized them not as the expression of individual tellers but as the tribal-like possession of the whole group. As a physician, Hoffman (1889b, 28) was particularly interested in folk medical practices, or what he considered customs contrary to scientific medicine, such as "a fretful baby is believed to long for something for which the mother herself had an ungratified desire previous to the infant's birth. The only remedy is to ascertain what this is, and to give the infant a taste of it."

Yet another Pennsylvania German doctor, Ezra Grumbine, contrasted his science with the lore of the "unlettered" and "ignorant" Dutch folk. His survey of the folklore of Pennsylvania German settlements in Lebanon County in 1905 centered also on supposedly irrational belief in ghosts, witches, signs, amulets, and cures. Grumbine (1905, 277) especially exposed the Pennsylvania German figure of the powwower, whom he called a "conjuror . . . [or] personage of some consequence in the community" or, in native terms, a *Braucher* practiced in the art of *Brauche* or healing. This art included charms and oral tradition as well as material culture. With his scientific background, Grumbine identifies the infectious skin disease of erysipelas called by powwowers "wildt fire." He describes powwowing practices of throwing live coals over the patient or taking a firebrand and waving it three times across the afflicted person accompanied by the religio-magical incantation: "Wildt-fire, Ich yawg dich / Wild-fire pock dich, im name des Vaters, etc., etc." (Wild fire, I chase you; Wild fire, pack off you, in the name of the Father, etc., etc.).

Edwin Miller Fogel in a book-length study in 1915 of Pennsylvania German beliefs rationalized the Dutch propensity for superstition that Hoffman and Grumbine observed by claiming it as an ethnic inheritance from Germany and maintained in the largely oral culture of the Pennsylvania Germans, who held on to a fidelity to tradition in contrast to modernizing, progressive American urban dwellers (mostly of British background). After all, Fogel (1915, 7–8) wrote, "most of these superstitions and beliefs have been handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth and very few have been transmitted in book form, as is shown by the variants of the same superstition in different localities." Offering a rational functional interpretation, he pointed out that the uncertainty of childhood, marriage, death, luck, medicine, and weather leads to maintenance of the beliefs as

folk wisdom. Yet not all subjects invite superstitious belief. Fogel pointed out that Saints' Days are comparatively poorly represented in his collection, because "Catholicism has never had any appreciable influence among the Pennsylvania Germans." He enumerated 2,085 discrete beliefs in all and provided annotations documenting the Pennsylvania counties in which he heard the items and their German roots. Noisy geese as an omen of an impending storm, for instance, he found in Berks, Bucks, Lebanon, Lancaster, Schuylkill, and Snyder County, and he noted a group in Heidelberg, Germany, with the belief. His rationalist view was that the Pennsylvanians adapted Old World folk knowledge to the agrarian conditions in which they worked in America. He also wanted to avoid the stereotype of the Dutch propagated in some journalistic accounts as intentionally ignorant and stubbornly resistant to change. Although wanting to present his dissertation research as comprehensive and objective, he had trouble dealing with the scatological and sexual content of his informants. Ultimately Fogel (1915, 345) decided to issue a supplement for "private distribution" to scholars who "want it for purely scientific use."

Fogel's attention to the benevolent status of Dutch folklore as "wisdom" and his doctoral training in German language led him to compile another valuable index in 1925 of more than 2,000 Pennsylvania German proverbs with a separate supplement for the "vulgar proverbs." Again, he hypothesized that Pennsylvania Germans are not odd in their usage of folk wisdom; instead, their folk sayings are primarily an inheritance from Old World German. Yet he opened for inquiry the distinctiveness of Pennsylvania German culture from Europe by pointing to a substantial portion of the collection that does not have parallels in either German or English. An example related to farm life is "D'r alt bull blaerrt faert bis in di ewichkeit," which he translated as "The old bull bellows on forever" (1995, 24 [no. 191]). This proverb is different in meaning and structure from sayings he collected that appeared to be borrowings from the English, such as "R nemmt d'r bull an de haerner" (He takes the bull by the horns) (1995, 25 [no. 193]) or from the German "'R get druf nei wi en bull uf 'n hoischtok" (He goes for it like a bull for a haystack) (1995, 25 [no. 194]). As a provider of a research resource, though, Fogel does not provide frequency, diffusion, or social-communicative context of use for the proverbs. This literary approach to the items of folklore was typical of the period for other major indices of Pennsylvania German folklore on plant (Lick and Brendle 1923), medical (Brendle and Unger 1935), and bird (Rupp 1946) folklore. The purpose of these inventories was to document the form and extent of folkloric texts as items for artistic-historical annotation and analysis.

In his survey of folklore, Stoudt added an extensive collection of rhymes, charms, prayers, games, tongue twisters, riddles, customs, ballads, and songs to the oral literature associated with Pennsylvania Germans. His goal, he wrote, was "historical and pictorial." As with others he believed that the fading of the lore was a sign of the passing of Pennsylvania German culture

defined by its social homogeneity and rural isolation in an eastern Pennsylvania core. Stoudt (1915, 7) therefore scurried to record it "before the oblivious night sets in, what is still obtainable of the folklore of *my own people*" (emphasis added). He also saw artistic value to the material and held up the worth of folklore to provide "pen pictures of their [Pennsylvania Germans] inner life, in their own words and thought forms." He made no attempt to document individual tellers or their locations so as to chart the geography or psychology of tradition. Taken together, the folklore he presented was in his view the collective possession of all Pennsylvania Germans. He did not differentiate sources of the lore by religious, gender, urban, or occupational affiliation; the presentation of the lore suggested a singular Pennsylvania German identity and a formidable contribution to America at its founding.

Answering the question of transmission of the hybridized culture from one generation to the next, Stoudt (1915, 25) observed that historically

> it was the father and the grandfather, rather than the mother or the grandmother, who usually taught the child the nursery rhymes. Coming in from the work at the barn, the father would draw a chair close up to the kitchen stove or fireplace, for the folklore was taught in winter,—in summer every one was engaged from early morn to late in the evening,—and take the child in his lap and to amuse it or perhaps to amuse himself, taught and rehearsed the nursery rhymes. This is perhaps accounted for by the fact that the mother and the grandmother, whose work was never done, were too busy, their time being all taken up by knitting mittens and stockings, spinning or sewing or perhaps preparing the meal, the father and the child waiting for the latter.

He implied that folklore historically was integrally meshed into daily life and was responsible for the child's enculturation into the Pennsylvania German patriarchal world and the maternally controlled domestic sphere. Thus the Pennsylvania German child recognizes the tongue twister to develop linguistic capabilities in the dialect and make a connection to ethnic tradition, if not the gendered context of Pennsylvania German culture: "Mei Müller macht mir mei mush mehl; Mei Mutter macht mir mei mush mit milch merb" (My miller makes me my mush-meal [Pennsylvania German fried cornmeal loaf]; my mother must make me my mush with milk) (Stoudt 1915, 54; see also Barrick 1987, 76).

Collection and interpretation of a Pennsylvania German folk narrative tradition came relatively late, the 1940s, compared to the direction of national folklore fieldwork, and when it did, it was primarily presented as an anthology of texts for historical and literary consideration. The major reference for narratives is *Pennsylvania German Folk Tales, Legends, Once-upon-a-Time Stories, Maxims, and Sayings* produced by the Reverend Thomas R. Brendle and William S. Troxell (1944). Added to hundreds of narratives in their groundbreaking work are the sources for those narratives, with the individual tellers identified by name and location. Brendle and Troxell (1944, 8) translated the stories from the original dialect because of their conviction that as lit-

erary works they might have new life in the present as the record of "stories that arose in the past and belong to the past." That is not to say that they annotated the collection so as to determine the origin and diffusion of the material (or, in keeping with the historic-geographic school of folkloristics, indexed narratives for motifs and tale types), especially in relation to Old World *Märchen* of the type presented by the Grimm brothers in Germany (S. Thompson 1946). As New World stories, the Pennsylvania German narratives represented localized legends or adapted migratory tales. According to Brendle and Troxell (1944, 9), "Many of our stories are both local and type stories—local, because they are associated with persons and events of a certain community—type, because the same motif comes to a local expression in many communities." If they knew that "Dutch" stories they collected about a numskull who buys a pumpkin or melon thinking it is an egg of a donkey or mare was a variant of European folktales labeled type 1319 ("Pumpkin Sold as a Donkey's Egg") by folklorists in standard indexes, they were not saying (1944, 169–70; see also S. Thompson 1955, motif J1772.1; Uther 2004, 2:121–22).

Although Brendle and Troxell were not as concerned as comparative folklorists of the period with international diffusion of migratory "tale types," they nonetheless were occupied with identification of the typical themes of Pennsylvania German folk narratives as foundational signs of group cohesion and identity. They classified several narratives according to a prominent character or object as specially associated in Pennsylvania German expression: *Eileschpiggel* trickster tales, *Parre* (preacher) anecdotes, *Elbedritsche* legends, Devil stories, stupid Swabian (Hessian, "dumb Dutch") humor, and hidden treasure legends. The Pennsylvania German *Eileschpiggel* (literally "owl mirror") has a connection to a European trickster figure but tends to be less fiendish in Pennsylvania. He is a boastful, impish character who finds ways to outwit the Devil. Brendle and Troxell (1944, 161) document one story from Anson Sittler of Egypt, Pennsylvania, with the comment that it was told by "many others," suggesting its wide circulation:

> The devil came along and seeing the musket asked, "What is that?"
>
> Eileschipijjel answered, "A smoke pipe" [*schmokpeif*] and turning the end of the barrel to the devil, said, "Take a puff."
>
> The devil took the end of the barrel into his mouth and began to suck. Thereupon Eileschipijjel pulled the trigger and the bullet and the smoke flew into the devil's mouth.
>
> The devil, coughing and gasping for breath, spat out the bullet and said, "You—you surely use strong tobacco." (cf. Tale Type 1157 "The Ogre and the Gun," in Uther 2004, 2:53)

Even if a migratory tale, Brendle and Troxell imply that Pennsylvania Germans especially identify with the *Eileschipiggel* trickster because he, like the Dutch, is forced to use his wits to overcome representatives of powerful social forces who do not understand or appreciate him. Even the "punch line" of "you use strong tobacco" shows ignorance of the reality of the situation.

Brendle and Troxell do not venture symbolic interpretations, but many stories raise questions about their meanings in the context of their telling to other Pennsylvania Germans. According to one story, for example, a dispute arose as to who was stronger. The Devil, to show his strength, tore an immense tree up by its roots and threw it up into the air. Then came *Eileschpiggel*'s turn. He climbed a tree, and the Devil asked, "Why are you climbing a tree?" The reply was: "I don't care to waste time in pulling up one tree. I am going to bind the tops of several trees together and then I'll pull them all out at one time." The Devil gave up (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 157; cf. Uther 2004, 2:19 [Type 1045 "Pulling the Lake/Forest/Mountains Together"] and Thompson motif K1744 "Hero threatens to pull the lake together with a rope. The ogre is intimidated" and K1766 Trickster's boasting scares his powerful opponent from contest"). Does the Devil signify the political authority of the English or is it a spiritual parable? Does the tale suggest the Pennsylvania German consciousness of outsiders stereotyping their brawniness drawn from their agrarian lifestyle rather than brains? Was it a "joke" that showed a brand of Dutch humor rather than a symbolic tale with a moral? Brendle and Troxell undoubtedly meant to raise questions about its meaning but did not offer interpretations of their own.

The hidden-treasure legends also might include pacts with the Devil for "seven brothers" in order to receive a treasure. In various versions, the farmer—or tramp—brings seven suckling pigs representing the "brothers," thereby outwitting the Devil. When the planks are raised, the treasure is found (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 52–53; see S. Bronner 2011, 344). The hidden-treasure legends rely on the belief that Pennsylvania Germans avoided banks and hid money on their farm grounds, often in old barns. The stories are unusual in American legendry about hidden treasure, which tend to emphasize the elusiveness of the riches. Folklorist Alan Dundes (2007, 185–87) has suggested that this pattern represents an image of "unlimited good" in which there are expandable resources and social mobility in a society (see also Mullen 1978). He observed that peasant societies often have tales that explain the acquisition of wealth with a lucky find of money in buried treasure. This pattern implies an image of "limited good" in which resources are finite and social mobility is restricted. Is this the case with these stories that reflect a belief system or worldview? One answer might be obtained if Brendle and Troxell had given more ethnographic descriptions of the situations in which these stories are communicated. They appear to be part of scenes in which the humor or legendary context allows for expression of beliefs, values, and ideas that might not be suitable in everyday conversation (S. Bronner 2010).

Parre stories depict the preacher as a special folk hero to Pennsylvania Germans. He possesses wit, sometimes strength, and an often unexpected earthiness or worldliness. In keeping with the view of social levelness in Dutch settlements, many of these stories deemphasize the spiritual role of the ministers in favor of their social significance as avatars of, and advocates for, Pennsylvania German identity. A widely collected story is about

Reformed minister Isaac Stiehly, who was hard pressed to say a kind word at the funeral of a thief. "Now," said the people, "Stiehly cannot say anything good about the dead." But they were disappointed. He closed his sermon by saying, "Er hat seine Familie gut besorgt. Er hat sie besorgt bei Tag und bei Nacht" (He provided well for his family. He provided for them by day and by night) (S. Bronner 1992, 283–84). They are also known for repartee, such as the exchange with the famous preacher Moses (Mose) Dissinger, who replied when asked, "What are you doing today?" "Today" answered Mose, "I am going to do something the devil never did." "What is that?" asked his friend. "Leave Allentown" (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 220; Dorson 1977, 84). In a variant, Dissinger walks down the street in Allentown and encounters "a group of young loafers at a street corner. One of them jeeringly called to him, 'Mose, how is the devil today?' Quickly Mose answered, 'It always gives me great joy to meet one who like you is concerned about his father's welfare'" (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 220).

The Stupid Swabian (Hessian or Dumb Dutch) is the Pennsylvania German version of numskull tales known widely in America and elsewhere. Brendle and Troxell (1944, 119) report as "widely heard," for example, the story of Swabians who were building a church in the valley. They cut the logs for the church on the top of a mountain nearby and began carrying them down into the valley. A traveler came along and told them that they could roll the logs down into the valley, and he showed them how to do this. Thereupon the Swabians fetched the logs that they had already taken down into the valley, took them back to the top of the hill, and rolled all of them down. Hessian jokes refer to the failure of the Hessians during the Revolutionary War. The story is told about the Hessian commander who led soldiers into the Dutch Country. They came upon a large heap of barnyard manure and at the command of their officer fired upon it. "There is the enemy," he had said when he commanded them to fire (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 115). Some folklorists consider these numskull stories related to the "Polack Joke" examples of deprecatory lore, often using a playful frame of humor to project stereotypes that outsiders have of the group onto a closely affiliated identity (see S. Bronner 2012a; Clements 1969; Leary 1980). Whether this process serves to mock the stereotyping or reinforce it is a matter of some debate.

The *Elbedritsche* hunting legend and its enactment are the Pennsylvania German version of the snipe hunt often used as an initiatory rite of passage into a group or adulthood. Narratives precede the hunt about the creature's appearance. It might be described as a chicken-like creature. Elaborations are the presence of antlers and scales instead of feathers. Although characterized as a bird, the *Elbedritsche* cannot fly and is reclusive, according to narrators. Teenagers often introduce the *Elbedritsche* to young Pennsylvania German boys and girls as a mysterious creature who is caught in the woods with the aid of a sack. The initiate's companions take the youngster to an isolated location and leave him or her with a bag and offer instructions on calling the *Elbedritsche*. Usually the initiate is consoled by the explanation

that the companions will drive the *Elbedritsche* toward him or her. Eventually though, the initiate discovers that he or she is left "holding the bag." Even if one does not go through the initiation, he or she might hear about the *Elbedritsche* in humor as an example of Dutch playfulness (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 199–200). The bird also shows up graphically in publications with a Pennsylvania German audience such as the Pennsylvania German Society's newsletter as an "inside joke" among Pennsylvania Germans that represents esoteric knowledge. Part of the appeal to Pennsylvania Germans as descendants of Palatine immigrants is the cryptid figure's supposed origin in the Palatinate of Germany. A piece of metafolklore is the explanation that the Palatine immigrants in America brought the creatures with them so that they would not become homesick. This folklore establishes continuity of the group to the Old World and as ethnically and regionally different on both sides of the Atlantic. Many of the characteristics attributed to the creature relate to the Dutch as an ethnic-regional group within urbanizing American society—imagined as hiding or isolated in the backwoods, mysterious or inscrutable, and primitive and prone to exaggeration. In many versions, the bird is drawn out with a special call, suggesting a rare language all its own.

C. Richard Beam, a professor of German at Millersville University, prepared for publication 1,804 separate items from the first of 93 notebooks of folklore material recorded by Brendle between 1936 and 1961 when he ministered a congregation in Egypt, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania. Brendle's motivation was, in his words, an "inner feeling that much of the folklore would be lost forever among the sands of time, unless they were recorded. With this in mind, early in 1936, I started to hand record in notebook form, every dialect proverb, every dialect folk saying, and every dialect human interest story I heard in my daily contact with people" (Beam 1995, xii). Beam found that over this period Brendle had enumerated 57,124 items of folklore in all, spread over 24,000 pages. Beam hoped to spur geographic and social analysis of the material by mapping the locations and informants for the items in eastern Pennsylvania that Brendle documented. Awed by the extent of the collection, and linking it to the twilight of Pennsylvania German traditional life, Beam predicted that Brendle's "feat cannot be repeated." No more volumes were transcribed for publication. Nonetheless, Beam continued Brendle's interest in folk slang and sayings in the dialect by including proverbs, customs, and rhymes as sociolinguistic contexts for words in his massive twelve-volume dictionary of Pennsylvania German (see Beam 2003; Beam et al. 2004–11).

Although Albert Buffington, who grew up speaking Pennsylvania German in Pillow, northern Dauphin County in central Pennsylvania, did not record as much material as Brendle in the eastern part of the state, Buffington nonetheless contributed significantly to the documentation of Pennsylvania German folklore with his collections of folk stories and songs in the dialect between 1945 and 1965 when he was a professor of German at the Pennsylvania State University in Centre County. Buffington (1980b) moved the base of

collecting further west to Somerset County and beyond, well away from the supposed core areas of Pennsylvania German settlement, and found abundant evidence of folkloric performances suggesting a continuing vibrant tradition. Even more so than Brendle, Buffington (1980a) took in what he called "earthy stories," often with scatological content, that Brendle either avoided or was not given because of his position in the church (see also S. Bronner 2011, 321–24). Buffington (1937; 1980a) also noted the social contexts for perpetuation of these stories in organized *Versammlinge*, or "gatherings" begun in the mid-twentieth century to celebrate Dutch identity (see also Donner 2016; Kemp 1944). Rather than viewing narratives as relics of a past way of life, Buffington considered the stories part of a living, evolving tradition of Pennsylvania German humor in and out of organized settings. Explaining the predominance of scatological content, Buffington (1980b, 37) opined that "the Pennsylvania Germans are earthy people, and thus much of their humor happens to be earthy."

Dissatisfied with this surface explanation, in my study (S. Bronner 2011) I read more into the thematic concentration of scatological material than a tie between farm life and speech. With newly collected jokes and legends gathered in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, often rendered in English by urban as well as rural dwellers, I also found a living tradition and applied a psychological analysis to answer questions of the function and performance of this material outside agrarian contexts. A key narrative cycle concerns the names of Pennsylvania German children in an English-speaking school:

> A Pennsylvania German mother tells her daughter that she would need to go to English school to register. And she tells her daughter to take her little brother because he would need to register next year. She goes to the teacher and the teacher asks for her name. The little girl answers *Waggeraad* [wagon wheel]. The teacher asks again, "Okay, what is your real name?" *Waggeraad*, the girl emphatically answers again. "And how did you get that name?" the teacher follows up. The little girl explains, "My mother told me that when I was born the first thing she saw out the window was a wagon wheel by the barn." Still skeptical, the teacher tells her to go home and get a note from her mother confirming the story. The teacher then asks the boy, her little brother, to come forward. But the little girl exclaims, "Don't bother, if she didn't believe me, she's not going to believe you *Hinkeldreck* [chicken shit]. (S. Bronner 2011, 320–21)

I pointed out that variations exist among other ethnic-regional, often marginalized, groups, such as African Americans and Appalachians, but unique in the Pennsylvania German corpus is the use of the chicken with its feces as a distinctively Dutch motif (S. Bronner 2011, 331–32). Related to this narrative is the use of the *Hinkeldreck* theme visually in t-shirt designs with sayings such as "Heila, Heila, Hinkel Dreck" (Holy, Holy, Chicken Shit) proclaiming pride in Pennsylvania German identity. The "Heila, Heila, Hinkel Dreck" saying comes from a chant often reported as being used in powwowing (form of magical healing) rituals. The full text is typically, "Heila, heila, hinkel dreck,

Bis morgen (marye) frie iss alles veck" or "immer morgen (marye) iss alles weg," meaning "holy, holy, chicken shit, in the morning, all has gone away (on its way)" (Shoemaker 1951b, 9). It did not have to be uttered by powwowers, judging by the commentaries of English speakers of Pennsylvania German descent. If a child got hurt, it was common for parents to pretend to heal it with the anally suggestive chant, much as the more oral "kissing the boo-boo" is common in American popular culture to magically heal a child's bruise. Relevant to my psychoanalytic thesis, t-shirts with "Heila, Heila, Hinkel Dreck" were usually not sold to tourists, who typically did not understand the reference, but to people who grew up in the culture. Another expression of this theme is in annual Hinklefests in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, and Fredericksburg, Maryland, community festivals apparently unique to the Pennsylvania German region celebrating the chicken as an ethnic symbol of Dutchiness.

Building upon the interpretation of Alan Dundes (1984) of scatological lore, I argued that dialect folklore resolves cultural conflicts through symbols in folklore's fictive plane. Without that heritage, since many people calling themselves Pennsylvania German have left the land and do not speak the dialect, the ethnic identity revolves around the perception of cultural difference in values and the collective memory of a common historical experience. The big difference between Brendle and Troxell's corpus and mine, accordingly, is that the mid-twentieth-century repertoire barely mentioned outsiders to the culture. The anecdotes and jokes in the twenty-first-century material use a play frame to confront what it means to be Pennsylvania German in relation to modern American society, symbolized as the authoritarian establishment in the center with Pennsylvania Germans at the margins. The lore draws liberally therefore on earthiness, signified notably in the *Hinkeldreck* theme, as an identifying Pennsylvania German theme. The *Hinkel* is unique in Pennsylvania German folklore because it draws attention to the chicken as a metaphor for the esoteric Dutchman, proudly having the run of the farm, but who is viewed as dirty by English outsiders, and frequently an anachronism by twenty-first-century descendants of German American settlers.

If the telling by contemporary Dutch ethnics assigns blame for Pennsylvania German decline on the English and, at least for a moment, shows the suppressed Dutch as emerging triumphant in their identity, it also reveals in this process a projection onto the English of guilt by the Dutch speakers for not perpetuating the linguistic and cultural tradition. Telling a story *with* dialect rather than *in* it, tellers express a disjuncture in the contemporary feeling of being Dutch in a modern society from the language and culture in the homogeneous society (see Shoemaker 1953a). Not alone among American groups in using dialect folklore to deal with conflicts in identity, Pennsylvania Germans have a distinctive signification of anality, as ritual dirt that becomes positively spun in their modern verbal art, I argued. This anality is evident symbolically in other aspects of their lore, including the *Eileschpig-*

gel (metaphorically amusing because of its vernacular meaning of a wiped buttock) and buried treasure (often related to the equivalence of money and feces). Represented as *Hinkeldreck*, the anality speaks to adaptability under changing conditions and the understanding of a Pennsylvania German past to the creation of an ethnic self in modern life.

I also used evidence from folk songs and rhymes building on the collections of Walter Boyer, Albert Buffington, and Don Yoder. Songs, like narratives, were used by these Pennsylvania German "native sons," as Yoder called them, to show an artistic, creative side of Pennsylvania Germans to counter a characterization by outsiders of an artless, "Dumb Dutch" culture. The trio argued in *Songs along the Mahantongo* (1951) that the "Pennsylvania Dutch farmer has a native vein of poesy and humor that does much to let the sunshine of beauty into his workaday world of plowing and harvesting, milking and butchering, cider-making and apple-butter boiling" (Boyer, Buffington, and Yoder 1964, 11). Although the collectors found many songs traceable to German antecedents, they took special note of songs that arose on American soil, suggesting a Pennsylvania German culture. A song in the dialect that joins the widespread American tradition of the prisoner's lament, for example, is "Pauly (Bully) Lyons," collected by Boyer, Buffington, and Yoder, about a legendary constable from Reading, Pennsylvania. The song was also reported by Stoudt in the early twentieth century and by Brendle and Troxell (1949, 112–13). The opening and closing verses sung by an elderly woman from Hegins, Pennsylvania, in 1948 are:

Bald gehn ich noch demm Redden zu;
Datt waar ich nicht bekannt.
Datt kummt der Pauli Lyons
Un nemmet mich bei der Hand.

Noo kummt doch meine Fraa,
die kummt yoo gaar so weit;
Noo saagt der Pauli Lyons:
"Die iss nicht recht gescheit."

Soon I'll go to Reading,
Where I am not known,
But Pauly Lyons comes along
And takes me to his home.

Along there comes dear good wife,
(I didn't think she'd care!)
Then Pauly Lyons says to me,
"She isn't quite all there!"

Called an "indigenous ballad" by Brendle and Troxell, the song, also known as "Once I Was in the City of Reading," is interpreted in performance by Boyer, Buffington, and Yoder as evidence of collective Pennsylvania German character traits. According to the collectors, "since the Pennsylvania Dutch

people are frugal in their use of the things of life, and undemonstrative in their expression of their emotional responses to life, Paul Lyons in the last stanza of the song cannot help but feel that the prisoner's wife must have been crazy to leave her home and children and make the long trek, probably on foot, to Reading, just to see her husband" (Boyer, Buffington, and Yoder [1951] 1964, 185).

Emphasizing the role of folklore in everyday life, Boyer, Buffington, and Yoder thematized songs according to age (childhood, courtship, and marriage), work (songs of the farm), and settings (snitzing party, tavern, camp ground). The camp ground songs are spirituals sung annually at camp and prayer meetings of the Evangelical United Brethren, Evangelical Congregational, and Church of God groups throughout Eastern Pennsylvania. The trio of collectors "found them better remembered and more alive in many of our folksingers' minds than some of the 'worldly' folksongs" ([1951] 1964, 199). They reported that the favorite "Dutch" spiritual is "O How Lovely: "O wie lie, wie lieblich / Wie lieblich iss Yeesus! / Er iss mein Erleeser, / Mei Haer un mei Freund (Oh how lovely, how lovely, / how lovely is Jesus! / He is my redeemer, / My Lord, and my Friend). Its first three verses follow an old German hymn about wise and foolish virgins, and then it shifts to camp meeting verses of "Oh sisters, be happy . . . It's Jesus in my soul" (Oh Schweschdre seid dir hallich . . . Siss Yeesus in der Seel) (Boyer, Buffington, and Yoder [1951] 1964, 201–4; see also D. Yoder 1961b, 304–5). Yoder in his separate tome devoted to Pennsylvania spirituals hypothesizes that Pennsylvania was a seedbed of American spiritual song and a "transplanting point" where the British spiritual was shared with African Americans and German settlers, with the result that two new types of spiritual arose, the "black spiritual" and the "Pennsylvania (Dutch) spiritual" (D. Yoder 1961b, 1–40). Albert F. Buffington preferred the label of "Dutchified German spiritual" because of his linguistic analysis that the texts of the songs were neither Pennsylvania German nor standard German. According to Buffington, the songs approximated the Pennsylvania High German (*Pennsylvaanisch Hochdeitsch*) used by Pennsylvania Germans in their churches and newspapers. Buffington and Yoder agreed, however, on a strong message from the folk spirituals that "heavenly home so bright and fair" awaited "the hard-working Dutch farmer at the end of his earthly pilgrimage" (Boyer, Buffington, and Yoder [1951] 1964, 200).

Whether song, story, or speech, the folklore of the Pennsylvania Germans in a historico-literary approach was presented similarly as a text to be appreciated, classified, annotated, compared, and related to group life. A question raised by these intensive collections conducted in Pennsylvania is whether migrations to other areas affected the forms and functions of folklore. Folklorists in Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, and Ontario collecting cultural traditions among the Pennsylvania Germans through the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries indeed found cognates and sometimes separate developments that raised more questions about the social context and persistence of Pennsylvania German folklore (Beck 2004; 2005; Brednich 1977).

Since many of the historico-literary studies focused on a particular genre of lore, a remaining task was to find structures, patterns, and themes among the different expressive forms and posit their functions in daily life and, on special occasions, the performance of their identity.

Sociological Folklife Studies

Some scholars began their inquiry of tradition among the Pennsylvania Germans not within a literary genre but from the social vantage of the whole group. Taking this perspective meant asking sociological questions of group formation, change, and cohesion across time and space. Folklore was key evidence in determining the interrelation of cultural activities that functioned to support or undermine the social structure and determine, indeed, the diversity of social groupings within the Pennsylvania German world. Often in such studies, the linkage is not to Pennsylvania Germans generally but to a specific religious or regional community to investigate the cultural forces holding the community together and maintaining its identity in relation to other surrounding groups. Presumably folk practices drove those forces, and observers formulated functions they served for the community. In Pennsylvania German studies, the regional context was often in valley, mountain, county, and village settlements, such as the Mahantongo Valley or Lehigh Valley in Pennsylvania, and the religious formation was along denominational lines situated in particular locations or districts (see Best 1972; Owens 1891; H. Reed 1987; Sultzbaugh 1968; Valletta 1983).

For folklorist George Korson, occupation also could form community for which folklore was an important part. He focused on the integration and function of songs, speech, medicine, stories, foods, religion, and customs among Pennsylvania German miners in a small corner of the anthracite region—the west end of Schuylkill County. He posited that folklore served a social bonding function for a "traditionally agricultural people as they became adjusted to an industrial environment" (Korson 1960, viii). They were able to maintain their Pennsylvania Germanness and sense of community within a larger mining culture with other ethnic groups. This social pattern suggested something different from the "melting-pot" or massification model of inevitable assimilation into a singular homogeneous society.

Similarly, Gerald Milnes (2007, xiii) studied folklore as evidence of maintaining ethnic difference in German pockets of Pendleton County, West Virginia, called the "Dutchiest county" in the state. He found supernatural belief as a marker of Dutch identity there, and possibly persistence, because German settlers did not accept the concept of fate and predestination held by their Scots-Irish, Calvinist neighbors. According to Milnes (2007, 124), the Germans "embraced a cosmology whereby everything has a purpose and bearing on the actions of something or somebody else," and he views this especially evident in beliefs expressed as narratives, signs, and omens about causal human interrelationships with their environment.

Yoder, Shoemaker, Korson, and Milnes hypothesized in their studies of customs that location-bound groups such as the Amish, Pendleton County Germans, and miners adhere to traditions as a function of community. Early studies by Alfred Shoemaker of Christmas and Easter were intended to show on the one hand the distinctive celebration of these holidays among the Pennsylvania Germans to reinforce the differential identity of the Dutch and, on the other, the diffusion of Pennsylvania German beliefs and customs to American culture as a sign of its vitality and relevance. Shoemaker (2009, 75–90), for instance, identifies the *Belsnickel* as a costumed, bearded male figure who, with a bag of nuts and cookies in one hand and a whip (or switch) in the other, went house to house to reward or punish little children. He compiles historical evidence for the tree being incorporated into Christmas celebrations coming from the Pennsylvania Germans but notes the switch of the occasion for gift exchange from Christmas eve in Germany to Christmas morning in the United States. Turning his attention to Easter, Shoemaker (2000, 63–67) finds the decorated "egg tree" as a holiday adornment to be a distinctive German observance that stayed largely within Pennsylvania, but the group's use of the basket-carrying rabbit diffused into American popular culture. Groundhog day is a custom especially associated with Pennsylvania German communities that indeed competed with one another for its ownership (Punxsutawney in Jefferson County and Quarryville in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania). It also has entered into popular national observance as a weather prognostication custom typically without reference to its Pennsylvania German roots, although the significance for local folk culture is the symbolization of the animal in festivals and Groundhog Lodge ceremonies as a Dutch icon. Of sociological interest in the creation of what Don Yoder (2003, 65–112) calls "Groundhog culture" is the appropriation of what was considered a pejorative image into a positive marker of fidelity to the Pennsylvania German dialect and preindustrial tradition.

Within the Pennsylvania German realm, scholars still seek to explain the fullness and intentionality of a community or social experience. In this interactionist perspective, individuals do not merely follow tradition; instead, they choose, and often negotiate, traditions with which they associate and when and in what situations they want to enact them. Recognizing that feelings of Pennsylvania Germanness in modern society are performed occasionally, often in organized events or informal social encounters, new ethnographers suggested microsociological studies of the social interactions within these organizational or informal frames such as Groundhog lodges, *Versammlinge*, "heritage services" (rendered in the dialect) in churches, post-office conversations, family reunions (figs.16.2, 16.3), and special events (such as festivals and "Dutch suppers") (see Donner 2016). Pennsylvania German tradition in this interactionist view appears more as a result of individual agency than the force of tradition over passive followers suggested by a homogeneous "folk society" model. Factors other than ethnicity enter into the interwoven strands forming identity in these performances, including

Fig. 16.2. A common social occasion for storytelling is picking up the mail from the post office. Here outside the Klingerstown, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, post office in 1989, Charles Rebuck regales friends with jokes in the dialect.

Fig. 16.3. An occasion for family storytelling and folk practices is the family reunion, a common activity in Pennsylvania, which often acts as a cultural homeland for people in the Pennsylvania-German diaspora. Here at the Rebuck family reunion on Labor Day, 1990, attendees participate in a "cakewalk" to the accompaniment of the Wolfe family band, which performs traditional songs in the dialect as well as in English.

religion, gender, occupation, and region. In many of the new ethnographies, sociological folklife scholars attempt to untangle these strands to find the motivations for, and strategies and consequences of, organized, ritualized practices, while still keeping an interpretative eye for the "weness" of the social ties of tradition (see S. Bronner 2012b).

Behavioral-Ethnographic Studies

Building on the idea of individuals as agents of tradition, an approach emerged in the late twentieth century that was centered on the experiences, personalities, and creative practices of notable artists and tellers. In a study of barn signs, for example, Don Yoder and Thomas E. Graves (1989) examine the influence of Johnny Ott (1891–1964) on the popularity of painting colorful geometric patterns on circular disks. Owner of a Berks County hotel, he began painting in 1947 inspired by so-called hex signs on barns and renewed interest in the Pennsylvania German culture (fig. 16.4). In addition to copying traditional designs such as rosettes and hearts, Ott invented designs of his own with horse, patriotic, and clover motifs. He also mentored other painters with the idea of spreading the symbols of Pennsylvania German identity more so than their supposed supernatural function of warding off witches. Beyond the hex sign region around Berks County, Pennsylvania, artists such as Dolores Quint in Indiana achieved national recognition for hex-sign design and productivity. Yoder and Graves (1989, 50–57) note the negotiation between consumer culture and Pennsylvania German tradition in transactions between artists and customers. Although the artists promote the signs as creative renderings, customers typically inquire about their luck-inducing qualities. Many of the disks are silk screened, which to Yoder and Graves suggests their identification with popular culture, whereas artists such as Quint emphasize their designation as "traditional" because each sign is hand painted.

Bill Richardson (1990a) in his research on life-story taking from third-generation basket maker Homer Brosius in the Mahantongo Valley in Pennsylvania cited Yoder and Graves's study along with the psychological interpretation by Michael Owen Jones of an Upland South chair maker who created unusual rocking chairs within Appalachian tradition and my work with an Old Order Mennonite who took over a tradition of farmscape painting known among "the English" and socially adapted it to her community (S. Bronner 2004a, 125–40; Jones 1989; 1993). Challenged by her dwarfism, the Indiana painter also used the art to allow her to engage in work that was socially sanctioned by the community. Richardson (1990b) focused not just on Homer Brosius's skill gained traditionally and his products meant for utilitarian use but on his last basket that he intended to hold symbolic significance. Facing death, he took special pains to make an exquisite example of split-oak basketry as his father had made. Not meant for sale, the basket represented a gift, and a reminder, to his family about the legacy of

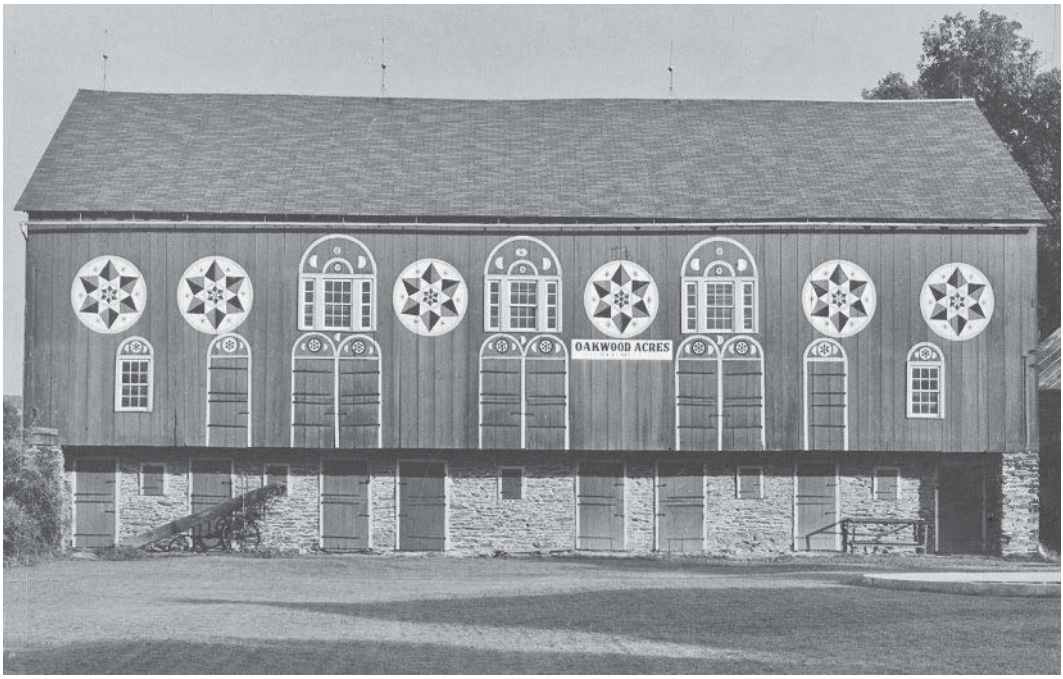


Fig. 16.4. Barn in New Smithville, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, with "Hex sign" (aka "Barn Stars") designs attributed to Johnny Ott (1891–1964) of Berks County, Pennsylvania

their forebears. Also not intended to be used for holding objects, the special basket was supposed to be displayed after Homer was gone. Richardson's query was about the behavior of making a memorable object imbued with meaning that the maker intended and his family reinterpreted.

I found a similar pattern in the motivation of Charles Rebuck, a self-described "Dutchman through and through" who also made split-oak baskets in the Mahantongo Valley (fig.16.5). For years his baskets boasted a Pennsylvania German design, but in the 1990s he started making them smaller and often more elaborate. He thought people tended to pick them up and notice the tradition even more than when he had made his baskets as full-size utilitarian objects. As a Dutchman concerned about the erosion of Pennsylvania German traditions, Rebuck created evocative reminders of the region's woven traditions. He no longer sold his baskets but made them for people he wanted to reach with his ethnic message—old cronies, his children and grandchildren, assimilated professionals with "Dutchy" names. Being smaller, they drew attention to the reduced practicality of the form and forced contemplation of the meaning of the altered size and shape. Rather than confront his recipients about sustaining tradition, the baskets he gave them carried the challenge as a "significant symbol" recognized by maker and viewer (Mead 2011). He intentionally wanted to give them in person in a kind of framed performance of an old-timer to a younger person so as to urge the person to recall tradition and, in his hope, to spur the creation of tradition as a key to maintaining a communal identity in an imposing mass

Fig. 16.5. Charles Martin Rebuck (1915–2005), of Klingerstown, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, with oak-splint baskets he made

society (S. Bronner 2011, 155). I labeled this kind of psychological response, especially among older tradition-bearers, a regression-progression behavioral complex in which an individual faced with adjustments to change such as old age, retirement, death, or an alien industrial or urban environment nostalgically revives or alters a creative behavior that helped him adjust as a child to adulthood (S. Bronner 1985, 139; see also Mullen 1992, 246). It also indicates a process of "life review" in which individuals narrate in life stories or project images in objects to assess the meaning of one's life.

Although many behavioral-ethnographic studies entail observations of social engagements with, and collections of life stories from, living individuals, the approach has been applied to historical figures when evidence of outlooks and practices can be extracted from diaries, journals, court testimony, and chronicles. Isaac Stiehly (1800–1869) in the Mahantongo Valley of Pennsylvania, for example, has been identified by several scholars as a minister who was instrumental in promoting Pennsylvania German identity through expressive traditions such as storytelling, fraktur decoration, scissors cutting, gravestone carving (fig. 16.6), and possibly even furniture decoration (Knorr 2010; H. Reed 1987; Richardson 1990a). Some studies are focused on

him as an artist with appreciation of his creativity and others on his ministerial role. A behavioral approach is to analyze through journals and the stones he carved how he expressed his concern for what he considered the encroachment on the German-dominated valley by English cultural forces (S. Bronner 1992). During the 1850s, he used relief and raised cartouches to give three-dimensional emphasis to family names and dates. He deliberately revived what he considered Pennsylvania German motifs of hearts and tulips in a fraktur style on the stones that had not carried those designs since earlier in the nineteenth century. Stiehly intentionally presented as he entered the twilight of his life an image of cultural strength through the emphatic reuse of old symbols from his childhood, even as this performance of identity suggested an imminent cultural weakening (S. Bronner 1992).

Emma Schrock (1924–91) was the subject of my behavioral study that focused on the function of, and motivations for producing, her art with her Old Order Mennonite faith. She painted objects and paintings in Goshen, Indi-

Fig. 16.6. Gravestone of Peter Knorr carved by Isaac Stiehly, Rough and Ready, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania

ana, for members of her Mennonite community as well as non-Mennonite buyers. My study revealed that her family conceptualized her art as work that replaced the farmstead paintings formerly done by the "English" in the region. She created farmstead paintings (fig. 16.7), decorated saltboxes, wooden hearts with traditional proverbs and mottoes on them, and decorated glass that evoked Pennsylvania German identity for her Mennonite neighbors. Based on numerous interviews and observation of her interaction with family and customers, my behavioral study proposed that her disability of dwarfism and hip abnormality curtailed her mobility and the usual expectation for women in the community of farm or domestic work (S. Bronner 1986, 124–40; see also Schmidt, Umble, and Reschly 2002).

Schrock had a personal outlook that affected the subject matter in her work and the forms it took. She felt a strong tie to continuing tradition after learning decorative skills from a Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, relative who painted Pennsylvania German symbols on glass. Schrock went further by depicting scenes of everyday life on canvases that imagined a world in which only Mennonites dwelled (cars and non-Mennonites were conspicuously absent), despite her claim that "I live what I paint, and I paint what I live" (S. Bronner 1979). One could note her use of oral tradition, particularly proverbial wisdom as a guide to life, in her painted hearts: "It's not enough to love flowers, you must hate weeds" and "To succeed work your tongue little, your hands much, and your brains most" (S. Bronner 1986, 128). Partly as a compensation for her disability, the scenes on canvas she painted were outdoors and featured social occasions such as picnics, Sunday visiting, and butchering day when the solidarity of the community is evident. Isolated by her art, she painted herself into the social fabric of the community. Although not depicting herself in her paintings, she pointed to one that she did for herself, and I drew psychological meaning from it of her social longing: a small figure is in the doorway while a woman walks toward her with the caption "Anxious for the Mail." The study suggested issues of the body, belief, and gender at work in the negotiation of artistic expression within communities bound by a legacy of pietistic religious faith and Pennsylvania German cultural practice.

Scholars with a behavioral approach examine the effect of family, institutional, and regional contexts on individual life paths that give rise or force decline of folklore and folklife. A related issue that the behavioral approach suggests is the relationship with commercial and popular culture and the role of consumers as arrangers and agents of tradition. In addition to evaluating the relation of age-related behaviors to outlook, scholars also investigate the choices made by individuals to adopt, or deny, a sense of belonging through expressive traditions. Conceptualizing tradition as a matter of choice is important to the assessment of Pennsylvania German identity as performed in various settings and situations, particularly to assess the kind of creative, communicative, or some might even say inventive, strategies people employ to gain a sense of self as well as social connection.

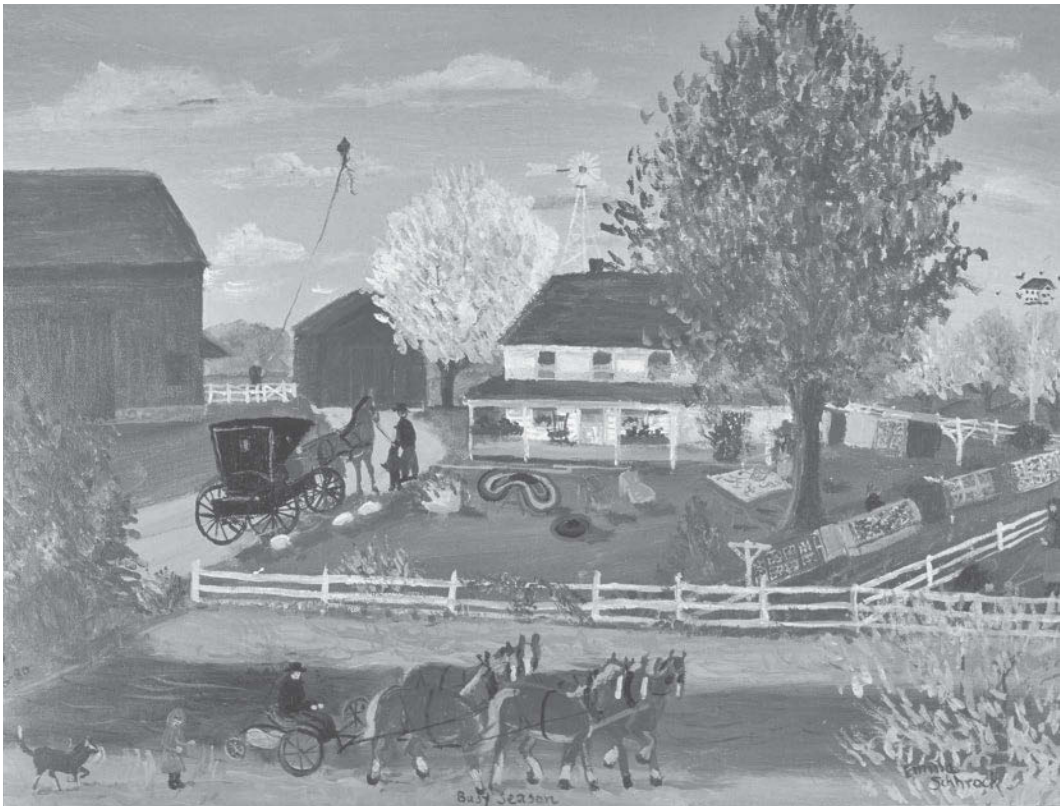


Fig. 16.7. "The Busy Season" painted by Emma Schrock (1924–91), Goshen, Indiana, 1979. The artist's house and outbuildings are depicted in the painting (see also color photo gallery).

Folk Matters

Folklore and folklife as a set of expressions representing the continuity of tradition across time and space suggested to collectors a cultural presence that could easily be overlooked if scholars went simply by the written, historic record. While appreciating the way that folklore marked the peoplehood of a group scattered through Pennsylvania and beyond, early scholars, though, were preoccupied with evaluating the worth of the folklore and folklife they uncovered. They often appeared to apologize for material's representation of a superstitious, past-oriented, and crude people. Founders of the PGFS wanted to present an insider's view of the culture through folklore that would rationalize the frontier legacy of Pennsylvania Germans in relation to an Old World culture that became adapted under new conditions and environments. As folklorists, they compiled long inventories of folk items and posited rational functions for their use in daily and ceremonial life. They sought, or some say constructed, awareness and appreciation of folklore as part of a singular Pennsylvania German identity characteristic of a distinctive American ethnic type. Perceiving a decline of the group's visibility

and sustainability in the wake of industrialization, mass immigration, and urbanization, the society founders considered the folklore of Pennsylvania Germans to be linked to the past but still valuable as a resource for conceptualizing a cultural lineage upon which to build social and political capital by claiming a compelling ethnic heritage in a mass society.

Another version of Pennsylvania Germanness gave a picture of diversity rather than solidarity. It was based on a perception of Pennsylvania Germans representing tradition and community as integral values of American society. Sociological folklife scholars stepped in to show the persistence of "weness" as social belonging in modern life by documenting the function and integration of traditions within distinct communities. Attention to religious orders of the Amish and Mennonites in addition to regional enclaves from Pennsylvania to Canada and Mexico ensued, not so much to convince readers to adopt their religious views but to consider the social value, and in many cases the redemptive function, of community (Kraybill 2005). The purpose of study was often given to capture the totality of the folk culture so as to understand social formation, cohesion, schism, and change. The studies frequently tested the notion that popular culture with values of individualism and commercialism necessarily displaced folk cultures and rendered their tradition-centered lives obsolete. Many of the studies thus questioned the persistence of the groups into the present and their sustainability into the future.

With the attention to groupness and like-mindedness among society members, the role of individuals as agents of change became more of a concern, particularly when individuals were considered "assimilated" to modern urban society but nonetheless sought an identity related to Pennsylvania German or "Dutch" heritage. Behavioral-ethnographic studies primarily address the social psychology of individuals negotiating identity within occasional situations or scenes. Rather than dismiss organized frames of the *Versammlinge*, festivals, and groundhog lodges as antithetical to folkloric production, scholars examined these settings as frames for performance of identity (Donner 2002; D. Yoder 2003). They also considered tradition-bearers, especially later in life, in terms of life-course development and psychological processes of life review.

Another outgrowth of the behavioral-ethnographic approach is consideration of folk ideas pervading a culture rather than strictly following an oppositional binary between folk and popular culture. This would include rhetorical uses of folklore in public and touristic discourse in addition to the enactment of traditional practices among Pennsylvania Germans. Although critics rail at the misrepresentation of Pennsylvania German heritage in tourist presentations, some scholars call for a more analytical approach with the concept of "folklorism" that questions how and why depictions, if not practices, of folklore are invoked and representations of authenticity are communicated (see Bendix 1988; Newall 1987; Šmidchens 1999). For example, the genre of "tourist belief" can be unpacked about Pennsylvania German

traditions, such as the ideas that "hex signs" warded away witches, that seven sours and seven sweets are standard on the Pennsylvania German table, and that Amish men painted gates blue to show interested suitors that they had a daughter of marriageable age (Shoemaker 1951b). Folklorism as beliefs and emergent adapted practices in modern life also includes New Age religious interest in powwowing, folk "chic" cuisine of Dutch dishes, commissioned redware and fraktur meant for display rather than use, and public performances incorporating folk themes such as Dutch-styled comedians, dramatists, and musicians (Huffines 1990; Isaacs 1988; D. Kriebel 2007; Langley 2009; Weaver 2009; D. Weaver-Zercher 2001).

Cultural scenes that draw ethnographic interest are points of encounter at farmers' markets, auctions, and tourist locations (Beck 2004, 188–209; Kraybill and Nolt 2004, 143–206). In some scholarship, there is a distinction made between esoteric folklore, defined as beliefs and practices that a group has for itself, and exoteric folklore, or beliefs and practices that a group holds about others (Jansen 1965). The significance of this concept is its consequent dual definition of identity according to perceptions from within the group of Dutchiness affected by views from outside the community. Folklore among people identifying with Pennsylvania German culture has been shown to be more sustainable and changeable than the early scholars and founders of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society originally thought. Identification of emergent forms and processes of folklore and folklife demonstrates that traditions, like the people who bear them, are resilient, variable, and adaptable across the Pennsylvania German diaspora.

17 Education

WILLIAM W. DONNER

For both scholars and the general public, the education of Pennsylvania Germans raises issues about diversity and assimilation that are at the core of important present-day controversies in education. Unlike other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European immigrants, including the Irish, Welsh, Swedes, and even those Germans who arrived in the nineteenth century, Pennsylvania Germans maintained their Germanic language and continued to practice many distinctive cultural practices for several hundred years after their arrival in the eighteenth century. For many generations, Pennsylvania Germans struggled with how schools should be organized and shape their children. Should schools serve as avenues of assimilation into a national society, and how much of a distinctive culture and language should be preserved? Should children be forced to learn English, or should the school preserve some form of the German language? Do state and national authorities have the right to mandate requirements and curriculum when these mandates run counter to important values in the home? How does one be both a full participant in the national culture and still preserve distinctive cultural practices?

These are crucial issues that continue to confront educators at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Schools are often viewed as powerful instruments of enculturation. They shape our children, and their organization can be a battleground for the kind of adults that we want our children to become. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was taken for granted by many Americans, including most scholars, that the American education system, especially in our common or public schools, provided America's children with the knowledge and opportunities that were essential in a democratic society: children were taught the basic skills necessary to become responsible citizens and successful members of our society, and they were also provided with a common set of American values and a common language, English. In the later part of the twentieth century, a group of revisionist historians argued that, hidden within those admirable goals of providing opportunity, there were implicit goals to control and shape children into serving a developing industrialist and capitalist society. In this

latter view, the educational system took children from diverse countries and assimilated them into a national culture and a shared English language. Often this education resulted in a rejection of the children's ethnic heritage and a loss of their parents' ancestral language. Many of these revisionist historians went on to claim that schools indoctrinated children into ideologies that supported a wealthy elite while exploiting many others and prepared students for highly regimented and competitive capitalist systems of production. For these revisionists, public schools use a rhetoric of freedom to mask a system of oppression and domination (see Cuban 1993; Katz 1968; 1987; Spring 2005; and Tyack 1974; for these issues in Pennsylvania, see P. Adams 1980; and Issel 1969; 1978; 1979).

The education of Pennsylvania Germans offers many opportunities to examine these processes. If it is naïve to assume that the modern school system developed to serve the interests of everyone in a democratic society, the history of Pennsylvania German education shows that it is also misleading to see schools as simply vehicles for the interests of wealthy and powerful industrialists. Pennsylvania Germans struggled with issues of pluralism, diversity, and assimilation throughout their history. At times, they had some success in resisting assimilation, and at other times they were supportive of assimilation for their children and the children of other ethnic groups. At present, most Pennsylvania Germans are largely assimilated into a national society and full participants in the public schools, although some of the traditional Anabaptist groups have resisted assimilation and successfully established their own separate schools. The Pennsylvania Germans provide important and differing perspectives on crucial issues in American education.

Contexts for Pennsylvania German Education

Readers must keep in mind several basic distinctions between various groups of Pennsylvania Germans. These include differences in general religious orientations that have important implications not only for the incorporation of new technology and integration of a modernizing society into daily lives but also for each group's approach to education. The largest group consists of "Church" or "Fancy" Pennsylvania Germans, which comprises mostly Lutheran and German Reformed (now United Church of Christ). These people make up more than 90 percent of the people who can be considered "Pennsylvania German." Although they maintained their language and distinctive cultural practices well into the twentieth century, these people have become largely assimilated into American culture. Among another group of "Plain" or "Sect" Pennsylvania Germans, mostly Anabaptists in religion, many have maintained a strong commitment to distinctive religious values.[1] In this latter group, there are differences in degrees of assimilation into American society and incorporation of modern technology. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in the midst of the introduction of new industrial

technology including electricity, telephones, and automobiles, Anabaptist groups divided over how to maintain their religious values and incorporate new technology. More socially liberal Anabaptists and other "Sect" groups, such as the Schwenkfelders, adopted much of modern technology, but "Old Order" Amish and Mennonite groups limited its incorporation, which they saw as incompatible with their traditional religious practices. Because these "Old Order" people still remain distinctive in dress, continue to speak the Pennsylvania German (*Deitsch*) language in their homes, and limit the use of modern technology, they have become the subject of fascination for many other Americans, including both tourists and scholars. For many, probably most, Americans, these Old Order people provide the public image of what it means to be "Pennsylvania Germans" (see D. Weaver-Zercher 2001). But this image is misleading, and much of this essay concerns the educational experiences of the far more numerous and also more assimilated "Church" Pennsylvania Germans.

The distinction between the Church and Anabaptist groups has important implications for the education of Pennsylvania Germans, especially in the twentieth century. While most Church Pennsylvania Germans became assimilated into a national educational system and became monolingual speakers of English by the end of the twentieth century, the Anabaptist groups, in particular the Old Order groups, developed separate school systems. The Anabaptist groups emphasize a set of religious beliefs that transcend any sense of secular ethnicity: there are Anabaptists throughout the world who come from very different ethnic and cultural backgrounds but share religious convictions. The Church people and some socially liberal Anabaptist or Sect people developed and defined a secular Pennsylvania German ethnic identity in the late nineteenth century that continues into the present and is expressed in heritage organizations, celebrations, and festivals throughout the region. Old Order groups are not active participants in most of these heritage and ethnic events.

Language use is another crucial aspect for understanding issues in Pennsylvania German education. Three languages are important for understanding Pennsylvania German life and education: "High" or standard German, Pennsylvania German (*Deitsch*), and English. The ancestors of Pennsylvania Germans spoke dialects of Germanic languages from the Pfalz or Palatinate region of Germany. When these ancestors arrived in America, their dialects merged and leveled into the Pennsylvania German language. The Pennsylvania German language is somewhat distinct from standard German.[2] Present-day speakers of Pennsylvania German report that they can communicate with people from the southwest regions of Germany who continue to speak the regional dialects, but they have a lot of difficulty understanding standard German. Standard German was used in churches, in newspapers, and, until shortly after the Civil War, in many of Pennsylvania's public documents (see Kloss 1998, 178–93). Whereas standard German was the main literary language of most Pennsylvania Germans in 1800, English was their

literary language by 1900. Pennsylvania German was not a written language until the middle of the nineteenth century and came to be used in limited literary contexts, mainly nostalgic poetry and plays or earthy humorous newspaper columns (see Reichard 1918; Robacker 1943). Over the course of the twentieth century, most Church Pennsylvania Germans and liberal Sect people stopped speaking Pennsylvania German. It is very rare to find a liberal Anabaptist or Church Pennsylvania German born after World War II who has more than very limited ability in Pennsylvania German. The Old Order groups, in contrast, have preserved Pennsylvania German for use in the home, learn English in schools and sometimes at home, and use it in their interactions with surrounding communities, and some still maintain a form of standard or "High" German in their religious services.

Pennsylvania Germans took different approaches to education at different times, and different groups of Pennsylvania Germans had different approaches at the same time. Generally, all Pennsylvania Germans resisted cultural assimilation and education in the English language until the early 1800s. Over the course of the nineteenth century, and rising in intensity after the Civil War, there was increasing support for assimilation and learning English as the national language, especially among Church Pennsylvania Germans. There was a brief period from about 1860 to 1880 when leading Church Pennsylvania German educators proposed policies for bilingual classes that used Pennsylvania German as a means to learn English and proposed that teachers and curriculum be sensitive to the Pennsylvania German children's background and culture. By 1900, however, most of Church Pennsylvania German educators were fully behind assimilation to a national culture and immersion in the English language in the classroom. They remained supportive of the Pennsylvania German culture in the home, providing it did not interfere with assimilation in schools.

Among the more conservative Anabaptist groups, in particular among the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites, there was longer-term resistance toward assimilation in all areas of their lives, including education. After the middle of the twentieth century, and sometimes following legal conflicts, Old Order groups established separate schools, which are maintained to the present. These schools have developed a variety of responses in maintaining Anabaptist religious values, while also adapting to the surrounding and changing world.

Sources about Pennsylvania German Education

Useful primary sources on the education of Pennsylvania Germans in the nineteenth century can be found in Pennsylvania's official educational documents, including the reports from the superintendent of common schools/public instruction of the *Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction* (*PDPI*) and the official state journal, the *Pennsylvania School Journal* (*PSJ*).[3] In addition, a journal edited by A. R. Horne from 1860 to 1902, frequently cited

as the *National Educator* (*NE*), is also useful.[4] Together they provide views of how Pennsylvania Germans and state educators responded to concerns about language and culture in education. James Wickersham (1886) wrote a comprehensive history of education in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that includes discussions on the education of Pennsylvania Germans. In critically discussing the debates about education in late nineteenth-century Philadelphia, Issel (1969; 1978; 1979) provides insights into two important Pennsylvania German educators of the time, Nathan Schaeffer and Martin Brumbaugh. In his doctoral dissertation at Cornell University, Clyde Stine (1938) examined the educational policies of Pennsylvania Germans, especially the challenges faced by children speaking only the Pennsylvania German language when they began their schooling. My own research has focused on the period following the Civil War when Church Pennsylvania German educators struggled with issues of cultural preservation and assimilation (Donner 2000; 2008). There are only a few accounts of the educational issues among the Church people in the twentieth century, probably because of their level of assimilation into a national society, although Stine (1938; 1942) was clearly concerned with the problems facing non-English-speaking Pennsylvania German children entering schools in the middle of the twentieth century. More recent studies of Old Order education that examine how deeply schools are embedded in the Old Order lifestyle generally find that schools support the people's distinctive religion (J. Hostetler and Huntington 1992; originally 1971). Contemporary scholars have emphasized the diversity in Old Order education, and how differing approaches to a modernizing society have resulted in different accommodations, while still maintaining deeply held religious convictions that often conflict with modern society (Johnson-Weiner 2007; Kraybill 1991; Nolt and Meyers 2007).

Scholars who assert that educational policy in the United States was hostile toward linguistic and cultural diversity usually view the American educational system as one of assimilation, even domination, in its attempts to incorporate diverse ethnic groups into a national society (see Gonzalez and Melis 2000; Spring 2007). But in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries tolerance for linguistic diversity resulted in several little-known, although notable, efforts to maintain bilingual programs and even German-language programs in schools, especially in areas with high numbers of German immigrants (Kloss 1998; Schlossman 1983a; 1983b; Toth 1990). Heinz Kloss examined the educational policies in Pennsylvania German regions as part of a more general examination of issues of minority-language use throughout the United States and found that for much of American history there was evidence of official tolerance for linguistic diversity in American schools. In many cases, according to Kloss (1998, 283), the ethnic groups themselves were at the forefront of assimilation and Anglicization: it occurred "not *because of* nationality laws which were *unfavorable* to their languages but *in spite of* nationality laws relatively *favorable* to them."

It is surprising that given the debates (some call them "wars") over the missions and impact of American schools, there is relatively little attention paid to these issues in terms of the Pennsylvania German experience. In my view, one of the most important challenges confronting scholars is to ensure that the Pennsylvania German experience is taken seriously, by both scholars and laypeople, and is incorporated into broader discussions of multilingual and multicultural education in the nation.[5]

In the rest of the chapter, I describe the main features of Pennsylvania German education, both in the past and at present. Schools change students, and American society changes schools. Within this context of change, teachers not only educated Pennsylvania German students but sometimes taught them what it means to be "Pennsylvania German." And, of course, these meanings changed over time. After discussing eighteenth- and nineteenth-century trends among Church Pennsylvania Germans, a group that shifted from resistance to acceptance and support of the role of education in assimilating their children into a national, English-speaking society, I turn to the education of Old Order groups and how they developed a separate school system over the course of the twentieth century. Then I examine Pennsylvania Germans and higher education, including the programs that have a special focus on studying Pennsylvania German language and culture, before concluding with a brief look at what the future holds for the education of Pennsylvania Germans.

Education of the Church People: Resistance and Assimilation

A very early and widely cited treatise on education was written by Christopher Dock, a Mennonite teacher. Dock taught from about 1718 until his death in 1771, at both Skippack in Montgomery County and at Germantown in what is now Philadelphia (sometimes assigning students in the schools to write back and forth to each other). Christopher Sauer, the famous German printer, was impressed by Dock, who at the time was teaching Sauer's son. The elder Sauer asked Dock to write down his teaching methods. Dock agreed but out of modesty asked that they not be printed until after his death. Dock wrote *Schul-Ordnung* (School management) in 1750, and it was finally published in 1769, shortly before Dock's death. Dock's writings show both great compassion for his students and also a very strong religious focus in his teaching. Dock used a system of rewards and punishments to encourage both learning and proper demeanor. In an often cited history of American education, Lawrence A. Cremin (1970, 309) asserts that Dock was one of the earliest teachers to write about "common schooling in a pluralistic society." I think this overstates Dock's work. Dock was clearly concerned with the range of family backgrounds and dispositions among his students, a common enough problem in even the most homogeneous of societies. Dock was also concerned with the difference between schools in Pennsylvania and Germany, noting the greater emphasis on the needs and interests

of common people in Pennsylvania. I do not find, however, that Dock was concerned with kinds of cultural issues found in a "pluralistic" society or even the kinds of issue of linguistic and cultural diversity that troubled others in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For Dock, the main conflict in values concerned shaping the sometimes recalcitrant children into good Christians (Dock, Brumbaugh, and Pennypacker 1908).

But it is clear that language and cultural differences were a major concern for some of Pennsylvania's colonial leaders. One of the nation's earliest efforts to use schools as a means to assimilate a culturally diverse population was directed toward the Pennsylvania Germans in colonial Pennsylvania. Benjamin Franklin was concerned about the political loyalty and cultural differences of Pennsylvania's large German population. He and others, including William Smith (one of the founders of the school that became the University of Pennsylvania), proposed a "charity" school system that would educate this group and also lead to its assimilation into colonial American society.[6] The plan was started in the early 1750s and ended in total failure. Many Pennsylvania Germans saw it as a ruse to take their language, religion, and traditions from their children and refused to participate (Weber 1969). More than 100 years later, Martin Brumbaugh (1898, 68), an influential Pennsylvania German who would have an impressive career in politics and education, was still indignant: "Against Dr. Smith's plans to take from the German his language, his national fealty, his religion, this Christoph Saur raised his voice, and through his newspaper his voice became many-tongued, and sounded round every German hearthstone in the country." Ironically, Brumbaugh, like most other Pennsylvania German educators of his era, was himself a strong supporter of educational policies that assimilated Pennsylvania German (and other) children into a national society.

Colleges and universities, including those with a strong Pennsylvania German orientation, used English as their language of instruction. But in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, standard German was often the language of instruction in academies and primary schools in Pennsylvania German regions. During this time, Pennsylvania Germans organized their own primary schools, either around their church congregations or through a localized system of hiring a teacher to teach a group of children (Haussmann 1917, 9–14; Maurer 1932). Standard German is different from the *Pennsilfaanisch Deitsch* spoken by Pennsylvania Germans, which was not a written language.

In 1834 the Pennsylvania legislature passed a bill that formally established common or public schools. This was part of a national movement that had been developing for several decades, especially strong in the northeastern states, to ensure that the developing democracy had educated citizens. In Pennsylvania, the legislation was controversial, and there was considerable resistance to the law from legislators who represented Pennsylvania German districts. Generally, however, wealthier Pennsylvania Germans supported these laws, including the state's Pennsylvania German governors

who proposed and initiated them. The opposition to these common-school laws had several sources. First, Pennsylvania Germans, like many others in Pennsylvania, were not enthusiastic about having to develop a new system of taxes to support the schools. In addition, many Pennsylvania Germans were skeptical about giving the state more power over their lives, fearing that their children would be affected by the dominant cultural values of the "English." Some Pennsylvania German districts resisted establishing common schools into the 1860s. In order to develop support in Pennsylvania German regions, the legislators allowed local districts to choose their language of instruction. In fact, until the period shortly after the Civil War many official state documents were published in both English and standard German, including the state superintendent's report on public education published by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction in its annual school reports (see Kloss 1998, 183; Wickersham 1886, 320–22). There were schools in many Pennsylvania German regions, and even in some urban areas, where German was the language of instruction.

The reports of county superintendents for public instruction included figures for the number of students studying in German and English in the public or common schools. In 1850 there was not an especially high percentage of students taking German, presumably standard German, even in areas with high concentrations of Pennsylvania German populations. The highest percentages are from Berks, Lehigh, and Northampton counties. From 1850 to 1866, the percentages taking German dropped significantly in these areas: 9.2 to 5.07 percent in Berks; 24.64 to 6.45 percent in Lehigh; and 19.55 to 5.78 percent in Northampton. Lebanon County, located to the west of Berks and north of Lancaster, had an even more significant drop, from 9.20 to .64 percent (*PDPI* 1850, 74–75; 1861, 236; 1866, 310–11).[7]

This decrease in the use of German is probably the result of a push away from standard German and a pull toward English as the national language. The language of instruction in these schools was likely standard German, not Pennsylvania German, because Pennsylvania German was not a literary language and there were no textbooks or sources for using it as a language of instruction. Although Pennsylvania German children heard standard German in church services and were exposed to it in many of the region's newspapers, their home language was Pennsylvania German, and they almost certainly experienced some difficulty with standard German. Moreover, the overall trend among literate Pennsylvania Germans across the nineteenth century was toward using English as their main literary language, and Pennsylvania German educators came to support English as the main language of instruction in schools.

The period following the Civil War was an important one for Pennsylvania Germans in shaping the future of the educational system. From about 1860 to 1880, there was a movement among Pennsylvania educators that emphasized the use of the Pennsylvania German language as a means to learn English and a curriculum that emphasized Pennsylvania German heritage

and background. This approach predated by about 100 years the present-day concepts associated with bilingual education that have become both popular and controversial in the United States. By 1900, however, Pennsylvania German educators, including those that had been advocates of bilingual programs in the 1870s, were strong supporters of immersing children in English and teaching a nationally oriented curriculum and values in the schools.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Pennsylvania German educators believed that the biggest challenges for schools in their region concerned language use, especially the children's lack of ability in English. Reports from county superintendents to the state superintendent in the late 1850s discuss such language problems in Berks (*PDPI* 1855, 27–28), Northampton (*PDPI* 1855, 78), and Lancaster (*PDPI* 1856, 143). J. P. Wickersham was superintendent of schools for Lancaster County and later became the state's superintendent of common schools. The Pennsylvania Germans considered him to be "English," but he clearly had some sympathy for the Pennsylvania Germans in his district. In his report to the superintendent of common schools for 1856, he wrote: "The teacher's task is necessarily first, to teach his pupils to speak and think English; and when it is recollected that they hear nothing but German at home or among their school mates, that task is very difficult, and, we need not wonder that the work of teaching geography and grammar is sometimes entered upon with reluctance" (*PDPI* 1856, 143). Specific discussions of the problems of teaching Pennsylvania German children come from the pages of the *Pennsylvania School Journal*, which was published by the state's department of public instruction (Foster 1861; Malone 1860; Witmer 1860, 94). A group of Pennsylvania German educators, mainly centered around Keystone State Normal School (now Kutztown University), suggested offering programs that would use the Pennsylvania German language as a bridge to learning English. They proposed that districts hire Pennsylvania German teachers who could be sensitive to the children's background and upbringing. They also felt that the education should be sensitive to the accomplishments and practices of the Pennsylvania Germans (S. Baer 1877; Ermentrout 1863; Witmer 1860; see also Donner 2008). One of the earliest statements of this approach came from the superintendent of common schools in Berks County, John Ermentrout, who was a Pennsylvania German, educated at Marshall College (now Franklin and Marshall), and had served as a German Reformed minister. In a paper published in the *Pennsylvania School Journal*, Ermentrout (1863, 81, 82) proposed using German as a means to learn English but was clear that Pennsylvania German background and character should be respected: "What we insist on, however, is that, whilst our Germans may be disposed to learn the universal language, the English should not be so impolitic or exclusive as to require them to sacrifice the original character with which the Almighty endowed them. . . . Once fully convinced that, though required to use our language [English], our Germans

will not be called upon to sacrifice their proper character and social customs, they will readily fall in with our plans of education, and prove, by their aptness to learn, that they are worthy of the highest culture." Ermentrout (1863, 83) proposed a system of learning English by showing etymological relationships between English and German and translating back and forth between English and German.[8]

During this period, Abraham Reeser Horne was another strong supporter of a bilingual system of education. Horne was born a Mennonite in 1834, attended Pennsylvania College (now Gettysburg College), converted to Lutheranism, and was ordained as a Lutheran pastor. He was superintendent of the Williamsport school district and then principal at Keystone from 1872 to 1877. From 1860 until his death in 1902, Horne was also the editor of a journal, the *National Educator*, which is an important source for information about education in Pennsylvania from a Pennsylvania German perspective. In 1875, while at Keystone, Horne (1875, 3) published his best-known book, *Pennsylvania German Manual*, in which he described the problem confronting Pennsylvania Germans in its preface: "The great problem presented for solution, is how shall six to eight hundred thousand inhabitants of eastern Pennsylvania, to say nothing of those of other parts of our own State and other States, to whom English is as much a dead language as Latin and Greek, acquire a sufficient knowledge of English to enable them to use that language intelligently?"[9]

Horne's *Manua*l included exercises to help Pennsylvania Germans to correctly pronounce English. It also included large sections written in Pennsylvania German, often with content that emphasized the customs and accomplishments of Pennsylvania Germans. In 1875 there was very little material written in Pennsylvania German, and Horne must be considered a pioneer in developing Pennsylvania German as a written language. He did teach a written form of Pennsylvania German to the aspiring teachers at the normal school, and there is a copybook in the Kutztown University archives from 1876 that includes the results of an examination in the Pennsylvania German language (Donner 2010). Horne's *Manual* went through three more printings (1896, 1905, 1910) and seems to have enjoyed some popularity as a general reference book, but it never seems to have been widely used in schools as a book of instruction (see Reichard 1918, 127; Robacker 1943, 75; for a discussion of Horne's life, see Donner 2000).

In the 1860s and 1870s, there were still some Pennsylvania Germans who were strong advocates for the use of standard German in public schools, although these people usually supported the goal of learning English as well. D. E. Schoedler wanted to establish a normal school in standard German at Brodheadsville in Monroe County and even had plans for the school drawn up. It was to be named the Wickersham English-German Normal School, after the state superintendent of schools, J. P. Wickersham, and even had some support from state authorities. Although some writers assert that there was

opposition to the project from the state because of its emphasis on German, regional historians report that the project fell apart because of local issues, including personality conflicts, problems with funding, and lack of support from neighboring counties (Hoffman n.d.-a, especially ch. 4; n.d.-b, 20; Kloss 1998, 190; Stine 1938, 77–78,). In fact, some administrators in the state's educational system, including state superintendent Wickersham, were sympathetic to many of these bilingual projects (see S. Baer 1877, 114).

The strongest advocate for the use of standard German during this period was Samuel Brobst. He was the driving force behind the Verein der deutschen Presse, which supported the use of standard German in Pennsylvania publications (Horne was another member of the group). Brobst was also a strong supporter of the continued use of standard German in Lutheran churches. But with his death in 1876, the supporters of standard German lost their strongest advocate (see Brobst 1872).

The use of any language other than English in schools was controversial during this time period, even among Pennsylvania Germans. Samuel Baer's advocacy for the use of standard German or Pennsylvania German, mainly as means to learn English, touched off a controversy about whether any language other than English should be used in schools at the state teachers' association meeting, and one of Horne's talks also sparked a similar debate (S. Baer 1877; *NE* 18.4 [1879]: 49–50, 53).[10] George Baer (not a close relation of Samuel), who became president of the powerful Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, was a strong supporter of Pennsylvania Germans and was the first president of the Pennsylvania German Society. But as early as 1875, he argued that Pennsylvania Germans must be educated in English as the national language (G. Baer 1875; see also Bassler 1906). The faculty minutes at Keystone report that even Horne, one of the strongest proponents of the Pennsylvania German language, felt obliged to limit the use of "German at the table," presumably referring to the use of Pennsylvania German during meal times (Faculty Notes, Kutztown University, February 15, 1877; see also *NE* 15.140–41[1876]: 2).

One of the most influential of Pennsylvania German educators during the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century was Nathan Schaeffer, who succeeded Horne as principal of Keystone State Normal School (see Koch 1951). Schaeffer was born in 1849 to a wealthy farmer who was one of the original founders of Keystone State Normal School. He graduated from Franklin and Marshall College, studied in Germany, and was ordained as a Reformed minister. He succeeded Horne as principal at Keystone and then became the state's superintendent of public instruction, serving from 1893 until his death in 1919, through both Republican and Democratic administrations. Schaeffer was a strong advocate of Pennsylvania German interests and for many years served as a board member of the Pennsylvania German Society. Although a strong proponent of learning foreign languages and a strong supporter of Pennsylvania German interests, Schaeffer was not a proponent of using Pennsylvania German or standard German in

schools. Though he is reported to have spoken English with a "pronounced" Pennsylvania German accent (see Graver 1966, 41), he nevertheless was also a strong advocate of promoting a national identity and English as the national language.

In 1878, in his first report to the state superintendent as principal at Keystone, Nathan Schaeffer wrote: "The great problem which confronts the people of eastern Pennsylvania is undoubtedly the question of language. It is their duty to acquire the ready use of the English, without neglecting the claims of their mother-tongue" (*PDPI* 1878, 243). By 1890, Schaeffer is strongly advocating the use of English, as cited in Horne's *National Educator*: "These Children of foreign parents cannot become good citizens and play their part in the future development of the United States unless they acquire the language of business and civil life. The future welfare of such pupils necessitates instruction in English, to the neglect of tongues spoken at home" (*NE* 31.15 [1890]: editorial). And in his report as state superintendent of public instruction for 1895, Schaeffer wrote: "Those conversant with the facts know very well that in counties like Berks, Lebanon, Lehigh, Northampton, a very large population, whose ancestors fought in the Revolution and saved Washington's army from destruction at Valley Forge, still use in their homes the vernacular of their forefathers [Pennsylvania German]. In these sections of the Keystone State, the study of English and its use on the play-ground should be insisted on as one of the chief essentials in the school curriculum" (*PSJ* 44.7 [1896]: 289–90).

Horne himself eventually became an advocate for the exclusive use of English. By the 1890s, he was taking stronger positions for the primacy of English. In one editorial written in 1894, Horne recalled that he did not speak English until the age of eight and then learned English when his father brought an English-speaking child to live with the young Horne. He continued in the same editorial: "Talk English and make everyone around you talk, regardless of blunders. Teachers place a sign over the entrance of their school grounds, even as our old friend Prof. O. S. Fell, did, at the Macungie Institute, thirty-five years ago: No German allowed to be spoken on these grounds" (*NE* 35.10 [1894]; see also *NE* 27.8 [1886]: 5).

In the final year of Horne's life, an editorial appeared in Horne's *National Educator* complaining that children are still not using English as their primary language. The editorial claimed that there is not enough emphasis upon English, which is taught in schools but not used at home. The editorial justified the plea that children must learn English by referring to the dramatic social changes of the late nineteenth century: "They must learn English. The world moves. It has advanced with great strides, the past thirty years. We must keep pace with it." (*NE* 42.10 [1902]: 4). For Pennsylvania German educators, English had become both the language of America and the language of progress.

Another Pennsylvania German educator should be considered in any discussion of bilingual education, although not so much for his policies toward

Pennsylvania Germans as toward other ethnic groups. Martin Brumbaugh had a PhD in education and taught at the University of Pennsylvania, holding its first position in pedagogy; he served as superintendent of public schools for Philadelphia, was appointed the first commissioner of education for Puerto Rico, served as president of Juniata College, and even managed to be elected governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Brumbaugh was a strong supporter of Pennsylvania German heritage, serving on the board of the Pennsylvania German Society and writing in support of Pennsylvania German accomplishments. Brumbaugh was also a leading advocate of Americanization and supported the systematic introduction of nationalist themes into public education. As an administrator, he implemented these policies, first in Puerto Rico and then later as superintendent in Philadelphia. But Brumbaugh also supported policies in Puerto Rico that allowed for bilingual education, the preservation of Spanish, and the hiring of indigenous teachers. Brumbaugh's policy was somewhat enlightened for the time, and I suspect reflects a sensitivity to linguistic diversity that was acquired by his understanding of issues confronted by Pennsylvania Germans (see De Montilla 1975; Issel 1969; Kaylor 1996, 159–64).

Brumbaugh and Schaeffer were proud of their Pennsylvania German heritage, and both were stalwart members of the Pennsylvania German Society. Brumbaugh was cited earlier for his indignation that William Smith and Benjamin Franklin would try to force the English language on Pennsylvania Germans. But the orientation of Schaeffer and Brumbaugh toward education was a national one that emphasized policies of assimilation, nationalistic values, and the mastery of English, both for the children of immigrants and the children of Pennsylvania Germans. Both Brumbaugh and Schaeffer, who were part of a professional class of educators that was developing across the nation, represent a shift in education from a regional to a more national focus (see Tyack 1974; Tyack and Hansot 1982).

By the end of the nineteenth century, Pennsylvania German educators were no longer advocating the use of Pennsylvania German or standard German, nor a curriculum that was sensitive to the background of Pennsylvania Germans. Instead, they were stressing the importance of learning English and emphasizing topics that were part of a national curriculum. In 1942, though, Clyde Stine was critical of the policies decreeing the exclusive use of English in schools with children from Pennsylvania German–speaking regions. Stine (1942, 124–25) associated these policies with those of Nathan Schaeffer: "As advice for solving the language question they have received from their superiors, as I did in 1926, the Schaeffer solution: 'The use of English must be insisted on.'" Stine lamented the situation: "The schools have not made English a usable language for these children, nor have there been any attempts to adapt English to their needs, to give special vocabulary exercises based on the needs of their group—in short to give them English teaching for their environment. The only widespread means of furthering English has been the negative one of ridiculing the dialect."

Pennsylvania German educators themselves, not outsiders, were in the forefront of developing the policies that shaped the education of Pennsylvania German children. By 1900, they had come to a general consensus that their children should be educated in English and learn national values. Their language could be preserved at home, although many felt that it should not be preserved if it hampered the mastery of English. They were proud of their culture and resented that their ancestors' achievements had not received recognition in many history books, but they were also committed to national values and a national enterprise.

Many present-day scholars criticize schools for inculcating a cultural and linguistic hegemony that serves the interests of the wealthy. But these Pennsylvania German educators were not part of a capitalist elite. Brumbaugh and Samuel Baer came from modest means; Horne and Schaeffer were the children of farmers who appear to have been relatively prosperous, but they were also self-made men who can hardly be viewed as part of an elite economic class. Horne had some radical ideas for his time: he was a proponent of a women's right to vote and equal pay for women, and he strenuously opposed the operations of George Baer and his Reading Railroad, complaining that its business practices were a "greater evil" than the Molly Maguires who opposed them (*NE* 16.180–81 [1877]). The writings of these men do not suggest a conspiracy of the wealthy and powerful to use schools as systems of control of the masses. Rather, for these men the educational system offered valued opportunities for Pennsylvania German children and other children to participate in a national society. They came to see assimilation and fluency in English as important to achieve those opportunities. Their school policies would eventually be successful in accomplishing their goals (see Donner 2000; 2008).

Old Order Education: Resistance, Accommodation, and Separation

The Old Order Mennonites and Amish in the twentieth century took a very different direction from the Church people. In the early twentieth century, these Old Order groups still sent their children to the public schools, which were usually one-room schools in the rural areas where Old Order people farmed. But with the consolidation of many of the rural school districts into larger ones the 1930s, the Old Order groups refused to send their children to these new larger and more impersonal schools. In several states, Amish parents were arrested for truancy when they refused to send their children to the public schools. A compromise was worked out in Pennsylvania in 1955–56 that allowed the Amish to have control over their children's education. In other states, contention continued until 1972 when the United States Supreme Court upheld the rights of Amish and others to a separate education system in the case of *Wisconsin v. Yoder* (1972). In the decision, Chief Justice Berger wrote: "There can be no assumption that today's majority is 'right'

and the Amish and others like them are 'wrong.' A way of life that is odd or even erratic is not to be condemned because it is different" (Dewalt 2006, ch. 3; J. Hostetler and Huntington 1992, 44, also 37–50; Kraybill 2001, 161–87; Kraybill and Hurd 2006, 160–69; Meyers 2003).[11]

Most Old Order Mennonite and Old Order Amish now manage their own independent school systems, usually in one-room schools that range from first through eighth grade. English is the main language of instruction. A form of standard "High" German, the language traditionally used in religious services, is taught either in the school or by special arrangement. In accordance with Old Order values, some worldly subjects are not taught, and these schools emphasize basic skills, discipline, repetition, and memorization. Although religious teachings are integrated into the curriculum, the Old Order groups believe that religion is best taught in the home and at religious meetings, and there is no specific religious curriculum. The teachers are usually unmarried women from the Old Order community who have minimal formal education beyond the one room schools that they attended. The children in these schools perform as well on standardized tests as their counterparts in neighboring public schools (Dewalt 2006; J. Hostetler and Huntington 1971; Kraybill 2001, 177–182; Kraybill and Hurd 2006).

Some of the more socially liberal Anabaptist groups also organized their own independent private schools in order to maintain more control over the religious and cultural values that are being taught. Kraybill (1977), in a systematic sociological study of one of these Mennonite schools, concluded that the home environment rather than the school was the most important factor in preserving traditional Mennonite values, providing an important point about the relative effects of schools and home on a child.[12] Kraybill (1991) has also documented the history of a liberal Mennonite school in Lancaster. The school, founded in 1942 by the Lancaster Mennonite Conference in order to preserve Mennonite religious values, has changed over the years in adopting more liberal dress and behavioral codes at the same time that it preserved an emphasis on Anabaptist beliefs. Kraybill's account is a fascinating study of adaptation and preservation among a socially liberal group of Mennonites.

Higher Education: Indigenous Scholars and Ambivalent Institutions

In higher education, the colleges founded by Pennsylvania Germans show a persistent reluctance to promote a Pennsylvania German identity that is separate from a national one and a strong preference for the use of English as the language of instruction. Many colleges were established with a strong religious emphasis and an orientation to educating Pennsylvania Germans, including Franklin and Marshall (German Reformed), Ursinus (German Reformed), Gettysburg (Lutheran), Susquehanna (Lutheran), Muhlenberg (Lutheran), Juniata (Brethren), Elizabethtown (Brethren), Albright (United

Brethren in Christ/Methodist), and Lebanon Valley College (United Brethren in Christ/Methodist). Perhaps because they represented the interests of wealthier Pennsylvania Germans, these colleges used English as their language of instruction and generally adopted a curriculum that was much more national than regional in orientation. The discussion in this section focuses primarily on public institutions and colleges associated with Church and other socially liberal groups, most of which adopted a more secular orientation during the twentieth century.

The German-speaking population of Pennsylvania established several colleges with some emphasis on the standard (High) German language in the late eighteenth century, but English became the dominant language of instruction at these colleges by the early nineteenth century. In the 1780s, shortly after its founding, the University of Pennsylvania established a chair in German. Although it was taught as a language, German was never developed as a language of instruction at the University of Pennsylvania (see Haussmann 1917; Kloss 1998, 189; Rosenberger 1966, 44–47; Rush 1950; Sack 1963, 113). When Franklin College (eventually Franklin and Marshall College) was established in 1787, both German and English were intended to be used as languages of instruction. Sack (1963) reports that the college had difficulty in actually functioning; and in whatever form it functioned, Dubbs (1903) claims that German was dropped as a language of instruction within a few years (see also Griffith 2010). In 1853 Franklin College merged with Marshall College to form Franklin and Marshall College, where English was always the language of instruction. Muhlenberg College had a difficult time raising funds for endowing a Brobst Chair of German Language and Literature, while money for other chairs including in Latin and Greek were much more easily raised (*Board of Trustee Notes* 1877–99, see especially July 20, 1880, 97).

Among public colleges, Kutztown (originally Keystone State Normal School) had the most explicit Pennsylvania German roots and emphases (see Graver 1966; *PSJ* 15.9 [1867]: 207–8). But Kutztown had a long and very ambivalent relationship with its Pennsylvania German roots, at times embracing them as part of its regional heritage and at other times distancing them in an effort to be more cosmopolitan and inclusive. Brendan Strasser (2002) has described the torturous history of a monument that commemorated the importance of Pennsylvania Germans in education and was dedicated on the campus in 1876 as part of the centennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence (see also Stine 1942, 118). At the time, Keystone State Normal School was a center for the education of Pennsylvania Germans. But the monument was sent to the trash heap in 1907 as the college wanted to develop a broader and less regional image. It was saved by some concerned citizens of Kutztown Borough, who moved it the borough's park. In the late 1930s, as interest in Pennsylvania German culture swept the region and nation, the "State Teachers College" brought the monument back to the campus. In 1984, as the newly formed "university" again wanted to present

a cosmopolitan image, the monument was removed again and given to the Kutztown Area Historical Society, where the monument now rests outside the campus boundaries about a half mile from where it was originally placed in 1876.

Other regional colleges, including those founded by Pennsylvania Germans, have not been consistent in supporting programs about Pennsylvania German studies. Generally, such programs developed and continue to develop around the interests and careers of individual scholars rather than longer-term institutional commitment. Simon Bronner has outlined how Franklin and Marshall became a center of Pennsylvania German studies when Don Yoder, Alfred Shoemaker, and William Frey were on the faculty and developed the nation's first undergraduate department in Folklore/Folklife studies in the middle of the twentieth century. Before long, however, the college shifted to more national and cosmopolitan interests and dropped its special focus both on folklife and on Pennsylvania Germans (see S. Bronner 1998, 283–302).[13] Harry Hess Reichard and Preston Barba at Muhlenberg College, C. Richard Beam at Millersville University, and William Parsons and Thomas Gallagher at Ursinus College developed programs that focused on Pennsylvania Germans in the middle to late twentieth century. Although all three institutions have excellent archival material, in recent years their academic programs in Pennsylvania Germans studies have been greatly reduced or disbanded.

The University of Pennsylvania employed a series of scholars who studied Pennsylvania German life from the late nineteenth into the twentieth century, including Marion Learned, Edwin Fogel, and Cornelius Weygandt. Bronner discusses the importance of Learned's teaching in developing Pennsylvania German scholars such as Edwin Fogel and Preston Barba. Learned was also a seminal figure in developing a program for the ethnological study of Pennsylvania's European descendants; before him such studies had focused only on the Native American peoples (S. Bronner 1998, 280–81). Later in the twentieth century, while Don Yoder was on its faculty, the Department of Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania actively encouraged many students to research topics related to Pennsylvania German life. Yoder and his students have had a profound influence on Pennsylvania German studies. But after Yoder retired, there were far fewer dissertations about Pennsylvania German life. When John Hostetler taught at Temple University, there was some interest in the Old Order groups, and his student, Donald Kraybill, has made very important contributions to our understandings of Pennsylvania Germans, especially the Anabaptists.

The Pennsylvania State University also has housed a number of scholars with special interests in Pennsylvania Germans, including Roy Buck, Albert Buffington, Richard Wentz, John Frantz, and Sally McMurry. Students who attended Penn State made very important contributions, including Donald Shelley, who was an undergraduate there, and John Hostetler, who received

his doctorate there. The coeditors of this volume have strong connections with Penn State: Simon Bronner has a chair in American Studies at Penn State and Josh Brown received his doctorate there (and worked with C. Richard Beam as an undergraduate at Millersville University). At the University of Wisconsin, Mark Louden, an expert on the Pennsylvania German language, is teaching courses and developing materials. But most of these interests in Pennsylvania German studies are personal and professional rather than institutional.

There are a few active programs in Pennsylvania German studies at present. Since the 1990s, Kutztown University, re-reviving its interest in Pennsylvania Germans, has developed a Pennsylvania German Studies minor program and sometimes offers college-credit courses in the Pennsylvania German language. Kutztown University also oversees the Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center and is a partner in managing the Kutztown Folk Festival. Under the guidance of Simon Bronner, Pennsylvania State University Harrisburg has developed a doctoral program in American Studies that provides opportunities for those with an interest in Pennsylvania German studies.

At Elizabethtown College, the Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies is one of the most consistent institutions to encourage and produce scholarly research about the Anabaptist tradition and has important publications about Old Order groups. Goshen and Messiah colleges have leading scholars in Anabaptist studies on the faculty and support undergraduate courses as well. Although relevant for Pennsylvania German experience in the past and at present, these Anabaptist programs sometimes include an emphasis on a religious tradition that in my view transcends any particular ethnic identity. Nevertheless, to be sure, scholars at these institutions, including Donald Kraybill, Steven Nolt, David Weaver-Zercher, and Jeff Bach, have made significant contributions to understandings of all groups of Pennsylvania Germans, including both Anabaptists and Church.

Universities and scholars in the southwestern regions of Germany, where the ancestors of Pennsylvania German originated, have developed an interest in Pennsylvania German Studies. Some of these scholars are fluent in their regional dialects of German and have achieved fluency in Pennsylvania German. A leading group is the Deutsch-Pennsylvanischer Arbeitskreis e.V. (German-Pennsylvanian Association), which includes scholars from both Germany and the United States.

Although Pennsylvania German studies are not consistently supported by regional colleges and universities, it must be recognized that scholars of Pennsylvania German life have had a profound impact on the study of American folklore and folklife. Scholars such as Marion Learned, Alfred Shoemaker, Henry Glassie, and Don Yoder and their many students reshaped the field of folklore into the more comprehensive study of folk*life* and established standards for the ethnographic study of American folk practices and cul-

ture more generally. Yoder and Shoemaker developed folklife festivals that became models for cultural representation throughout the country (see S. Bronner 1996; 1998; Kurin 1998, 113; D. Yoder 1974b; 1976a).

In the United States, the future of Pennsylvania German studies at the college and university level is uncertain. For the most part, it will probably continue to be dependent on the interests of individual scholars. Throughout the region, most university faculty and administrators have much more interest in programs that are global as opposed to regional and programs that focus on the cultures and experiences of people who are not European in origin and have suffered from considerable inequity, such as Latinos, African Americans, and Native Americans. To be blunt, many faculty members and administrators, even those at colleges and universities with deep Pennsylvania Germans roots, consider the topic of Pennsylvania German studies to be parochial.

Although there is sporadic and inconsistent institutional interest in teaching about Pennsylvania German culture in the academy, education about Pennsylvania Germans is thriving among a more general public in the region. Many of the numerous heritage organizations, museums, libraries, and festivals in the Pennsylvania German regions include education about Pennsylvania German life as part of their mission. These organizations sponsor events or presentations that highlight aspects of Pennsylvania German culture, especially in demonstrations of their preindustrial technology and farm life, and some offer Pennsylvania German–language classes. Pennsylvania German academics participated and continue to participate in these activities, but most of the organizers and participants in these events and classes do not have advanced academic training. There is often close collaboration between scholars and laypeople.

The examination of the changing trends in education about Pennsylvania German life moves the research agenda to a more postmodern concern with not only the study of a culture but also the study of the various ways in which that culture has been studied and represented. It also suggests the various, complex, and changing understandings of what it means to be "Pennsylvania German," as the term becomes contested, labile, situational, and variable, and as it is remolded by broader discussions about ethnicity in American society (see S. Bronner 1998; 2004c; D. Weaver-Zercher 2001).

In conclusion, Pennsylvania German education provides a perspective for examining important processes in contemporary education. The crucial research issues in Pennsylvania German education concern diversity, resistance, maintenance, pluralism, and assimilation. As discussed in the introduction, one of the most pressing questions about Pennsylvania German education concerns why the experience of Pennsylvania Germans has not been incorporated into academic and public discussions about these topics, especially since these topics are so important in present-day education. Certainly, the successful separation of the Old Order groups in education and the shifting patterns in maintenance and assimilation of the Church

groups should provide some perspective for understanding the struggles of other ethnic groups as they confront similar issues of language use and acculturation. Pennsylvania Germans changed their approaches to education over the past 300 years, and different groups of Pennsylvania Germans took different approaches. The overriding lesson is that different approaches to education may be appropriate in different times, and although educational conflicts can be very emotional at any point in time, cultural groups change their approach to the role of education and language use over time. In all the debates about how to manage cultural diversity in our schools, we should recognize that there can be diverse approaches to diversity.

NOTES

1. The Anabaptists include Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren, each of which include many subgroups. In addition, Moravians and Schwenkfelders are sometimes considered among the "Sect" groups. Schwenkfelders and Moravians are largely assimilated and much like the Church people, as are other people who are culturally Pennsylvania Germans and are members of other mainstream congregations, including a fairly large number of Methodists. I use the term "socially liberal" to refer to a social and cultural lifestyle that is more assimilated to a national society and more open to using modern technology.

2. I will use the preferable "standard German" to refer to the literary and widely used language of Germany, which is often misleadingly referred to as "High German."

3. The Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction printed annual reports that came from the state superintendent of common schools from 1834 to 1874 and from the renamed state superintendent of public instruction from 1875 to 1936. These include annual commentaries from county and municipal superintendents and from the principals of the state-sponsored normal schools. For simplicity, I list these reports as *PDPI* and give the year and page number as bibliographic references; note that dates in citations correspond with the school year date of the report. Published by the state's department of public instruction, the *Pennsylvania School Journal* was the organ of the Pennsylvania State Education Association and oriented to the state's teachers and recorded their annual meetings. These are cited in the text as *PSJ*.

4. The journal went through several changes in format and name, being called the *Educator and Pennsylvania Teacher*, the *Educator and Teacher's Journal*, the *Educator and the Museum*, and finally, for the last twenty-five years of its life, the *National Educator*. For consistency, I refer to it throughout, in both text and footnotes, as the *National Educator*. An almost complete collection cataloged under its various names can be found in the Schwenkfelder Museum and Library in Pennsburg, Pennsylvania.

5. I have similar complaints about this lack of incorporation in all areas of Pennsylvania German scholarship.

6. Joel Spring (2007) reports some very early examples of using schools to assimilate Native Americans during the colonial period.

7. The records do not state whether this was Pennsylvania German or standard German. I assume the textbooks were in standard German, but the actual instruction in Pennsylvania German regions was most likely some mixture of standard German from textbooks and Pennsylvania German.

8. Ermentrout does distinguish standard German from Pennsylvania German, although most of the children in these schools were Pennsylvania German speakers. Textbooks existed at that time in standard German, but not in Pennsylvania German.

9. The main source for Horne's life is found in the obituary published by the *National Educator* 43.4 (1903).

10. For the use of German see notes 7 and 8.

11. This Supreme Court decision provides the legal legitimacy for the widespread home-schooling movement.

12. Kraybill's findings resonate with some important findings of the well-known Coleman (1966) report, which found that factors such as home environment had a bigger outcome on student learning than classroom variables.

13. The C. Richard Beam Lecture series at Franklin and Marshall College features a speaker on the topic of Pennsylvania German Studies. Beam received his B.A. from Franklin and Marshall College and, as a professor of German at nearby Millersville University, established the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies.

18 Heritage and Tourism

WILLIAM W. DONNER

Pennsylvania Germans have preserved and celebrated their culture, language, and history in various ways, and in doing so they have represented themselves and been represented by others to a public audience. This public representation involves a range of people, as both participants and audience, including the Pennsylvania Germans themselves, tourists, the general public, and academics. Although the processes of representation have been described as *public history* or *public culture*, these labels imply brokerage or organization by academic authorities such as historians or anthropologists for public consumption (Kurin 1997), rather than the self-presentation or negotiation with outsiders of a community's identity that falls under the rubric of *heritage* (Hansen 2014; see also Biesecker 2008; Hoelscher 1998; C. Ray 2003). The label heritage usually takes in a combination of history, culture, and the arts, with an emphasis on expressive traditions and cultural practices. The experience of Pennsylvania Germans as a group that has both strived to recover and display its heritage and been the popular object of tourism and curiosity makes it a prime example of the complex processes of heritage production and consumption in America. For the purposes of this chapter, I refer to events and trends in the Pennsylvania German diaspora such as festivals, tourism, groundhog lodges, *Versammlinge*/*Fersommlinge* (organized social gatherings in the Pennsylvania German language), concerts, and museums meant for the general public under the heading of the *public heritage*.[1]

There are several major themes in this review. First, different forms of heritage celebration and cultural expression were developed in different periods. A literary tradition was developed in the middle of the nineteenth century; the collection of material culture, including folk arts, began in the late nineteenth century; an emphasis on using the Pennsylvania German language on special occasions, including plays, meetings, radio shows, and other events began in the 1930s; the presentation of Pennsylvania German folklife at special festivals also began in the 1930s and was expanded after World War II. In the twenty-first century there has been a broad expansion of organizations, events, festivals, historical societies, and websites concerned with the presentation of Pennsylvania German life.

Second, many of the heritage activities of earlier periods, which were developed to represent and celebrate Pennsylvania German life and accomplishments, have become the major forms of expression for present-day Pennsylvania German culture and ethnicity. Thus, writing in the Pennsylvania German language was an innovation in the 1860s, but it became something that was considered as traditional within a generation; the *Versammlinge* gatherings were innovations in the 1930s, but a generation later they were a tradition; and the folk festivals, developed from the 1930s to 1950s, can be viewed as having become traditional events in themselves. Moreover, all these events, which were about Pennsylvania German life in the past, became cultural expressions in the present. Events and activities that were developed to be *representations about a culture* became, over the course of several generations, *events that are ways to express a culture*.

Third, Pennsylvania Germans themselves were the major interpreters and displayers of their culture and heritage. Often the ethnographic representation and display of cultures and heritage are done by outside academics or cultural brokers. But Pennsylvania Germans are unusual in the degree to which members of the culture itself, both with and without formal academic training, were involved in the description, presentation, and interpretation of their culture and heritage to both academic and public audiences. This long-term involvement of indigenous peoples, as well as the collaboration among academics and nonacademics, is a distinguishing feature of Pennsylvania German public heritage when compared with other groups, including other old-stock Euro-Americans and Native Americans. But if there has been collaboration between academic and lay Pennsylvania Germans, there has been a surprising lack of interest from a broader audience of scholars who examine comparative issues of ethnicity, tradition, and culture change across different cultures.

Fourth, for the Pennsylvania Germans, public heritage is closely related to their ethnic identity, and the study of these topics raises similar issues. Scholars who examine ethnicity across many different cultures have emphasized that ethnic identity may be perceived as being about the past and a primordial inheritance through a group's bloodlines, but it is in fact a process that is constructed and reconstructed over time. Ethnic identity can be shaped by interactions with other ethnic groups (see Barth 1998; Sollors 1986; 1988). Modernization and industrialization can lead to rapid assimilation, but they also can result in the reconstruction of local and regional identities, including a heightened sense of ethnicity (Barth 1998; Featherstone 1990; Robertson 1992). These ethnic and regional identities can be used to try to legitimate a privileged position as opposed to other groups; but, other times, they can be used as a form of resistance against a dominant group (Handler 1988; Herzfeld 2010; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).[2] In a similar vein, writing about heritage events in a variety of different settings, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) has emphasized that these events must be understood as part of the present in which they are produced. Building upon

these views in this chapter, I propose that the public expressions of Pennsylvania German heritage and culture were developed in various venues and media over a long period of time and through interactions with others. Pennsylvania Germans constructed and reconstructed heritage events that were presented as being about the past but also became ways to express an ethnic identity in the present (see Harvey 2007; L. Smith 2007).

Finally, the development and presentation of heritage events can involve very different intentions and meanings than the interpretation of those events by visitors and tourists. This chapter's discussion of the development of heritage events examines how "socially liberal" Pennsylvania German groups, including primarily the "Church" people, German Reformed (now United Church of Christ) and Lutheran, and some of the Sect people, including Schwenkfelders, Moravians, Mennonite, and Brethren groups, developed events to celebrate and represent their heritage.[3] The Old Order groups, although well known to tourists, do not participate in most of the heritage and public culture activities discussed later in this chapter, or in most of the tourist attractions that purport to represent them. Representations by others of the Older Order people, especially the Old Order Amish, in academic publications and public events, however, raise important issues about authenticity and cultural appropriation (see D. Weaver-Zercher 2001).

Tourism and the Amish

A persistent question is whether the Amish are victims or beneficiaries of tourism.[4] Sociologist Roy Buck (1978, 233–34) launched a vigorous debate in 1978 when he suggested that "tourist enterprise strengthens Amish sense of identity by keeping them alert and ever mindful of the 'leisure lust' in their midst. In tourists, Amishmen have a ready model of all that being Amish negates." Donald B. Kraybill (2001, 293–94) more than twenty years later agreed and claimed that, rather than endangering Amish culture, tourism "may inadvertently fortify it." Yet Kraybill worried about a possible "sinister scenario" in the twenty-first century in which the rise of Amish-owned tourist shops could "foster an unhealthy dependency if the Amish become parasites of tourism." He feared that the economic lure of tourism and the political leverage in the larger society it affords the Amish could lead them to "selling their own souls on the public market" and eroding the boundaries of separation that persecution had defined centuries earlier.

Both Buck and Kraybill found that the Amish in Lancaster County do not welcome tourism, but Buck also noted that they have not had their culture eroded or experienced personal distress, as critics warned. Although Kraybill (2001, 293) noted the consumer or colonial "gaze" of tourists toward the Amish as "monkeys in a zoo," he also noted commentary from Amish informants that they are "no longer looked down on" because of the positive image of their maintenance of a traditional, peaceful lifestyle in contrast to violence-ridden modern society (see also D. Weaver-Zercher 2001). Buck hy-

pothesized that the concentration of tourists in hotel-restaurant areas has ironically helped the Amish retain their community bonds. He claimed that the Amish in Lancaster County have accepted tourism because of the tendency to create "commercial zones" in which tourists are kept away from Amish living spaces. Previously, the Amish complained to Buck about intrusions on their farms and social occasions of tourists wandering on their own through the region, but he found that businesses in concentrated commercial strips channel tourists to an ersatz pastoral experience in theme parks, restaurants, retail outlets, and staged events (figs. 18.1, 18.2, 18.3). Amish enterprises—including the crafting of quilts, scooters, furniture, and food—have arisen in response to tourist demand and indeed have allowed women in the community to be breadwinners alongside the men (Graybill 2009; Kraybill and Nolt 1995). The phenomenon is no longer restricted to Lancaster County; according to historian David Luthy (1994, 129), settlements in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa have been affected by tourism and, with it, the growing "peculiarity" of the Amish in American eyes. By the 1990s, he wrote, "any sizeable Amish settlement within several hours driving time of large cities is being affected by tourism" (see also Biesecker 2008).

The proximity to the urbanism and industrialism of the American mainstream appears to be a key to the appeal of the Amish, who have become a viewable version of American ancestors because they have maintained an agrarian, community-centered tradition of faith that Americans nostalgically associate with preindustrial, small-town life in America (S. Bronner 1998, 276–82; Trollinger 2012; D. Weaver-Zercher 2001). According to this hypothesis, other folk groups such as the Hasidim have not attracted this tourist gaze because they are primarily urban (S. Bronner 2013b). Although the Pennsylvania Germans were involved in industry, they have been presented as a rural group with old-fashioned American values. For example, the world-renowned Hershey Story and Hersheypark celebrate Milton Hershey as a chocolate industry mogul, but designers present his Pennsylvania German heritage as premodern roots that contributed wholesome values to his town and business (Kitch 2012, 123–26; see also McMahon 1999). The Pennsylvania German founders of Martin Guitar, Yuengling beer, and Utz potato chips represented in the narratives of factory tours owe their persistence in the modern world to their legacy of German craftsmanship (Kitch 2012, 109–18). Inviting research on the rhetoric of heritage tourism, communications professor Carolyn Kitch (2012, 28–29) finds that the preindustrial Pennsylvania Germans appear happier and simpler, as evident in pitches to cosmopolitan America such as the following for "Dutch Country": "Here is a happy valley which has not retrogressed from simpler times; where you'll find some of the Nation's most productive farms, where the loudest sounds are those of birds, a man calling to his plow horse, the laughter of barefooted children wading in a brook, and the steady clack of an old-fashioned hand loom where a woman is weaving."

Fig. 18.1. Amish Village is a tourist attraction in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, that advertises "you'll get a local's view of how an Amish community works and lives in Lancaster County today." *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

Fig. 18.2. Dutch Haven Restaurant on Route 30, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1999, part of a congested commercial strip forming a "tourist zone." *Historic American Buildings Survey*

Fig. 18.3. Location to photograph modern tourists as an Amish family at Dutch Wonderland theme park, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

Although the Amish have attracted much of the "tourist gaze" fixed on a rural golden age, institutions portraying Pennsylvania Germans as a tradition-bound, farming culture have played up this pastoralism in public heritage and implied that tourists steeped in postmodernity should question their technology-driven, individualistic lives. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for example, created the Pennsylvania Farm Museum in 1953 out of the collection of Pennsylvania German objects and buildings compiled by George (1867–1954) and Henry Landis (1865–1955) in Lancaster County. Of Pennsylvania German descent, the brothers set out to recover what they perceived as fading Pennsylvania German culture by amassing preindustrial farm and craft implements and presenting them as a museum in their barn in 1925. Influenced by the tourism in the county, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in the 1980s refocused the mission of the site to the interpretation of Pennsylvania German rural life and renamed it the Landis Valley Museum. In 2011 the name was expanded to the "Landis Valley Village and Farm Museum," with presenters demonstrating reminders of bygone skills such as horse-drawn plowing, tinsmithing, and hearth cooking (Emery and Richman 2013; E. Johnson 2002). Even if tourists come to the museum out of misplaced nostalgia, the museum claims to provide an educational program with the goal, according to its website, of "preserving and interpreting the history and culture of the Pennsylvania Germans for generations to come."

Critics of tourism cite the problem of commercial development that has the ironic consequence of driving the Amish away from their ancestral farm-

lands. They point out that the Amish often do not participate in their own interpretation and are misrepresented in popular performances as primitive and ignorant to maintain the illusion of American pastoralism that tourists seek (Trollinger 2012; Walbert 2002). A particularly vocal critic was John Hostetler (2005), author of the seminal study *Amish Society* (1963), who protested "intrusion into the Amish community" by mass media. Referring to the arrival of film crews for the movie *Witness* (1985), he protested the entertainment industry's exploitation of the Amish "open," cooperative attitude: violation of the Amish religious prohibition against being photographed; and the industry's tendency to "fictionalize and to alter reality in any way that will entertain with maximum profit." The success of the movie, in fact, spurred more tourism in the region where it was filmed, and critics complained that this kind of secondary marketing opened up the Amish, or a manufactured image of them, to being consumed socially and commercially (Downing 2008). In the twenty-first century, the debate continued on the representation, fictionalization, and exploitation of Amish and Hutterite values in a host of television "reality" shows (Bottinelli 2005).

Heritage: The Past in the Changing Present

Most present-day tourists probably have a distorted "gaze" that sees all Pennsylvania Germans as some conglomeration of the Old Order Amish, preindustrial farmers, mixed with an eighteenth-century handicraft tradition. But a closer examination of Pennsylvania German heritage events reveals that socially liberal Pennsylvania Germans most notably from the German Reformed and Lutheran religions, who make up the vast majority of Pennsylvania Germans, maintained and constructed heritage events while they also participated in the larger national society, both assimilating and contributing to that larger society. In contrast, the Anabaptist people, especially the Old Order groups, have a strong allegiance to a heritage and identity that is religiously based, which limits and sometimes forbids their participation in secular heritage events. Thus, over the course of several centuries, it was the Church Pennsylvania Germans and some socially liberal Sect people who promoted a traditional Pennsylvania German identity while developing a secular heritage.

Starting from their first arrival in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these Pennsylvania Germans were constantly struggling with ways to live within a largely English-dominated society and still maintain distinctive cultural traditions. They and others noted their many differences from their English neighbors in language, cultural practices, and religion. As early as 1789, Benjamin Rush, the famous doctor, wrote an account of the Pennsylvania German population that noted these differences ([1789] 1910). Recent studies of Pennsylvania German architecture and landscape find the material culture of the Pennsylvania Germans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reflected a developing ethnic identity as the Pennsylvania

Germans incorporated national settlement and cultural patterns into their daily lives at the same time they kept and valued patterns that reflected their distinctive origin and heritage (see McMurry and Van Dolsen 2011). In a study of Pennsylvania Germans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Steven Nolt (2002) has outlined the tensions among Pennsylvania Germans as they attempted to preserve distinctive Pennsylvania German practices while they became uneasily integrated into a national society. Nolt argues that many Pennsylvania Germans viewed the preservation of their distinctive practices as an expression of broader American values that supported independence and self-determination. Nolt's book culminates with a discussion of the Reverend Henry Harbaugh (1817–67), an eminent German Reformed pastor, whom Nolt (2002, 140) argues exemplifies a developing Pennsylvania German ethnicity: "Henry Harbaugh, among others, sensed that ethnicization was itself a process of Americanization." Many other scholars view Harbaugh as a crucial figure in defining Pennsylvania German identity and heritage (see Reichard 1918, 54–73; see also Kieffer 1945; Nolt 2002; R. Wentz 2007; D. Yoder 1992). Harbaugh died shortly after the Civil War. In the years following that war, there was increased interest in Pennsylvania Germans and explicit efforts to develop and celebrate Pennsylvania German heritage and identity (D. Yoder 1992).

An important expression of heritage came from the development of an indigenous literature. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Pennsylvania Germans started writing in their dialect, creating an ethnic tradition. The Pennsylvania German language or *Pennsilfaanisch Deitsch*, which is derived from the Germanic languages found in the Pfalz region of what is now southwestern Germany and neighboring regions, had not been a recognized written or literary language until the middle of the nineteenth century. Pennsylvania Germans used High (standard) German or increasingly English as their main literary language. (For the rest of this essay, I refer to "High" German by the preferable and more accurate term, "standard" German.) In the 1860s, Henry Harbaugh, began writing poetry in Pennsylvania German in the *Guardian*, a religious journal that he edited. After Harbaugh's death his poetry was published in 1870 as a book, *Harbaugh's Harfe*. Harbaugh was influenced to write in Pennsylvania German by his colleague, Philip Schaff, who was a native of Germany and was familiar with the writings in the Alemannic dialect by Johann Peter Hebel. About the same time, Edward Rauch, a staunch Republican, wrote columns in Pennsylvania German that satirically described the tribulations of the fictional, hard-drinking, Democrat, Pit Schweffelbrenner (Rauch 1868). Rauch was imitating the contemporaneous satirical writings of James Russell Lowell as Hosea Biglow and more specifically David Locke in the voice of Petroleum V. Nasby, which were very popular during the Civil War (see Reichard 1918, 77). Rauch's short-lived journal, the *Pennsylvania Dutchman* and Abraham Reeser Horne's (1875) book, *Pennsylvania German Manual*, included explicit efforts to praise Pennsylvania German cultural accomplishments and to do so in the Pennsylvania

Germans' language. In the late 1800s, newspaper publisher Thomas Harter (1893) wrote one of the most popular humorous Pennsylvania German newspaper columns under the pseudonym of Gottlieb Boonastiel. Building on these sources, a literary movement developed in the latter nineteenth century that continued into the twentieth century, which primarily included nostalgic pieces about the simple joys of bygone times and humorous, earthy newspaper columns. These new literary forms praised Pennsylvania German heritage but usually did so with very American themes and contexts (see Buffington 1962; 1980c; Donner 2016; Kloss 1931; Louden 2001; 2003c; 2016; Reichard 1918; 1940; Robacker 1943). By using the medium of Pennsylvania German, the message united a specific group of people and separated them from a larger non-Pennsylvania German audience.

At the same time that this literary tradition developed during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was increased interest in Pennsylvania Germans both from outsiders and among Pennsylvania Germans themselves who wrote in English for a broader audience. Phebe Gibbons wrote accounts of her Pennsylvania German neighbors in Lancaster County for *Atlantic Monthly*, which eventually were published as a book (1869; [1872] 2001; D. Yoder 2001c). Scholars began writing about the Pennsylvania German language (Haldeman 1872; Learned 1889) and folklore (Hoffman 1889a; 1889b; see S. Bronner 1998, 280–81). Pennsylvania German writers themselves focused on their group's history, often in county and local histories. Daniel Rupp (1844a; 1844b; 1844c) included material about Pennsylvania Germans in his county histories of eastern Pennsylvania, as did Morton Montgomery (1886) in his history of Berks County. Samuel Pennypacker (1883) wrote a book that highlighted some early Mennonite leaders. Nevertheless, many Pennsylvania Germans felt that their history and accomplishments were overlooked in comparison with other groups, especially those from New England and Virginia. People from other parts of the country wrote the history books used in schools, including those in Pennsylvania German regions, and ignored or derided the contributions of the Pennsylvania Germans.

Within this context of increasing Pennsylvania German self-awareness and also resentment toward their portrayal to the larger American audience, the Pennsylvania German Society was formed in 1891. The society was also founded as part of a national trend in the late nineteenth century to assert one's ancestral connections to early immigrants who came in the eighteenth century (Lord 2008; Swank 1983). Ancestral societies such as the Sons of the American Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, Society of Mayflower Descendants, and Society of Colonial Wars, among many others, were all founded about the same time (see Kammen 1991, 218; for a contemporaneous Pennsylvania German view, see T. Zimmerman 1891). The founders of the Pennsylvania German Society insisted on demonstrable genealogical connections to ancestors who arrived from Germanic regions in the eighteenth-century in order to be admitted for full memberships (Hellerich 1991).

Compared to other ancestral societies, the Pennsylvania German Society has a much longer and more impressive record of scholarly publications. For almost every one of the past 125 years, the society has produced an annual volume (in addition to annual volumes of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, which combined with the Pennsylvania German Society). Since 1967, it has produced a journal, *Der Reggeboge* (the Rainbow) and many different special publications. Moreover, much of the work is not simple hagiography of ancestral accomplishments, although ancestral pride was a large part of the original intent of the founders of the society. The publications include many first-rate descriptions of the language, culture, history, daily life, religion, architecture, folk beliefs, arts, and crafts (see Haag 1998). This consistent and long-term publications record is remarkable and sets the society apart from other ancestral and heritage societies. Although the society's publications are an important source of information about the people and represent a concerted effort to describe their culture and to praise Pennsylvania German accomplishments, the society's audience was originally limited to mainly well-to-do Pennsylvania Germans. Until the middle of the twentieth century, a typical printing of each annual volume was limited to 600 copies.

With similar interests as the founders of the Pennsylvania German Society, a Lutheran pastor, Philip C. Croll, founded a journal, the *Pennsylvania-German*. The journal published poetry, historical articles, biographies of famous Pennsylvania Germans, and suggestions for country tours. Croll edited the journal from 1900 until the end of 1905, producing a total of six volumes before turning it over to new editorship, which eventually took it in a different, more Germanic-nationalist direction (see Swank 1983, 68–69).

Most of the expressions of heritage in the nineteenth century were literary, written in books, journals, and newspapers, in both English and Pennsylvania German. But heritage was also becoming expressed in public events, activities, and exhibitions. In Kutztown in 1876, as part of the centennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence, a group of Pennsylvania German educators erected a monument at Keystone State Normal School (now Kutztown University) commemorating the accomplishments of Pennsylvania German educators. Each side of the monument had an inscription in a different language: standard "High" German, Latin, English, and Pennsylvania German. This is almost certainly the first (perhaps only) use of the Pennsylvania German language in a public monument. The Pennsylvania German inscription reads: "Unser Frei / Schulwesa kumt / fun da / Pennsylfanish / Deutsche har. / Der Govaner Wolfe / hot's geplant / un g'start un der / Ritner un der / Shunk hen's / ausgfehrt" (Our Free School system comes from the Pennsylvania Germans. Governor Wolf planned and started it, and Ritner and Shunk carried it out). The monument can still be seen today outside of the Kutztown Area Historical Society in Kutztown (Stine 1942, 118; Strasser 2002, 27; see also Ermentrout 1876).

At the turn of the century, collectors and museums began to identify and collect Pennsylvania German material culture. Edwin Atlee Barber ([1903]

1970), a curator of ceramics at the Pennsylvania Museum of Art (now the Philadelphia Art Museum), wrote about the redware tradition of Pennsylvania Germans. Henry Mercer (1897), an archaeologist and collector, wrote about the "illuminated manuscripts" (fraktur) of Pennsylvania Germans. Although not a Pennsylvania German, Mercer had a very important influence in the collection and display of Pennsylvania German material culture. Independently wealthy and with some training as an archaeologist, Mercer became interested in collecting samples of everyday technology and material culture. His interests, radical for the times, were in the material cultural remains of ordinary American technology: door latches, locks, construction materials, farm equipment, cider presses, stoves, roof materials and other ordinary examples of material culture. Much of his collection was taken from Pennsylvania German regions. His collection eventually formed the basis for the collection of the Mercer Museum at the Bucks County Historical Society.

About the same time, Marion Learned, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, embarked on program of cataloging and collecting American material culture and took a special interest in material from Pennsylvania Germans (see S. Bronner 1998, 280–81). As discussed earlier, two Pennsylvania German brothers from Lancaster County who did not have formal academic training in material culture, Henry Kinzer Landis and his brother George, began collecting everyday farming and hunting equipment, often buying them at local auctions. Their collections formed the basis for a "barn museum" that eventually opened in 1925 and developed into the Landis Valley Museum. The Landis brothers and Mercer were important trailblazers in that they not only studied and collected material culture but also displayed it to the public.

Another regional heritage museum has its roots in this period, although it was not based on the collection of material culture. Rather it is derived from the commemoration of an early Pennsylvania German pioneer and associated historical events. In 1893, educators in Berks County organized a special day to honor Conrad Weiser, an early Pennsylvania German settler and leader.[5] These educators asked the county's students to collect their pennies to pay for a monument in honor of Weiser. The Weiser monument was erected in the town of Womelsdorf, near Weiser's homestead, in 1909. A bicentennial celebration of the original Pennsylvania German settlement of the region took place in 1923 and from this came the idea of establishing a park to honor Weiser at his homestead. An estimated 25,000 people attended a dedication ceremony for the Conrad Weiser Memorial Park in 1928 (Bradley 2001; Croll 1923; 1926; *The Tulpehocken Bi-centennial*). Administration of the park was eventually turned over to Pennsylvania Museum and Historical Commission, where it became the Conrad Weiser Homestead.[6]

World War I raised problematic issues for Pennsylvania Germans. Although their ancestors arrived long before the formation of the German nation and most Pennsylvania Germans had uneasy relations with other

German Americans, there were questions about their loyalty in World War I. The Pennsylvania German Society suspended its meetings between 1916 and 1920. Homer Rosenberger (1966, 147), in his still useful history of the Pennsylvania Germans, wrote that during this time "dialect columns in newspapers, and books in the dialect were pushed to the background" and many Pennsylvania Germans "were very quiet about their ancestry." It took about a decade for the Pennsylvania Germans to become more public about their heritage, but during the late 1920s and 1930s there was a blossoming of heritage and scholarly activities. Outsiders came to appreciate the Pennsylvania Germans, and Pennsylvania Germans themselves became even prouder of their accomplishments and developed new forms for expression of their culture. The literary traditions in poetry and newspaper columns that began in the nineteenth century were revived. New media and venues for expressing Pennsylvania German culture were developed (see W. Werner 1937). Largely this revival was inspired and managed by the Pennsylvania Germans themselves, as organizers and participants, and was often directed to audiences of Pennsylvania Germans.

In 1928 a play in the Pennsylvania German language, *En Quart Millch un en Halb Beint Raahm*, written by Clarence Iobst (1939), was performed at Emmaus High School, outside of Allentown. Performances of this play were repeated and became extremely popular in the region and inspired many other Pennsylvania German plays and playwriting contests in the Allentown area in the late 1930s (Fetterman 1989; Reichard 1939).

In the 1920s and 1930s, "folk" festivals were organized in various parts of the country mostly to celebrate regional dance and song traditions. In 1935 George Korson, who was collecting folklore from Pennsylvania's miners, organized a state folk festival at Bucknell University that included a major Pennsylvania German contribution. In the next few years, regional folk festivals and contests were held across the state and in Allentown with strong Pennsylvania German participation and representation. These presentations often included not only music and song but also demonstrations and reenactments of Pennsylvania German cultural practices (A. Gillespie 1976; 1980). These folk festivals and reenactments of Pennsylvania German folklife were one of the foundations for the folklife festivals that were developed by Alfred Shoemaker and Don Yoder in Kutztown in 1950, which in turn became an important model for folklife festivals throughout the country.

In the 1930s, Pennsylvania Germans began organizing *Versammlinge* or *Fersommlinge/a* (gatherings) that celebrated both their language and heritage. In 1933 professors at Susquehanna University held the first recorded *Versammling* or gathering of Pennsylvania Germans in a heritage event that emphasized the exclusive use of their language. The event was held in honor of Thomas Harter, the Pennsylvania German column writer described earlier. The entire event was held in the Pennsylvania German language with songs, speeches, and even an alleged communication from President Franklin Roosevelt in Pennsylvania German.[7] Shortly afterward, William Troxell called a

meeting of several Pennsylvania Germans to discuss a plan for having fun and expressing Pennsylvania German culture. Troxell wrote a Pennsylvania German newspaper column in the Allentown *Morning Call* under the name of Pumpernickle Bill. He also was very active in presenting Pennsylvania German demonstrations at regional and national folk festivals (he made a Pennsylvania German presentation at the 1939–40 New York World's Fair). Troxell proposed holding a Pennsylvania German language event that celebrated the legendary ability of groundhogs to forecast the end of winter (fig. 18.4). It is not clear how he came upon the idea, although his personal files indicate that he followed the activities of English-language groundhog events at Quarryville and the well-known one in Punxsutawney. In 1934 a sellout audience of more than 300 men gathered for the first *Grundsow*/Groundhog lodge meeting. Only Pennsylvania German was allowed to be spoken; there were fines for each word of English. There were songs, prayers, a Pledge of Allegiance, oaths of fealty to the groundhog, skits, humor, and several speeches, including a talk by Edwin Fogel, a professor of German at the University of Pennsylvania, all in Pennsylvania German. The meeting became an annual event reaching over 700 in attendance in the following years.

The idea of holding similar language events spread rapidly in the 1930s. Other *Grundsow*/Groundhog lodges were formed, often by people who had traveled to see the meetings at Lodge no. 1 and wanted to have a lodge nearer to their home (fig. 18.5). The most recent lodge (no. 18) was formed in 1992. At

Fig. 18.4. *Verbinnerei*, ceremonial oath of membership in Groundhog Lodge No. 1, 2012

this writing, there are seventeen lodges that meet annually in the late winter or spring. Lodge no. 3, which was established at Temple University in 1938 (there was a strong contingent of Pennsylvania Germans on Temple's faculty at that time), is the only one that is no longer meeting, being disbanded sometime in the late 1960s or early 1970s. Only men were allowed to attend the Groundhog Lodge meetings. Scores of other *Versammlinge* were organized that followed a similar format but without a special homage to the groundhog and also with women in attendance (fig. 18.6). In recent years, many *Versammlinge* have disbanded as there are fewer Pennsylvania Germans who speak the Pennsylvania German language (the Old Order groups still maintain the language but do not participate in these activities). Currently, the largest is the Berks County Fersommling (*Versammling*), formed in 1937. In the early twenty-first century, it still attracted about 600 to 1,000 people to its annual meetings in Leesport, Pennsylvania; in the last few years, attendance has leveled at about 400 to 500. Both Groundhog Lodges and *Versammlinge* are significant examples of heritage and language preservation. But they have attracted limited scholarly attention, probably because the use of the Pennsylvania German language makes these events difficult to follow for most scholars who do not know the language. Descriptions of these events can be found in Kemp (1946), Gilbert (1956b), Yoder (1985; 2003), and Donner (2002; 2016).

Outsiders also began to notice Pennsylvania Germans during this period between the two wars. In the early twentieth century, American preindustrial folk arts became defined as important and were collected by national museums and wealthy individuals, often as part of an effort to define and claim a common American experience (see S. Bronner 1998, 422–38; Kammen 1991, 316–27). Collectors and museums became attracted to preindustrial Pennsylvania German arts and crafts. There were two major exhibitions of Pennsylvania German material culture that attracted a wide, national audience. In 1929 Joseph Downs, a curator at the Pennsylvania Museum (now the Philadelphia Museum of Art), worked with Henry Francis du Pont to develop an exhibit of Pennsylvania German material culture and arts at the Philadelphia museum. The exhibit included the inside of an eighteenth century Pennsylvania German kitchen, built in traditional Germanic style, which had been removed from a house in Millbach, Lebanon County, and rebuilt in the Philadelphia museum, in addition to a display of furniture and house furnishings (Downs 1936a). In 1934 Downs organized another exhibition of Pennsylvania German material culture and decorative arts at the Metropolitan Museum in New York City (Downs 1936b). These two exhibitions brought a large group of outsiders to appreciate Pennsylvania German decorative arts and also created a sense of pride among Pennsylvania Germans themselves (Swank 1983). These displays of material culture enhanced the growth of regional, entrepreneurial antique shops such as the Tulip Shop (fig. 18.7), owned by Hattie Brunner in Reinholds, Pennsylvania, and increased interest in visiting the region.

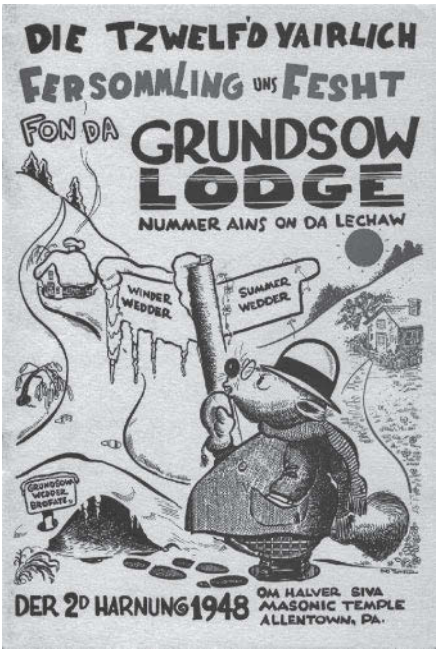


Fig. 18.5. Program cover for the twelfth annual *Fersommling uns Fesht* (gathering and festival) of Groundhog Lodge No. 1, Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1948. *Grundsow Lodsch Nummr Ains on da Lechaw*

Fig. 18.6. Skit performance of "Die Subsitut Schulmaeschten" written by Irwin Klinger at the Unner Mahanoy unn Nochberschaft Yaahrlich Fersommling der Pennsylfaanish Deitsche in Lykens, Pennsylvania, April 1990. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

A popular literature developed that depicted Pennsylvania German life for outsiders. In the early twentieth century, "local color" writers presented fictionalized and often superficial depictions of Pennsylvania German life. Helen Martin presented a critical view of Pennsylvania German characters that appalled many Pennsylvania Germans. On the other hand, Elsie Singmaster presented more positive views that many Pennsylvania Germans

Fig. 18.7. Display of Pennsylvania German folk art at the Tulip Shop (Reinholds, Pennsylvania) booth, owned by Hattie Brunner, Sesquicentennial International Exposition, Philadelphia, 1926. *Courtesy of Simon J. Bronner*

continue to admire (see Hill 2009; Rosenberger 1966, 115–16). In nonfiction, travel writer Wallace Nutting (1924) described some Pennsylvania Germans in his travelogue *Pennsylvania Beautiful*. His claim that the large designs on barns or "hex signs" were painted to keep witches away intrigued many from outside the region and began a bitter debate among scholars about the meanings of these designs that continues to this day in the region (see Donmoyer 2013; D. Yoder and Graves 1989). Nutting was an outsider, but another writer, Cornelius Weygandt, had roots in Pennsylvania German life. While a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, Weygandt (1929) wrote a popular travel book, *The Red Hills*, about the Pennsylvania Germans.

There were many other events developed around Pennsylvania German heritage. In 1935 a group of academically oriented Pennsylvania Germans organized the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society. For the next thirty years, until it merged with the Pennsylvania German Society, this organization published annual volumes that provided important information about the arts, history, and culture of the Pennsylvania Germans. In 1935 Preston Barba, a professor of German at Muhlenberg College, began a weekly column, "'S Pennsylfawnisch Deitsch Eck" (The Pennsylvania German / Dutch

Corner) in the Allentown *Morning Call*. Beginning on March 23, 1935, this column ran for more than thirty-four years until April 5, 1969, and became a very important source for materials written in the Pennsylvania German language and general information about Pennsylvania German culture (see Hanson 2009b). In 1936 Thomas Brendle, a Reformed pastor, began collecting notes about the folklife of the Pennsylvania Germans that he met. He eventually made 57,124 entries in ninety-three notebooks. This is one of the outstanding collections of the folk culture of any American group and is currently housed at Historic Schaefferstown, Inc., in Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania.

Don Yoder (1985) has argued that there are three major influences in the development of Pennsylvania German identity: Germanizers, Americanizers, and the dialectizing movement. The Germanizers wanted to stress and encourage Pennsylvania German relationships with Germany and the standard German language. The Americanizers wanted to emphasize assimilation into American culture. The dialectizing movement wanted to use the Pennsylvania German language as a way to develop an ethnic identity that was American and also Pennsylvania German. The 1930s began a period of great development for the dialectizers, not only in the *Versammlinge* but in many other events.[8] Pennsylvania Germans began using their dialect in church services (in the nineteenth century, many services were in standard German, and by the 1930s almost always in English) (see Gilbert 1956a; D. Yoder 1978). Pennsylvania Germans began holding tall-tale contests to see who could tell the biggest lie in Pennsylvania German (see D. Breininger 2005). Pennsylvania Germans also began broadcasting their language on radio shows, a medium that continued to be used for several more decades. Gilbert Snyder, an educator from Berks County, broadcast a popular program, as *Die Wunnernaas* (The curious one) from 1937 until his death in 1956 (Rosenberger 1966, 206–9). Troxell also broadcast a very popular radio program in the Pennsylvania German language.

Many of these heritage activities went into a hiatus during World War II. World War II did not pose the same questions of Pennsylvania German loyalty as World War I. The war effort, however, became the focus of everyone's energy. After World War II, heritage activities were continued and expanded. Radio shows, dialect columns, and the Groundhog/*Versammling* meetings continued, and new venues were added. The playwriting of the 1930s led to a ten-year series of very popular radio plays about a Pennsylvania German farm couple, *Asseba und Sabina*, that were performed weekly in the Pennsylvania German language on Allentown radio from 1944 to 1954. Many people in the area remember stopping whatever they were doing on Sunday afternoon to listen to the radio show (Fetterman 1988–89; Hanson 2009a; Langley 2009; 2010; D. Yoder 2001a, 4).

After World War II, the folk festivals of the 1930s were greatly expanded and developed into major events for both displaying Pennsylvania German culture and expressing Pennsylvania German identity. In 1949 a group of

people who had taken a Pennsylvania German–language class organized a festival of Pennsylvania German culture at Hersheypark, the popular amusement in Hershey, Pennsylvania. Hersheypark's Pennsylvania Dutch Days continued for thirty years until 1979. Milton Hershey had a Mennonite background. The program, however, seems less inspired by Hershey's ancestry than by a grass-roots movement to express Pennsylvania German culture that was grounded in many of the folklife presentations of the 1930s and mushroomed after World War II. In the program from 1951, there are listings of well-known Pennsylvania German events and performers that originated in the 1930s and 1940s, including a presentation of Gilbert Snyder's popular radio show *Die Wunnernaas*, a performance of the Pennsylvania German radio play *Asseba un Sabina*, a demonstration of Pennsylvania German games, a talk by historian Arthur Graeff, and a Pennsylvania German–language church service (*Pennsylvania Dutch Day* 1951).

In 1950 a Pennsylvania German folklife festival was organized in Kutztown. The event's main organizers, Don Yoder, William Frey, and Alfred Shoemaker, all held doctorates, all were raised in Pennsylvania German culture, and at the time all three were associated with Franklin and Marshall College. Shoemaker was the charismatic, and mercurial, leader. The idea behind the festival was to present and celebrate a regional culture. Angus Gillespie traces the earliest American folk festival back to 1715 but finds that such festivals are primarily twentieth-century events, which achieved widespread popularity in the early 1930s. The national and regional folk festivals of the 1920s and 1930s focused on music and song, usually from a particular regional culture (A. Gillespie 1976; 1996). The Kutztown festival expanded to include a variety of cultural events in addition to music and reflected an academic and cultural agenda that went beyond its predecessors (figs. 18.8, 18.9, 18.10). This expansion into folk culture was not completely new. Regionally, the organizers were influenced by the displays of Pennsylvania German culture organized in the 1930s, in which performers, notably William Troxell, Thomas Brendle, and Paul Wieand, presented different everyday activities of Pennsylvania Germans at state and regional folk festivals. But Shoemaker and his colleagues were doing more than developing a regional demonstration of folk culture. Their festival was part of a much broader and aggressive agenda to catalog, display, and present Pennsylvania German culture and to develop an approach to displaying other regional cultures. Shoemaker and Yoder took a holistic approach to studying contemporary people as still preserving informally transmitted cultural practices. In this approach, they were building on European approaches to the holistic study of folk cultures, *folkliv* in Swedish, or *Volkskunde* in standard German. In developing ideas about presenting culture, they were influenced by the "open-air" museums of Europe where life from preindustrial historical periods was reenacted in reconstructed villages. Shoemaker also began publishing books, pamphlets and a journal about regional folklife, the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, which eventually became *Pennsylvania Folklife* (S. Bronner 1996; D. Yoder 1974b; 1976a).

Facing page, top

Fig. 18.8. Ivan Hoyt's "Hex Sign" stand, Kutztown Folk Festival, 2011 (see also color photo gallery)

Facing page, bottom

Fig. 18.9. Quilt auction at the Kutztown Folk Festival, 2011

HAPPY HALLOWEEN

ZETTLEMOYER
AUCTION COMPANY

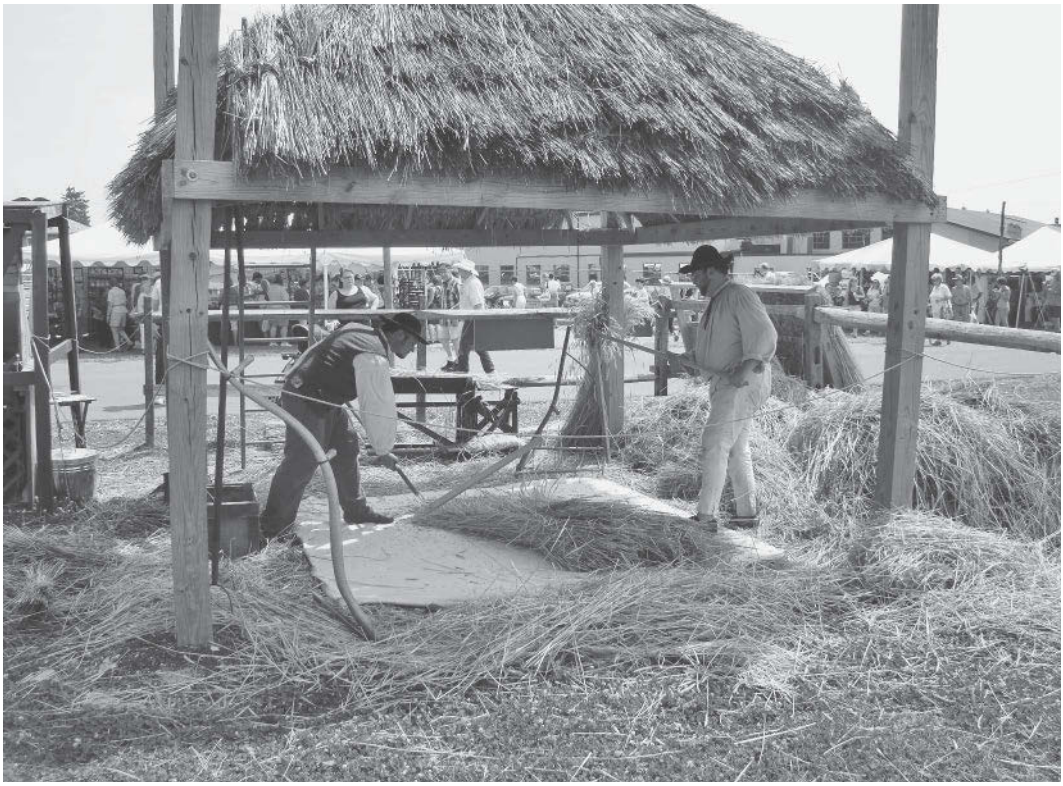


Fig. 18.10. Thatch roof demonstration at the Kutztown Folk Festival, 2011

The Kutztown festival was also part of an effort to reorient the academic study of folklore in the United States to the more holistic and inclusive study of folklife. This transition shifted emphases from people's oral traditions to a more inclusive focus on not only what they said but also what they did. The study of folklife became more ethnographic, anthropological, and holistic with examinations of all aspects of everyday life, including daily chores, work routines, cooking, healing, butchering, and religious beliefs. This reorientation reshaped many folklore departments and influenced American studies programs. The Kutztown Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival became a demonstration of regional folklife that exemplified its organizers' academic agenda (see S. Bronner 1998, 310; 2002; D. Yoder 1974b; 1976a).

The Kutztown Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival captured the American imagination. In 1952 *National Geographic Magazine* did a story about it (Williams 1952). In 1954 the National Broadcasting Company sent reporter Arlene Francis to televise the events of the festival to a national audience. The festival also had a long-term and broad influence. The Kutztown festival, or at least the ideas inspiring it, became the model for presenting culture in most other folklife festivals in the nation. When the Smithsonian Folklife Festival was started in 1967, Don Yoder and his colleague, Henry Glassie,

were key consultants in its organization and philosophy (S. Bronner 1998, 304–10; Kurin 1998, 113; D. Yoder 1976a, 11–13).

In the years following World War II, numerous other heritage events and presentations were instituted, and many were directly inspired by the Kutztown festival.[9] Often these heritage festivals were sponsored by regional historical organizations that also held other activities and supported publications. Some of the notable heritage events that continue to be popular at present include those organized by and associated with the Goschenhoppen Historians, Historic Schaefferstown, the Kutztown Pennsylvania German Heritage Center, the Swiss Pioneer Preservation Associates, and the Hans Herr House and Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society. The Pennsylvania Museum and Historical Commission, established by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in 1945, combined the activities of the state archives, State Museum, and the State Historical Commission. The commission was active in acquiring heritage sites and developing them into state museums. These include four sites with a strong Pennsylvania German orientation: Ephrata Cloister, the Conrad Weiser Homestead, Landis Valley Museum, and Daniel Boone Homestead. These sites include museum tours, volunteer groups, reenactments, and other Pennsylvania German heritage activities.[10]

The development of heritage events also extended to other regions of secondary migration for the Pennsylvania Germans. There is a large settlement of Pennsylvania Germans in Canada dating back to the Revolutionary War (see Burke and Hill 1991). In 1951 G. Elmore Reaman, a descendant of these Canadian Pennsylvania Germans, attended some Pennsylvania German heritage events in southeastern Pennsylvania. He took home the idea of forming a heritage organization in Canada and established the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society of Ontario. This society holds many heritage events and publishes an annual volume.[11] In 1988 an open-air museum, the Frontier Culture Museum, was established in Staunton, Virginia, to commemorate the early settlers to the region. The exhibits include a reconstructed German farm to represent the influence of the Pennsylvania Germans who migrated into the region down the Shenandoah Valley in the eighteenth century. Henry Glassie, who worked with Don Yoder, was a key consultant for the design and development of the museum. This open-air museum is one of the best in the country.[12]

Folklife festivals and heritage events face controversies concerning their authenticity and criticisms for commercialism and misrepresentation of the past and folklife. The Kutztown festival has received considerable criticism for having a commercial, tourist orientation, including when it was under the stewardship of Shoemaker (Boyer 2002; Rosenberger 1966, 298–303; D. Weaver-Zercher 2001, 119–21). There is some validity to these criticisms, but any form of cultural representation, including the most noncommercial and academic, is open to criticism. Close views of the Smithsonian Folklife Festival, which is held annually on the National Mall in Washington, demonstrate the problematic relationships between organizers, displayers, and the

culture of those being displayed. The organizers may be well intentioned but have the very difficult, if not impossible, task of uprooting regional folk practices and bringing them to the National Mall (see Bauman, Sawin, and Carpenter 1992; Diamond 2008). Similar criticisms can be applied to many different forms of cultural and historical representation, including Colonial Williamsburg (Handler and Gable 1997) and historical reenactments or folk representations more generally (Baron 2010; Bruner 2005; Handler and Linnekin 1984; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Magelssen 2007; Stanton 2005).

As discussed earlier, David Weaver-Zercher (2001) has written an extensive analysis of how the Old Order Amish have been appropriated and used by a variety of non-Amish people to create images and events that serve the commercial interests of others and often woefully distort the Amish life, a process that he refers to as the "domestication" of the Amish. He argues that the public presentation of the Amish often caters to a modern desire to imagine a simpler, more genuine and authentic past that in fact never existed: ironically, a desire for a lost sense of authenticity results in a modern inauthentic illusion.[13]

In the critical studies of heritage events done by Weaver-Zercher, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Bruner, Handler, and Bauman et al., there is usually some gap between the people who are being represented and the representation itself. This gap raises issues about legitimacy and authenticity. But most of the heritage events organized by socially liberal Sect and Church Pennsylvania Germans have an unusual overlap between the presenters and the represented and are largely managed by Pennsylvania Germans themselves, who compose a large number of the exhibitors and performers. The Kutztown festival continues to draw upon regional people to represent their folklife at a regional event. Although the population of the area has changed dramatically over the past sixty-five years, the festival still has strong regional roots.

There are complexities in considering issues of authenticity and representation. Probably the most elaborate, "authentic" Pennsylvania German festival is the Goschenhoppen, organized since 1967 by Goschenhoppen Historians, which is currently held in Perkiomenville in northern Montgomery County. This festival's organizers, most of whom do not have postgraduate academic training but are very knowledgeable, place a premium on authenticity and do not allow demonstrators to sell their wares. Presenters display examples of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century crafts, and younger people can apprentice to older presenters in order to learn different crafts. Several different clothing styles are worn to represent the changing styles of different historical periods. The Kutztown festival has always been more commercial and allowed exhibitors to sell their wares. Many of the Kutztown festival exhibitors are also highly knowledgeable in the history and production of their craft. And like the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century craftspeople whose crafts they are reproducing, Kutztown exhibitors innovate to ex-

press their creativity and are sensitive to market conditions. In these later respects, explicit efforts to be "authentic," such as at Goschenhoppen, are not fully representing very important innovative and commercial aspects of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century craft production.

Heritage events that seek to re-create an earlier time or folklife will have very difficult challenges in achieving "authenticity." My own view, admittedly biased by working at the Kutztown festival for more than fifteen years, is that the Kutztown festival not only should be considered as a representation of the past but is also very much an event in the present. The festival incorporates many people and organizations from the surrounding area, many families have worked and performed at the festival for over three generations, and many presenters form close bonds of friendship and even a temporary sense of community during the nine-day festival. Some people also make some money (although not a lot), as do many nonprofit community organizations, including service organizations and churches (see Donner 2003).[14] Many other Pennsylvania German heritage events have this same quality. Whatever their problematic relation to the past or the folklife they claim to represent, these folk festivals do create important opportunities for people to express themselves in ways they find important in the present.[15]

The twentieth-century popularity of preindustrial eighteenth- and nineteenth-century crafts also created both new markets and new inspiration for expressing heritage. With the revival of interest in Pennsylvania German material culture in the early twentieth century, artisans began to reproduce the craft traditions that had been abandoned. For example, the Stahl family had run a pottery business until 1902. In 1934, as prices of early nineteenth-century redware were rising because of the interest in traditional Pennsylvania German arts and crafts, the Stahl family restarted its business (see Isaacs 1988). The Stahl pottery made during this period now commands a premium price compared with more contemporary producers of redware, such as Lester Breininger and Ned Foltz. Over the past seventy-five years, the Stahl reproductions of traditional redware have become valued for being (somewhat) traditional. Hex sign or barn star painting became a business that began to develop both elaborate designs and elaborate interpretations that went far beyond what was found on the sides of barns. There are some highly commercialized productions oriented toward a tourist market, but there were also dedicated crafts people who developed the tradition, and these hex signs themselves became a core symbol of Pennsylvania German identity (Donmoyer 2013; D. Yoder and Graves 1989). Other crafts and manufacturing traditions were revived as ways to connect with ancestry, celebrate heritage, and make some extra money (Isaacs 1988). In a moving article, R. Troy Boyer (1995–96) describes the many generations of his family that owned a business manufacturing horn combs. Although the business was closed as an ongoing commercial enterprise after mass-produced combs became popular, his family continued to make horn combs that are sold at craft

festivals and also use the technology in a new way to manufacture crafted jewelry. Working in a craft industry of the past becomes a meaningful way for a family to innovate and express its heritage in the present.

Many Pennsylvania German heritage events were and continue to be structured around the language. But the language has not been maintained across generations, and there has been a rapid loss of the language among children born after World War II. Even most of the children of the "dialectizing" leaders in the Pennsylvania German–language movement did not learn the language. After World War II, however, a new form of heritage expression became popular as many people attended classes to learn the language. These were usually evening classes conducted by instructors with little if any formal training as teachers. In her study of these classes, Jennifer Schlegel (2004) has described many of the people participating in these classes as "overhearers," people who heard the language spoken by others but never achieved fluency. Schlegel makes the important point that, although students do not achieve great fluency in these classes, the students are often middle-aged or older and feel a connection with youthful memories of their parents and grandparents by participating in these classes, which become as much about expressing heritage as language learning.

Pennsylvania German Scholarship and Heritage

There are several research challenges raised by heritage and tourism. Clearly, there is the complex relationship between audience and observed in relation to tourism. The Old Order Amish have become both exoticized and domesticated as subjects of large tourist and media industries. To some extent this seems true of many Pennsylvania German heritage events as tourists often search for a preindustrial, premodern lifestyle to contrast with the troubling perplexities of their postmodern world. In this search, problems of "authenticity" become magnified. But these issues of tourism and authenticity are not simply regional; they are also part of a much wider global pattern of tourism, authenticity, and a search for a temporary encounter with a premodern "other" (see Bruner 2005; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). The Amish raise particularly thorny issues in the study of tourism because they attempt to preserve some features of a premodern lifestyle in the midst of postmodern surroundings.

There is considerable and broad scholarly interest in the Old Order groups and also broad scholarly interest among art historians in the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century arts and crafts of the Pennsylvania Germans. But there has been relatively little scholarly interest outside of Pennsylvania German studies in the more contemporary and modern Pennsylvania German culture and heritage events discussed in this chapter, although issues concerning ethnicity are very important across a wide range of scholarship. Only part of this lack of interest is due to language barriers. I suggest that the lack of interest from a broad range of American scholars is also a result

of the academic politicization of heritage. Around the world, scholars have found that heritage events can be used in various ways to bolster a group's identity and legitimacy in a larger sociopolitical or national context. Sometimes heritage activities serve as way for marginal or oppressed groups to attain more legitimacy and to resist oppression. Other times, they can be used by dominant groups to try to justify and legitimate a position of privilege (Herzfeld 2010). In the Pennsylvania German case, many of the heritage activities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries originated as an effort to resist marginalization by more powerful "old stock" people, primarily of English ancestry. But in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, these efforts to emphasize heritage can be viewed by many as not a form of resistance or identity formation but rather as a form of trying to legitimate privilege when compared with other ethnic groups who have a broader history of oppression, such as Native Americans, Latinos, and African-Americans. Scholars prefer to study the more oppressed groups and view their use of heritage as more legitimate. It must be added that the Pennsylvania Germans themselves can be viewed as insular in their approaches to their ethnic heritage (see S. Bronner 2004c; D. Yoder 1952). Nevertheless, the history of Pennsylvania German ethnicity and heritage raises important issues that should become part of a broader discussion.

Whereas the scholarship on Old Order groups is largely done by outsiders, much of the scholarship about Pennsylvania Germans has been done by Pennsylvania Germans themselves, and this group includes people both with and without formal academic training. At one time, ethnographers argued that cultures are best studied by outsiders. Outsiders, it was asserted, have a more "objective" view than people who are immersed in a culture. Over the past thirty years it has become much more popular, even necessary, in all forms of ethnographic and cultural representation to include the views or "voices" of the people studied in the presentation of their culture (Clifford 1988; Said 1979; Trask 1999). Thus, not long ago, anthropologists were smugly and often unapologetically studying Native Americans and describing their lives to the rest of the world. But, increasingly, and especially following the changing consciousness toward all forms of authority in many social movements of the 1960s, indigenous peoples came to question the legitimacy of these outside "authorities." Indigenous peoples are now managing their own museums and cultural centers, rather than being the objects of collections by academics. The Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian is a recent and notable example of this kind of inclusion in which the people being exhibited take part in creating the exhibition (see Lonetree and Cobb 2008). Museums have democratized and become more inclusive. In the words of museum director Cameron Duncan (1971), museums have become transformed from a "temple" to a "forum" (see Alexander and Alexander 2008).

But long before this academic fashion of inclusion developed, Pennsylvania Germans in their literature, heritage events, scholarly societies, and

festivals combined people with and without formal academic training. Most of the scholars with academic training in Pennsylvania German life came from, and had strong roots in, the culture about which they were writing. There was an unusual interaction between scholars and common people. Pennsylvania German scholars enthusiastically participated in many of the Pennsylvania German activities, including those that were invented in the twentieth century, such as *Versammlinge*, theatrical presentations, and folk festivals. They were scholars of cultural practices who actively participated in those cultural activities. They often presented their research about the culture in formats and venues that were accessible to a general audience that included common Pennsylvania Germans.

Public culture, heritage, ethnicity, and scholarship intertwined to an unusual degree. Albert Buffington had a PhD in German from Harvard, was a professor at Penn State and later at Arizona State University, and a first rate linguist. He also broadcast a weekly radio program in Pennsylvania German from Sunbury, Pennsylvania, as the *Nixnutz* (troublemaker), a term often used to describe mischievous children. Preston Barba, who had a PhD from Yale, taught at Muhlenberg College and also wrote a weekly column, "'S Pennsylfawnisch Deitsch Eck," for the Allentown *Morning Call* that was popular with the *Call*'s ordinary Pennsylvania German readership (see Hanson 2009b). Harry Hess Reichard had a PhD from Johns Hopkins University and also taught at Muhlenberg College. Reichard was the leading scholar of Pennsylvania German literature (Reichard 1918; 1940). Reichard was the reader for a character, Asseba, in a humorous weekly Pennsylvania German radio show, *Asseba un Sabina*, that was loved by all Pennsylvania Germans (see Hanson 2009a; Langley 2009; 2010). Reichard can be seen demonstrating a Pennsylvania German game at the Kutztown festival in photograph in *National Geographic* (M. Williams 1952, 504). Alfred Shoemaker was born near Allentown and fluent in the Pennsylvania German language. He held a doctorate from the University of Illinois. He had a profound impact in the scholarship of regional ethnography and the presentation of regional cultures, but his activities were clearly oriented to incorporating ordinary Pennsylvania Germans into his ethnographic presentations (S. Bronner 1998, 301). His regular publication, the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, was widely read in the region, more by laypeople than scholars. The *Pennsylvania Dutchman* was succeeded by *Pennsylvania Folklife*, which for about forty years combined both scholars and laypeople as writers and readers. Shoemaker also established the Kutztown festival with the explicit goal of providing a forum for a range of Pennsylvania Germans to present their everyday folk culture to visitors and tourists (see S. Bronner 1996; 1998, ch. 7). Don Yoder is another very influential academic who incorporated and reached out to a broad range of people in his academic and public endeavors. Yoder received his PhD from the University of Chicago and for many years taught in the Department of Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania. He helped Shoemaker organize the Kutztown festival and served as editor of *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

While Pennsylvania German scholars participated in the public culture and history of Pennsylvania Germans, Pennsylvania Germans with limited formal academic training were also important contributors to academic knowledge about Pennsylvania German culture and history. Lacking in advanced academic degrees, these people often have a deep knowledge of the culture and history through experience and research. They wrote articles for "'S Pennsylfawnisch Deitsch Eck," the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, *Pennsylvania Folklife*, and the publications of the Pennsylvania German Society; they are the exhibitors at the public festivals; and they are the major organizers of the *Versammlinge* and Groundhog Lodge meetings and other heritage events. Among these people are William Troxell, the newspaper columnist who organized many heritage events, and Thomas Brendle, a Reformed pastor who collaborated with Troxell and wrote several important studies of Pennsylvania German folk practices (Brendle and Troxell 1944; Brendle and Unger 1935; Lick and Brendle 1923).[16]

Throughout Pennsylvania German history there was a large degree of assimilation, but, at least until recently, there was also a large degree of cultural maintenance and reconstruction. In a book about the academic development of the concept of "tradition," Simon Bronner (1998, 262–82; 2002, 17) writes that in the discipline of folklore, some leading scholars of Pennsylvania German life, including Marion Learned, Alfred Shoemaker, Don Yoder, and Henry Glassie, were arguing that folklore and the study of tradition should be locally grounded in the ethnographic study of specific communities. Bronner suggests that Pennsylvania was an especially rich region for this approach because historically, since the time of William Penn, Pennsylvania has been supportive of local cultural and religious differences.[17] Moreover, as early settlers, Pennsylvania Germans were able to establish themselves on land and in economic ventures that gave them both some degree of independence from the surrounding cultural influences and also some degree of control over their own economic resources (see Donner 2000, 220).

In constructing their sense of heritage and ethnicity, Pennsylvania Germans were certainly grounded in a regional subculture. But they were also constantly borrowing from and contributing to broader national and even international processes. Harbaugh took at least some inspiration from Hebel in his literature; Rauch and Harter borrowed from the general movement of "local color" literature taking place throughout the United States. The Pennsylvania German Society was established with an eye toward other ancestral societies. The revival of Pennsylvania German crafts can be viewed in the context of the more general development of a national interest in colonial material culture. The folklife festivals were partly inspired by open-air museums, historical pageants, and festivals elsewhere in the country. The creativity of the 1930s is at least partly due to the interest of other Americans in Pennsylvania Germans.

Technology has also constantly been incorporated into the Pennsylvania German heritage. The radio was incorporated into their heritage activities

in the 1930s with radio shows in Pennsylvania German, and there were the very popular radio plays, *Asseba un Sabina*, from 1944 to 1954. Pennsylvania German language shows are occasionally found on public access cable television stations. More recently, the Internet has been an important location for Pennsylvania German heritage in the twenty-first century, with most heritage organizations maintaining an Internet site. Among many other digital resources, Pennsylvania German is a language on Wikipedia. There is a very important Internet site maintained by Dr. Michael Werner, who did his doctoral research on Pennsylvania German and started a newsletter in the Pennsylvania German language, *Hiwwe wie Driwwe*, which includes many heritage-related sources and activities.

Pennsylvania Germans continue to change, and with that their sense of ethnicity, heritage, and forms of cultural representation change. In 1891, when the Pennsylvania German Society was formed, Pennsylvania Germans were still a distinctive people who also participated in American society. At that time, most Pennsylvania Germans, including the founders of the society, were raised in the Pennsylvania German language and were still fluent in it, although, to be sure, all the founders of the Pennsylvania German Society were fully fluent in English, and most of them were probably at least capable in standard German. Until World War II, Pennsylvania German could be heard in most shops and street corners of towns in Pennsylvania German regions. There were many people with strong roots in Pennsylvania German language and culture in the 1930s when the development of many Pennsylvania German events took place. In 1950, when Shoemaker organized the first Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival in Kutztown, he could rely upon local demonstrators in their seventies who were raised in a preindustrial farm economy and immersed in the Pennsylvania German language.

By the opening of the twenty-first century, it was much harder to find people who can read and write in Pennsylvania German. Attendance at *Versammlinge* and Groundhog Lodges declined. Few of the demonstrators at the folk festivals at Kutztown and Goschenhoppen learned their skills at home as part of a way of life; instead, most of these demonstrators made conscious decisions to learn a skill in order to show it at a festival or make an object for someone who wants a reproduction. Most of these people do not speak the Pennsylvania German language; some do not have Pennsylvania German ancestors.

The loss of language speakers impacts one the most important features of many Pennsylvania German heritage events and ethnic expressions from the literary writing of Harbaugh in the nineteenth century to the *Versammlinge* in the twenty-first century. Many of the linguistic events described in this chapter may be lost in the future.[18] Nevertheless, many people still participate in Pennsylvania German heritage events and organizations, suggesting that, for them, these events are meaningful forms of expression. There are still many Pennsylvania German language events. There are also many other heritage activities and events that are not dependent on the lan-

guage. In this respect, heritage activities are more inclusive of the general population but less distinctive for people who speak Pennsylvania German. Pennsylvania German culture, as well as its various forms of representation, has changed many times over the past 200 years, and we can expect it will continue to change. In a modern, even postmodern, world, it will not be surprising to find new identities that are less grounded in region and ancestry and are more situational, labile, diverse, and contextualized. Some people, both Pennsylvania Germans and others, may find this disheartening, but others may find opportunities to imagine new forms of expression.

Finally, however one interprets the present, and whatever the future holds, the heritage events of the Pennsylvania Germans are a remarkable accomplishment. The Pennsylvania German activities described in this chapter were often developed to praise the accomplishments of Pennsylvania Germans in earlier times and to make other Americans aware of these accomplishments. But the heritage organizations, language events, and folklife festivals are themselves one of the great accomplishments of Pennsylvania Germans. They demonstrate ways that an ethnic group can develop new traditions as it celebrates old ones, and ways in which an ethnic group can remain distinct and still participate in a diverse society. Perhaps this is one more important contribution of the Pennsylvania Germans.

NOTES

1. See Kupfer 2007 for a description of this concept in Pennsylvania. For a discussion of heritage studies as a discipline, see Hansen (2014) and a comprehensive series of volumes by Laurajane Smith (2007). There is also a journal devoted to these issues, the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, published by Taylor and Francis of Oxford, England.

2. It should be remembered that the term *ethnic identity* is itself a modern one and was coined by social scientists in the twentieth century (Gleason 1983; Sollors 1986, 23–24). Pennsylvania Germans and others in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century often used the term *race* to refer to their distinctive cultural practices.

3. I use the term *socially liberal* to refer to those Pennsylvania Germans who are more assimilated into a national society and more likely to incorporate modern technology in their lives as opposed to the far less numerous people, mostly Old Order groups, who maintain very distinctive lifestyles and resist much of modern technology. These "socially liberal" people are not necessarily politically or culturally "liberal" in the contemporary sense. For the purposes of this chapter the "Church" groups also include Pennsylvania Germans who are members of other mainstream denominations, notably a fairly large contingent of Methodists. Schwenkfelders and Moravians are often classified as "Sect" groups, but are largely assimilated in a manner similar to other Church people. Pennsylvania Germans who have a secular ethnic identity belong to many different religious denominations, but not all members of these denominations consider themselves to be "Pennsylvania German."

4. I am very heavily indebted to Simon Bronner in this discussion of tourism and the Amish.

5. For the life of Conrad Weiser, see Wallace 1945.

6. In 2009 the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania terminated most of its funding for this homestead as part of a range of budget cuts. The homestead is now largely managed by an independent group of citizens, Friends of Conrad Weiser Homestead.

7. To be sure, the presidential communication was forged by the organizers. Such forms of humor became common at these gatherings.

8. Pennsylvania Germans often refer to the Pennsylvania German language as "the dialect," although this can be a very misleading term for describing the linguistic status of the language (see especially Louden 2016).

9. The Kutztown festival has gone through several changes in management and name, including a period when there were two competing "Kutztown" festivals. The present nine-day festival in Kutztown can trace its origins to the 1950 festival, but there have been some significant changes. For the purposes of this essay, I refer to the festival in general across this sixty-five year period as the "Kutztown festival."

10. In addition to the Conrad Weiser Homestead, the Daniel Boone Homestead has also been turned over to an independent group as part of state budget cuts. Regional heritage events can be found on the calendar section of the website of the Pennsylvania German Society (www.pgs.org). The Swiss Pioneer Preservation Associates is an interesting group, with a very high participation by socially conservative Anabaptists.

11. See its website http://www.pennsylvania-german-folklore-society.com/.

12. I am indebted to David Puckett, curator of Collections at the Frontier Culture Museum, for discussing the role of Henry Glassie in the museum's development.

13. David Weaver-Zercher (2001, 114–21) finds that Alfred Shoemaker, who was highly critical of the commercial representation of Pennsylvania German culture, was not above using images of the Amish to market his presentations of Pennsylvania German folklife, both at the Kutztown festival and in his publications. At present, there are very few activities at the festival that represent the Old Order groups.

14. Some of the festival's profits have been used to sponsor scholarships in Pennsylvania German Studies at Kutztown University and the teaching of crafts.

15. See Bruner 2005, esp. 145–68, for an interesting analysis of the many ways in which a heritage event can be used and understood.

16. For a more contemporary example, see also work by Patrick Donmoyer (Donmoyer 2013; Hohman and Donmoyer 2012), who is active in Pennsylvania German heritage events, knowledgeable about the people and their culture, and a prolific and scholarly writer.

17. In my research on small towns, I found that Pennsylvania's system of local government based on small townships and boroughs enhances local and community organizations, including historical and heritage organizations (Donner 1998).

18. Discussions of the futures of the Pennsylvania German language can be found in Louden 2008; 2016; Valuska and Donner 2004; and M. Werner 2007.

19 Popular Culture and Media

SIMON J. BRONNER

Popular culture and media studies are probably the youngest areas of research in the Pennsylvania German field, because before the mid-twentieth century Pennsylvania Germans were hardly represented in media and were not considered significant producers of popular culture. The growth of tourism to "Dutch Country," consumption of Pennsylvania German goods, spread of folk festivals, and the popularity of media productions such as *Plain and Fancy* (1955) changed that. These factors fostered studies that turned from the dominant historical inquiry into the colonial-era roots of Pennsylvania Germans to contemporary implications of popular interest in, or even fetish for, the Pennsylvania "Dutch."

One of those implications is the rendering of the Amish from a stigmatized, apparently separatist community to America's beloved icon of earthy tradition, or even the country's pastoral ancestors, as nationally the family farm and sense of community purportedly declined. There appeared to be something paradoxical or redemptive about tourists from a consumer culture spending leisure time seeking out images of Amish farmers in a producer economy busy at work. Underscoring the Amish as a residual group or a nostalgic survival of the past, popular "things to do" in Dutch country presented the Amish as the authentic "Dutch," as far as many tourists and consumers knew. Further, media outlets and participants in creative industries, including documentary filmmakers, sought out the Amish, which raised questions about the Amish as a tradition-centered residual American group and the ethnic-regional context of Pennsylvania German experience as national news for resisting assimilation and the supposedly obligatory gifts of technological progress. Researchers addressing these questions understood that, while their lenses appeared focused on the bucolic images of the Amish, the broadcast images often reflected back on the psychology of the global "modern" audience taking in the material and the social roles of media producers, performers, and agents, some of whom came out of Pennsylvania German culture.

Popular Press and Advertising

Consideration of popular culture representing Pennsylvania Germans as a rustic, marginalized group in relation to a large proportion of the national population collectively judged to be "mainstream" extends back to the nineteenth century, although popular culture is often associated with the rise of mass media such as radio, television, movies, and the Internet in the twentieth century. Even before media spotlights shone on the Amish, the popular press featured exaggerated representations of Pennsylvania Germans as the epitome of a preindustrial and noncosmopolitan society set against the supposedly unstoppable forces of modernization. For example, when readers of the popular magazine *Atlantic Monthly* opened the October 1869 issue, they were probably surprised by Phebe Earle Gibbons's (1869, 473) essay "Pennsylvania Dutch," for she plainly asserted that the people with that group label "are almost unknown outside of the rural neighborhoods of their own state."

Gibbons's essay came out in the same year that the Union and Central Pacific railroads joined their rails with much hoopla at Promontory Summit in Utah and symbolically proclaimed a connected nation. With this post–Civil War enthusiasm for America as an industrial power fulfilling its "Manifest Destiny" to reach from one ocean to another, regional pockets of agrarian folk groups such as the Scots-Irish "hillbillies" in the Appalachian and Ozark mountains, exuberant Cajuns in the bayous of Louisiana, and rustic colonial-era Germans in Pennsylvania, who stood apart or were even resistant to the swelling tide of conformity, drew attention from "local color" writers (Ammons and Rohy 1998; Hill 2009; Suckow 2002; see also Dorson 1964). Back east at her home in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Gibbons questioned the connection of her Pennsylvania German neighbors (she did not count herself as one of them) whom she described as "peculiar" compared to the prevailing image of the mobile, modernizing, and nationalistic American. She implied that the Dutch with their supposedly odd ways were left behind by the emerging popular culture of the time emanating from urban industrial centers. The mainstream that most American readers would have recognized belonged to the people she called the more sophisticated "English." Besides being identified ethnically, the Germans with their apparently stubborn hold on a vernacular dialect epitomized their inexplicable cultural obstinance and unwillingness to accept national "progress." "Our Dutch use a freedom of language that is not known to the English," Gibbons (1869, 487) wrote, and she added a note about their relative cultural crudeness: "and which to them savors of coarseness."

Other essays in the popular press followed, usually continuing the theme of the difference and isolation of the Germans from the refinement and progress of general American culture. The Pennsylvania Germans drew notice because, although settled in the country for more than a century, they appeared, or were constructed as, unassimilated or unassimilable. In 1907

famed Harvard history professor Albert Bushnell Hart (1907, 539), writing from the vantage of the growing metropolis of Boston, declared that the Pennsylvania Germans remarkably remained separate from American society "and show little signs of complete absorption into the remainder of the community." Noting the long-standing devotion of Pennsylvania Germans to agricultural work despite the rising tide of industrialism and urbanization in the country, Hart called them America's "genuine peasants," further distancing them from progressive modern America (see also Mahr [1945] 1965). He questioned their rationality when they seemed to accept a life of hard labor and ramshackle surroundings rather than take advantage of the promise of prosperity and leisure provided by industrialism. He overlooked the flocking of many Dutchmen from the farms to the coal mines of Pennsylvania's Anthracite Region. Nonetheless, the overall impression of Pennsylvania Germans from journalists, local-color writers, and producers of penny postcards in the early twentieth century was of a land-bound group stubbornly holding on to its agrarian past, and its isolation, in the face of mounting national pressure. German-born professor August C. Mahr ([1945] 1965, 399), for example, observed that in central Pennsylvania, "advancing radially from the big cities, the standardizing and mechanizing forces of today's steel-and-concrete civilization are steamrolling over the peasant minority of the countryside."

That impression of an apparently quietly pastoral existence turned dark with accusations that the backwardness of the Pennsylvania Germans showed in their witchcraft practices, such as "powwowing" (also referred to as the healing traditions of *Braucherei*) and the black magic of "hexing" (spellwork) or *Hexerei* in the dialect (Aurand 1942; K. Herr 2002; Kriebel 2007; Reimensnyder 1989; Shaner 1973). Curiosity was raised by traveling motorists noticing supposed "hex signs" on large Pennsylvania German barns (Donmoyer 2013; Mahr [1945] 1965; Shoemaker 1953b; D. Yoder and Graves 1989). Arguably, the association of Pennsylvania Germans with witchcraft became part of popular culture with the national coverage in 1929 of the so-called "Hex Murder Trial" in which John Blymire, John Curry, and Wilbert Hess stood accused for the murder of Nelson Rehmeyer in North Hopewell Township, York County. Thirty-two-year-old Blymire with his two teenage companions confronted Rehmeyer in his house to get a lock of hair as a charm to break a spell that they believed to have been cast on the family of Milton J. Hess, also of Pennsylvania German background, in York Township. The judge in the case disallowed claims of *Hexerei* or witchcraft and focused on the assault and theft. The defense had wanted to introduce the belief in witchcraft as a "delusion" suggestive of insanity ("Bars Witchcraft" 1929). Reporters from the *New York Times* and other major publications harped on the context of strange superstitions and "spell books" among the Pennsylvania Germans ("Charm Book" 1929).

The case as reported in newspapers outside the region set an image of the

Pennsylvania Germans as backward and strange, or at least not modern and in step with scientific progress. Four days after the murder in 1928, the *New York Times* reported for a wide readership that "voodooism, witchcraft and all forms of the black art, introduced in southeastern Pennsylvania by early German settlers and practiced today by hundreds of York County people, will be made the subject of a State-wide investigator" ("Fear of Witchcraft" 1928). In the headline these people were categorized as "country residents," and in retrospect, anthropologist David Kriebel argued, "media coverage of the 'witch trial' in York reinforced the 'dumb Dutch' stereotype applied to the Pennsylvania Dutch and embarrassed local authorities. The remedy they adopted was to suppress all such 'superstition' by introducing 'scientific education' and consolidating public schools" (D. Kriebel 2007, 121). The popular press had much to do with the notoriety of Pennsylvania German powwowing, and ultimately of forcing it underground (D. Kriebel 2007, 115–21). Interest in the "spell-book" (*Pow-Wows: The Long Lost Friend*, a translation of the German original *Der Lange Verborgene Freund* by John George Hohman published in 1820) used by Rehmeyer in the case persisted, however, and went national. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, bookseller A. Monroe Aurand took advantage of the notoriety of the case to privately print *The "Pow-Wow" Book* and distribute it widely beyond Pennsylvania's borders (Davies 2013, 155–57). His version included material on the "Hex murder" case as well as the "spell book." The book continues to be reprinted and often is mentioned by twenty-first-century neopagan practitioners who are featured in popular books and media appearances (D. Kriebel 2007, 11). More than a decade after the trial, Aurand continued to play on the reputation of the Pennsylvania Germans as superstitious and not in step with scientific advancements with the publication of *The Realness of Witchcraft* (1942). Although brandishing a general title, the pamphlet focused on the Pennsylvania German traditions of *Hexerei* and powwow doctors. Emphasizing the binary between science in popular culture and tradition in Pennsylvania German folk culture, some versions of the pamphlet carried the subtitle of "with special references to the Pennsylvania Germans and the conflict of science vs. old time beliefs and customs."

In 1969 journalist Arthur H. Lewis, who had worked at the *Philadelphia Inquirer* when the case originally unfolded, scored a best seller with *Hex* published by the major house of Simon and Schuster, and it was republished as a mass-market paperback by Pocket Books in 1972. The book was the basis of the movie *Apprentice to Murder* (1988) with well-known actor Donald Sutherland in the lead role, although the film was shot in Norway rather than in Pennsylvania. Director Shane Free underscored the Pennsylvania locale even more when in 2015 he created a documentary on the case with the sensationalistic title *Hex Hollow: Witchcraft and Murder in Pennsylvania*. "Hex Hollow" was a name given to "legend trips" by teenagers who visited the still-standing house where the murder occurred, and the title also showed

up in popular music of youth such as "Hex Hollow" (2003) by L. U. Cipha and "Fire and Smoke" by Walküre (2008). As the case moved into popular culture, the characterization of the Pennsylvania Germans as superstitious or ignorant began to recede, and the bizarre aspects of the case moved to the fore.

Through the twentieth century, insiders to the culture responded to the marginalization in the popular press of Pennsylvania German life to progressive America by reminding readers and a growing number of tourists that Americans incorporated Pennsylvania German cultural traits, probably without knowing it. Public intellectuals of Pennsylvania German stock took credit on behalf of the group for the Christmas tree, Easter bunny, Groundhog Day, and innumerable popular foods such as pretzels, scrapple, sauerkraut, and funnel cakes that had become nationally celebrated (Shoemaker 1959b; 1960; Weaver 1983; 1993; D. Yoder 2003). Chances were that Americans did not associate these cultural traits with Pennsylvania Germans, but they might have heard advertising during the 1920s from the Stroehmann Brothers Company of Wheeling, West Virginia, featuring an identity of "Pennsylvania Dutch Bakers," even though their main product of sliced white bread belonged more to popular culture than Dutch folk culture from previous generations who probably preferred hard dark breads. Stroehmann was, according to business histories, a household name, and the endearing image of "Grampa Stroehmann," broadcast on radio and television with a Dutchy accent, became familiar to millions. Still, viewers watching the advertisement might associate Grampa with Old World German bakers generally rather than the regional Pennsylvania German variety.

Another household name associated with food was Milton Hershey. Although he grew up in a Mennonite household speaking Pennsylvania German and created his town of Hershey in Pennsylvania near his family home in the middle of "Dutch Country," there was little evidence of his ethnic stamp in national advertising. Commercial pitches boasted that Hershey's cocoa was "made in the world's largest chocolate factory at Hershey, Penna" and the milk chocolate was "made on the farm," but they were not products usually identified with Pennsylvania German culture. Hershey was not ashamed of his heritage, and indeed built a landscape in the town reminiscent of his Dutch forebears, but his public face was of the assimilated American and benevolent industrial mogul (McMahon 2015). Locally, however, Hershey residents and others in the region could attend a festival called Pennsylvania Dutch Days from 1949 to 1979, advertised as the "Nation's greatest Penna. Dutch Exposition," but it was eventually displaced by nonethnic and nonregional activities such as car shows and amusement park rides at the touristic Hersheypark. The presumption in the festival displays was that the regional-ethnic group was not part of the contemporary scene. According to historian Pamela Cassidy Whitenack (2006, 65), writing on Hersheypark, "Dutch Days" was an "appeal for nostalgia, looking back on old traditions that were rapidly ending in modern society."

Theatrical and Broadcast Media

Music is a mainstay of popular culture, especially with the explosion on the American scene of rock and roll and country music influenced by the traditional regional-ethnic roots of southern African American blues and "hillbilly" music deriving, at least in part, from Scots-Irish and English Appalachian old-time tunes. Although there is ample evidence that German instrumentation and composition had a profound influence on American musical culture, Pennsylvania German traditions are commonly omitted from American musical surveys. Folklorist Don Yoder made the case for a distinctive Pennsylvania German tradition of spirituals, but generally speaking his generation of scholars tended to categorize Pennsylvania Germans as constituting an ethnic-regional folk culture rather than participating actively in national popular culture (D. Yoder 1961b). To be sure, at the time of the rise of rock and roll and country music, commercial music recordings appeared by Pennsylvania German entertainers, usually with a country music intonation. Cowboy-hat-wearing Percy Einsig, for example, billed himself as the "Pennsylvania Dutch Singing Troubadour" (after Ernest Tubb, who rose to fame in the 1940s and 1950s as the "Texas Troubadour") and had a record label in Reading, Pennsylvania. He even had a "Greatest Hits" album, indicating that he was "popular" and certainly commercialized in his Dutch Country locale. His brand of country entertainment was frequently featured on commercial radio programs, primarily in Pennsylvania.

Radio with its localized programming was particularly friendly to Pennsylvania German entertainment. Radio program hosts Paul Wieand and Harry Reichard gained celebrity status in central Pennsylvania, for example, with their scripted Sunday afternoon musical comedy show called *Assebe un Sabina* (1944–55) (Fetterman 1988–89; Hanson 2008; 2009b; Langley 2009). The productions by Pennsylvania German insiders Einsig, Wieand, and Reichard suggest complications for scholars who drew hard-and-fast lines between folk and popular culture, because the commercialized material was channeled through mass media and responded to national popular trends while maintaining recognizable folk characteristics and references.

The rise of broadcast media, creation of a national highway system, and boom in auto tourism in the mid-twentieth century raised the additional question among outsiders of popular culture "representations" or perceptions (many insiders use the term "distortions") of Pennsylvania Germans, and particularly the Amish, rather than "expressions" that become nationally and globally pervasive. Insider Alfred L. Shoemaker, director of the annual Kutztown Folk Festival. which increasingly drew tourists coming by car from outside the region, produced his own tourist guide in 1959 to counter misrepresentations of the "Pennsylvania Dutch." Laying the blame squarely on the hands of media, Shoemaker (1959a, 5) wrote, "The words Pennsylvania Dutch ordinarily conjure up four pictures in the mind of the tourist: the cookingest folk in all of America, who serve seven sweets and

seven sours with every meal; quaint, somber-clad Amish who paint their gates blue to show there is a daughter in the household of bundling age; a bell-don't-make-bump, hind-end-foremost English; and, above all, thrifty, high-calibre farmers who paint gayly colored Hex Signs on their spacious barns to ward off evil spirits and witches." Shoemaker traced these narratives to feature writers of Philadelphia newspapers during the 1920s, who in their newly acquired automobiles took "jaunts into Pennsylvania's hinterland" and "*hillbillyized* the 'Up-County' Dutchman to the great delight and amusement of metropolitan readers." He called on Pennsylvania Germans to control the representations of themselves and, rather than discouraging tourism, to set the record straight on the popular beliefs about the group (Shoemaker 1949; 1953b; 1954; D. Yoder 1951). Following the model of the popular press, he created a newspaper called the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, which then morphed into the magazine format of *Pennsylvania Folklife*, which also served as the colorful program of the annual Kutztown Folk Festival (S. Bronner 1999b; D. Yoder 1983a).

During Shoemaker's time in the 1950s of organizing the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival and then the Kutztown Folk Festival as a way to present "authentic" regional traditions to a popular audience (including a stint on the nationally broadcast NBC morning show *Today*), a milestone event of the representation of Pennsylvania Germans in popular culture occurred when the musical comedy *Plain and Fancy* debuted on Broadway, on January 27, 1955. It ran for an impressive 461 performances before being reproduced in repertory in various Pennsylvania German tourist venues into the twenty-first century. The script was written by Joseph Stein and Will Glickman, urban outsiders to Pennsylvania German culture who had availed themselves of tourism to the Amish farmlands. They used the contrast of city dwellers coming into the formerly remote farmlands as a backdrop for their story. In the romantic plot, a cosmopolitan couple from New York City travels to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, to sell property to an Amishman who wants the land to offer to his daughter as a wedding gift. For Stein the theme of tradition challenged by social changes in the show prefigured his later authorship of the even more widely known *Fiddler on the Roof* (debuting in 1964) about the Old World Jewish shtetl and its struggle against the swirling winds of modernization and discrimination.

The Amish became firmly established as icons of popular culture, the most traditional or Dutchiest of the Dutch, with the wide release of the movie *Witness* in 1985 directed by Australian director Peter Weir and starring Harrison Ford as a police detective and Kelly McGillis as an Amish widow. As with *Plain and Fancy*, the story contrasts modern urban ways with nearby rural Amish culture that appears so different and tradition-based (D. Weaver-Zercher 2001, 104–14). The corrupted urban community is in a different world oblivious to the innocent, "clean" Amish until the widow's son is a witness to a knifing murder by a "dirty" policeman in the seedy bathroom of a Philadelphia train station. Ford's uncorrupted character John

Book (suggesting that he honestly does things "by the book") is attacked and forced to escape to the Amish farmlands in Lancaster County, and the corrupt police pursue him there. Book heals and appears refreshed as he takes up the guise of an Amishman and participates in a barn raising and enjoys the harmony and sunshine of the bucolic countryside. The script shows a conflict of values and raises the question of who is the more ethical and worthwhile if the dark urban society is supposedly more modern and progressive. An additional theme of *Witness* is the attachment of violence to the city and the Amish alternative to the cycle of aggression and corruption. In a symbolic climax, Book subdues the first of the gun-brandishing police officers by smothering him with natural corn grain rather than with a gun.

Witness was both a box-office and critical success, but it met resistance from Amish communities and scholars of Amish studies who berated Hollywood's intrusion into Amish life as well as warning of the effect of tourism and exploitation that such popular culture representations bring (J. Hostetler 2005b; Kraybill 2001, 280–84). The controversy did not stop other productions from using the Amish as protagonists, usually foils for urban sophisticates, in movies such as *Kingpin* (1996), *For Richer or Poorer* (1997), and *Saving Sarah Cain* (2007) (Downing 2008). Sociologist and former Amish church member John Hostetler (2005b, 282, 283) issued the dire warning that the Hollywood "entertainment business" would force an "erosion of the social fabric of the Amish community." Comparing the damage to the image of the Amish to Hollywood's earlier depictions of Native Americans, Hostetler advocated for the right of a group to be "left alone" from popular culture: "We believe the Amish people have earned the right to be left alone from those who would market their sacred symbols for shallow entertainment and pecuniary gain."

If these movies raised the ire of Hostetler, he would probably have been even more disturbed at the rise of television reality shows after his death in 2001. Rarely evident on television in the twentieth century, Amish youth became a popular culture obsession in the early twenty-first century partly because of the fallout from the documentary *Devil's Playground* (2002) that showed, much to the surprise of most modern viewers, Amish teenagers given behavioral license in a period known as *rumspringa* (literally "running around" in the dialect) to drive cars, party hard, drink alcohol, and even take illegal drugs and engage in premarital sex. This period of sowing wild oats precedes a decision by the teen whether to be baptized and join the church, which most do. Television producers imagined a show in which the faith and will of Amish teenagers, apparently partaking in American popular culture, is put to the test. The contrast of the Amish in these shows, however, was typically less about the ethnic-religious differences of the Amish as a Pennsylvania German group as it was about the constructed binary opposition of the Amish representing a sheltered existence under the nurturing, if potentially repressive, force of tradition against the "anything goes" freedom of modernity in American popular culture.

In *Amish in the City* premiering in 2004, five Amish teenagers from rural backgrounds lived in a house with six cosmopolitan American teenagers. As the Amish youth are given a taste of freedom, viewers anticipate whether the Amish teenagers will return to their Amish communities. The show appeared less concerned with the effect of the Amish on the urban teenagers. *Breaking Amish* (premiering 2012) and its spinoff *Return to Amish* (beginning in 2014) lasted longer than *Amish in the City* but had a similar theme of young Anabaptists who move to the city (New York and Los Angeles) and must decide whether to return to the traditionalism they knew in their former homes (Carpenter 2015, 65–67).

Unlike the other shows, *Amish Mafia* (debuting 2012 on the Discovery Channel) was set exclusively in Amish farmlands but aimed to debunk the view of the Amish as a virtuous and harmonious community. It followed the work of "Lebanon" Levi Stoltzfus managing the Amish Aid Fund (amassed from donations to help struggling community members with health costs and property damage), and his conflicts with other Anabaptist social leaders who supposedly wanted a piece of the action. Levi in interviews claimed that the Amish do not refer to the name "mafia"; producers came up with the loaded term to draw viewers. Levi and his crew were often shown to be violent and engaged in illegal activities. Although called a "reality" show, the scenes that were depicted in the filming have been criticized as fabrications that present a distorted, unflattering image of the Amish. The *Amish Mafia* star gained celebrity status with an assortment of fans following him to public appearances. He had a book published with the sensationalistic title of *Amish Confidential* (2015) and promoted it on popular talk shows.

In a sign of popular culture entrenchment, Stoltzfus appeared with a nemesis from *Amish Mafia* (May 13, 2015, show no. 13137) on the television show *Dr. Phil*, a popular weekday syndicated programs in America, reportedly reaching 4.5 million viewers with each segment. For Donald Kraybill, a leading scholar of Amish society, *Amish Mafia* is a prime example of "the foolishness and stupidity and lies—misrepresentations I should say—that are promoted [about the Amish] in television" (Mullins 2012). Disputing that the show is "reality," David Weaver-Zercher, a professor of religious studies at Messiah College, observed that such "fictions" occur because the Amish are "romanticized as particularly chaste and moral," and popular culture representing modern characters undercut that image, perhaps with the subconscious desire to show that their ways are the natural path to take in contemporary America (Hatmaker 2012).

Pennsylvania German groups have tended to be symbolized in popular culture paradoxically as America's folk roots, even ancestors, and its contemporary opposite. In contrast to the trajectory that is projected as inevitable of urban, technological, individualized Americans, media producers typically present Pennsylvania Germans, and especially the Amish, as pastoral, community minded, and tradition centered. A line of inquiry is the function of these images and the way they are juxtaposed, consciously or unconsciously,

against modernity. In a segment of the fictional television series *Longmire* first airing in 2012 and titled "The Dark Road," discovery of a deceased young woman by the side of the road leads a county sheriff in Wyoming to a house occupied by Mennonites going through *rumspringa*. The sheriff needs help deciphering a strange note in her possession in a language he does not recognize—"Pennsylvania Dutch." Drawing a contrast between her traditional family home and her place in the modern world, she takes up stripping and is supposedly seduced by her large cash earnings to make "big plans." But her father sends her brother to bring her back home, and a tragic accident occurs when she resists. The story parallels the relationship of the sheriff to his own daughter, whom he wants to control but realizes, after his investigation into the woman's death, that he cannot. Thus, director Michael Uppendahl conveys the lesson that the Mennonites are surely apart from modern individualistic norms but nonetheless continuous with difficulties of negotiating traditional family relationships. The idea of testing family dynamics for Pennsylvania Germans apparently out of their element has precedent in an NBC television drama, *Aaron's Way*, in 1988 (fig. 19.1). In the show, patriarch Aaron Miller uproots his wife and three children from their quiet Amish community in Pennsylvania and moves to California, where he helps his assimilated, deceased son's pregnant girlfriend. It lasted only one season but was notable for bringing the cultural clashes of *Witness* on violence to issues of family on network television.

Often the assumption is made that depictions of Pennsylvania Germans necessarily come from outside the culture, but Pennsylvania German entrepreneurs increasingly participate in heritage and creative industries. Amish-run furniture stores in shopping malls, "family-style" home dinners provided by Mennonites, and musical and comedic entertainment by Pennsylvania German performers significantly count as popular culture because of the pressing question they raise whether their practices reinforce or undermine the economic and political frameworks (referred to some scholars as "cultural hegemony" or "hegemonic structures") of the dominant culture (see Kidder and Hostetler 1990; Lears 1985; McGowan 1986). To be sure, a portion, if a relatively undeveloped one, in the new Pennsylvania German studies is devoted to the interpretations of groups, organizations, and individuals from within "Dutch culture," broadly conceived as stretching across the Pennsylvania German diaspora, who act as generators and disseminators of popular culture. In the remaining sections of this chapter, these thematic areas of representation and mediation and, then, production and dissemination will be outlined with attention to the theoretical and methodological frameworks with which scholars treat such diverse phenomena as magazines, canned products, advertising, festivals, theater, and music videos.

Fig. 19.1. Publicity photograph for NBC's television series *Aaron's Way*, 1988. Set against the background of a California's wine country is the Pennsylvania Amish family of Aaron Miller (Merlin Olsen) and wife Sarah (Belinda Montgomery), children Roseanne (Samantha Mathis), Frank (Scott Curtis), and Martha (Erin Chase). *National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).*

Representation and Mediation

An early depiction of the Amish on film is *Violent Saturday* (1955), in which bandits enter a small, sleepy Arizona mining town where they plot the robbery of the local bank. The heist does not go as planned, and violence erupts. The crooks escape to an Amish farm, where they take a hostage, Shelley Martin (played by Victor Mature), who is an embarrassment to his son because he was not a soldier during World War II. With the help of the pacifist Amish patriarch, Martin vanquishes the robbers in a gunfight, and he becomes a hero in the town and family. Part of the message of the film, based on a story that appeared in *Cosmopolitan* magazine, is that as much as the Amish desire to be separate from the world, in the emerging popular culture, shown through the use of the classic backdrop of the Old West updated by modern-day commercialism, the Amish are inevitably sucked into the mael-

strom of modernity. With the novel use of the Amish in the movie, the movie studio of Twentieth Century-Fox proposed premiering the film amid the concentration of Amish living around Lancaster, Pennsylvania, even though the movie was originally filmed in Arizona. Mayor Kendig Bare was at first excited about the publicity that a major Hollywood movie and its major stars would bring to his city. After reading the story, the mayor halted plans because the film was "too violent and sexy" (Feaster 2015). He predicted that its representation of the Amish patriarch played by Ernest Borgnine being pushed into abetting a killer would upset the Amish in his community, even if they did not view it.

The mayor's analysis was based on a judgment of whether the depiction of the Amish in the film was accurate and whether the group would respond positively to the representation. His action did not alter the film's use of Amish characters, and arguably its impact on the awareness of the Amish was minimal compared to *Witness* almost thirty years later. It highlights a primary concern in many critiques of characters and settings in the media that the tendency toward sensationalism in commercial productions will result in the maligning of groups who do not control their representations. The position of sociologist John Hostetler was that Hollywood should stay away from the Amish and other minority religious groups. Related to Mayor Bare's comment in the 1950s, in the 1980s Hostetler (2005b, 282, 283), in response to the movie *Witness*, cautioned that "divorce, violence, and taking human life will be made thinkable and more commonplace in a community relatively free from these ills." His thesis was that the Amish, even though they do not participate in or cooperate with moviemakers, will undoubtedly suffer "harm from these widely disseminated images which planted erroneous impressions in millions of people." Educator David Walbert's (2002, 175) reading of the film, however, was that "the Amish received a remarkably fair and balanced treatment from the movie." He points out that director Peter Weir who had portrayed Third World cultures in previous films applied sensitivity to show the virtues of the Amish in relation to a corrupted urban world. He also claimed that, to the film's credit, it spurred tourists to come to Lancaster County to see scenes depicted in the movie and, he hoped, to be further educated on the genuine traditions of the Amish.

David Weaver-Zercher proposed in *The Amish in the American Imagination* (2001) to step away from the thumbs-up–thumbs-down debate in movies about the Amish and analyze the historical and cultural processes when the Amish and other tradition-centered Pennsylvania German groups are represented in the media. Weaver-Zercher (2005b, 5) hypothesizes that representations of the Old Order Amish, "often disdainful in the early twentieth century, became increasingly sympathetic as the century ran its course." Rather than a straight-line progression of the Amish from being mocked in the nineteenth century to being revered in the twentieth century, a more complex picture emerges with the Amish serving different functions for directors, producers, photographers, and writers who "mediate" reality and

fiction in their representations on screens and airwaves. Weaver-Zercher (2001, 12–13) suggests that the anthropological concept of domestication can be helpful for analyzing these trends. The term refers to the ways that residual groups such as the Old Order Amish have been fashioned and refashioned in the process of being mediated and consumed. In the absence of Amish self-interpretation, popular culture produced by outsiders uses, or "domesticates," the Amish subject for mainstream society's purposes rather than the interests of the Amish. Weaver-Zercher proposes several ideological functions of popular culture representations such as the promotion of, in his words, "sacred concerns—for example, when the Amish have been fashioned to suggest what 'really matters' in life."

It is also possible to construct the Amish as impractically old-fashioned and ascetic in the modern age in order to affirm the cosmopolitan, consumer lifestyle and its goal of attaining leisure and individual gratification rather than moral satisfaction through work and community. Indeed, analysis of movies with Amish characters often dwells on the minimization—or, some would say, trivialization—of religion in favor of glimpses, sometimes bordering on the voyeuristic, of Amish labor and daily life (Carpenter 2015, 116–25). Perhaps the intent in this process is to relativize, instead of extol, the Amish as another working group tolerated in American democracy rather than a redemptive community pointing out the ills of the world. In representations that sexualize and infantilize the Amish, such as the touristic belief of the blue gate legend in which a blue-painted gate supposedly meant a daughter ready for marriage (traced to the tourist literature of Berenice Steinfeldt's *The Amish of Lancaster County* in 1937), the "holy" Amish do not appear above base urges (Puglia 2012, 20–22; see also S. Bronner 2013b; Dorson 1950; 1964, 107–62).

In Weaver-Zercher's (2001, 13) argument, the Amish have also been domesticated for antimodern purposes such as decrying "the perils of technological progress or highlight the need for land preservation"; sociologists Robert Kidder and John Hostetler (1990, 915) note that in the spate of coffee table books and calendars featuring the Amish that the "life style of the Amish seems to satisfy a longing which many Americans share for the purity and humanity of the rural ideal which most have abandoned. It is as if people feel 'there is still hope for America as long as the Amish survive.'" As a research strategy to replace what Weaver-Zercher calls the "morally charged" accusation of exploitation by mediators, the concept of domestication suggests objectively eliciting the back stories, or "contexts," of advertisements, movies, theatrical productions, and tourist literature for the conscious and unconscious intentions of, and influential constructions by, producers and mediators, and analyzing the repeated rhetoric in the texts for projections of societal anxieties.

An example is the popular music video by "Weird Al" Yankovic titled "Amish Paradise" (1996). For the parody to make sense, one would need to be aware of Coolio's hip-hop song "Gangsta's Paradise," which was the top-selling single

of 1995 on the U.S. Billboard charts with estimated sales of more than 5 million copies. In the text of the song, an African American "gangsta" laments the dangerous life he chose. The song opens with a line from Psalm 23:4 from the Bible, "As I walk through the valley of the shadow of death," and Yankovic uses this scriptural reference as a springboard to question religion as a hedge against worldly temptations. Yankovic had made a career of being a parodist, and the popularity of "Gangsta's Paradise" made it an inviting target. Yankovic plays off the high media visibility of the Amish as a rural subculture (comparable, he suggests, to inner-city hip-hop culture) inversely having a plain, boring existence relative to modern ways. Many of the references in the parody are sexual such as two boys looking at a porn magazine with "Amish Babes" that shows a woman showing her leg only up to her knee. Yet when a woman walks by Al playing the role of an Amishman laboriously churning butter, he suddenly perks up and increases his up and down motion in a suggestive manner. Consumer culture is referenced with the line, "We sell quilts at discount price," and a scene in which the Amish character is feeding chickens by giving them pizza. The main controversy over the video was not the representation of the Amish as hopelessly set in the past (evident in the line "Tonight we're gonna party like it's 1699" parodying Prince's comparable line in the song "1999" of "party like it's 1999"), as much as whether permission was granted by Coolio for the parody. Although the Amish would not likely see the video, the popular parody arguably projected anxieties of modern morality and disconnection from tradition. Nonetheless, from the point of view of young viewers, it also mocks the Amish in not keeping up with contemporary fashion. The rural Amish paradise seems no better than the urban gangsta's paradise (D. Weaver-Zercher 2001, 3, 6).

Another view focuses on power relationships evident in the representative process that bring out such modern tensions of national and local, urban and rural, or corporate elites and the working class. Often this view applies theories related to the Marxist concept of cultural hegemony. The basis of the theories is that in a democratic or socially diverse society, elites find it difficult to impose their ideology on the masses because of a lack of a formal hierarchy and a stigma on privileged authority. Still needing to impose control to further their economic and political standing, elites according to the concept will exert influence through popular culture that appears to be designed for the welfare of the masses but in actuality entrenches "hegemony" or a dominant worldview of the elites as a social norm and therefore maintains the power of the ruling, capitalist, or corporate class. The process is presumably outside the awareness of the masses who sublimate their political needs to the pleasure of culture constructed by elites. Often the focus of analysis to reveal power structures is on spectacles and attractions that are organized by corporate entities. In the new Pennsylvania German studies, such locations of popular entertainment and commodification include Dutch Wonderland Family Amusement Park, Amish Village,

and Amish Country Homestead at Plain and Fancy Farm that according to critics commodify the Amish and Pennsylvania German experience. The focus of many of these "pleasure zones" is to deal with the Amish aversion to electronic technology as a rejection of modern "comforts" owing to a religious asceticism rather than a maintenance of community solidarity. In these nonsacred pleasure zones, the sobering reminders of Amish dissent can become anachronistic objects of play (see Cross and Walton 2005; Kraybill 2001, 292–94).

Rather than the Amish rejecting technology altogether, John Hostetler points out, "each decision about accepting or rejecting a modern 'convenience' is based on a consensus about the effect a new product would have on the social patterns of the community" (Kidder and Hostetler 1990). Yet, in the pleasure zones, the prevalent ideology absorbed by visitors is that modern technology is essential and the Amish make a "sacrifice" to perpetuate their preindustrial, Old World ways. Indeed, visitors often expect the Amish to be more out of step with contemporary technology than they are (Kraybill 2001, 293). The impression is that the Amish are a shrinking, Pennsylvania-rooted, residual group in modern society doomed to dissolve under the pressure of mainstream society rather than a growing, robust set of communities spreading well beyond the state. Photographic and film presentations of the Amish tend to emphasize images that show them as isolated and fixed in a pastoral landscape without technology rather than as a group that adjusts to change and has adopted—or, Donald B. Kraybill and Steven M. Nolt (2004, 125–42) would say, "tamed"—modern technology, including cell phones, computers, in-line skates, and power tools (see also Umble 1996). An area of analytical concern is that photographic and film presentations that are significant to the process of mediation in a visually driven popular culture are usually controlled by outsiders. Susan L. Trollinger (2012, 146) theorizes that "the camera gives people the power to capture, and thus control, the meaning of the other, whose different way of being in the world raises questions about how one lives one's own life." In this view, use of the camera as a prime mediating tool keeps the Amish strange and freezes them in the pastoral past.

With tourists having pictures taken of them in Amish dress, eating "family-style" dinners, and taking commercialized buggy rides, the potential threat of Amish antimodernism is subdued by commodifying them, which allows their products and their representations to be consumed, and ultimately controlled, for the purposes of capitalist development, or so the theory holds. Robert Kidder and John Hostetler (1990, 916, 920), for example, claimed that the apparent support of Lancaster County residents against the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation's plan to build a highway through Amish farmlands came out of self-interest, although the public face was in support of preserving "traditional life styles." They pointed out that these residents were middle- or upper-middle-class individuals who moved

to the area for the rural environment. According to Kidder and Hostetler, "In the controversy over the proposed highway, many of those who invoked the Amish as the prime victims of it were in fact resident property owners who themselves felt threatened by the changes the new highway would bring." Their conclusion was that such impressions in the media of preserving traditional values is an ideological activity for the purpose of legitimizing the control by the elites. They theorized that "ideology is not only a tool in the hands of elites who impose their hegemony. It is, rather, the very language within which elites assert control and other groups resist or redirect that control."

An alternative view is that popular culture, even if generated by elites, can be empowering to the Amish and Pennsylvania Germans because of the social and economic influence they can exert (Kraybill 2001, 287–91). Kidder and Hostetler (1990, 916) find that "when government authorities and elected officials yield to proposals to accommodate Amish needs, part of their thinking includes that fear that too much pressure could drive the Amish out of Pennsylvania. Thus even though the Amish do not vote, their passive role in the tourist industry gives them 'clout' in Harrisburg [the state capital and therefore seat of power]." Kidder and Hostetler argue that popular culture has impelled the Amish to form a "social cocoon" to deal with the world, often through the services of their own lay lawyers to preserve their communities and negotiate "a unique position for themselves in American society" (see also Kraybill 1993; 2001, 289–93). In pivotal Supreme Court cases such as *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, establishing a state interest in sustaining the Amish way of life even if it meant allowing an exception to compulsory education laws, the governmental response might be said to preserve a cultural democracy and tolerance (Meyers 2003; see also J. Graves 2005). For Susan Trollinger (2012, 150), who applies a communications perspective, "the Amish are demonstrating that it is possible to live in ways that transgress the expectations of consumer culture even amidst its seemingly overwhelming influence." In this view, tourism, like movies, radio, and television, is an act of mediation because what is presented is an image of a thing, and not the thing itself (Trollinger 2012, xvi; see also Buck 1978). Even if apparently artificial, in modern mass culture the image and the control of the medium of broadcasting it theoretically are of prime importance in the presentation of self and the perception of others (Boorstin 1961; Orvell 1989; 2003). The query that is raised, however, in light of hegemony theory is how access to and acceptance of mediation occurs, especially with a group such as the Amish that limits its participation in mass media (Carpenter 2015, 81–88; Luthy 1994).

The question of access and acceptance was asked repeatedly after the media frenzy caused by the tragic events in 2006 at West Nickel Mines School, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where gunman Charles Carl Roberts IV shot ten schoolgirls before committing suicide in the school building. The setting of an iconic rustic one-room schoolhouse and the young ages of the

victims heightening their sense of sheltered innocence were used by the media to represent the Amish association with the American past. Yet the Amish wanted to get their message about forgiveness and faith to the world (Kraybill, Nolt, and Weaver-Zercher 2007). They did not contribute to the many spontaneous memorials with wreaths and objects created by visitors to the site of the tragedy and needed to explain their grieving process. Diane Zimmerman Umble and David L. Weaver-Zercher introducing *The Amish and the Media* (2008) reflected on the tangled web of media producers, consumers of media, and Amish subjects in an American "culture of mediation." "We inhabit a world," Umble and Weaver-Zercher (2008, 6) wrote, "in which people and institutions are invested, both literally and figuratively, in mediating information to other people." This reality was especially evident as the Amish, thrust into the limelight by the global press parked in a small village of Bart Township, made decisions on who would speak for the Amish and handled the intrusions by the press, and thousands of cameras, of which they were wary. Umble and Weaver-Zercher (2008, 15) observed that, "although they [the Amish] do not make movies or engage public relations firms to communicate their messages, they participate in mediation processes on their own terms, for their own purposes, using their own means." They were aware of the narrative promulgated by the popular media of the Amish as "America's premier and archetypical agrarians," possessing a "stubborn resistance to progress," and representing a "communal self-sufficiency" within a consumer culture (13–15).

Even if Amish families were less engaged in farming, tamed technology to sustain community, and were active consumers, the public hung on to a mediated impression of the Amish—and, by extension, other Pennsylvania German religious groups. The media portrayals could not be dismissed as unreal, because they purportedly dictate the perception of reality. "When it comes to producing media portrayals of the Amish . . . ," Umble and Weaver-Zercher (2008, 4) thoughtfully asked, "who is running the show? Is it the media, with all their resources for discovering, shaping, and communicating information? Is it the religious community, which actually lives, breathes, and acts in ways that capture others' attention? Or is it the media-consuming public, with its insatiable curiosity, its leisure-time preferences, and its disposable income? The answer, of course, is complicated, for there is agency everywhere in this equation. Everyone has power, and everyone has choices—but everyone's power and choices are constrained by the social systems in which they participate." Ultimately, the issues lead back to the identification of these social systems or cultural contexts and the effects that representation and mediation have upon them. In the search for motivations for, and symbols of, producing various media texts, the meanings often are relative to the roles of different participants in the systems. Using metaphors of the media, researchers thus seek to "frame" the images people create, communicate, and consume.

Production and Dissemination

When *Among the Amish: A Pictorial Presentation* was published in 1959 with more than 100 photographs by Melvin "Mel" J. Horst (1929–2008), it was advertised as giving a different perspective from other popular booklets aimed at a tourist market because the images were produced by a Pennsylvania *Deitsch*–speaking native of Lancaster County. Horst's father and relatives, Horst asserted, were "Old Order horse and buggy people," and the rhetorical use of "among" in his title suggested his insider status (Buzinski 2003). According to his biography, Horst was "ever sensitive to Amish reticence about photography," and consequently he "approached his projects with an eye to recording the Amish as a culture rather than as a tourist curiosity" (Folk Craft Center n.d.). *Among the Amish* was reprinted more than thirty times. Horst went on to produce forty more pictorial booklets on the Amish, Pennsylvania Germans, and antiques. Many of his images were used as picturesque postcards sent all over the world, and his booklets circulated well beyond the Lancaster County market. Sociologist John Hostetler, who had grown up in the Amish community of Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, also used his photographs in various editions of the more scholarly work *Amish Society* because of their credibility as the product of a Dutchman.

Embracing the media, Horst began appearing as the joke-telling, roughhewn Pennsylvania German character "Jakey" on a country music station in Ephrata, Pennsylvania. Dressed in Amish broadcloth pants, suspenders, straw hat, and an oversized tie, Horst as Amishman Jakey Budderschnip (literally, in the dialect, a slice of butter or idiomatically something associated with the Dutch farm that is "spread thick," i.e., verbal exaggeration) of the town of Noodle Doosie performed standup comedy at festivals and concerts throughout the East Coast and issued videos of his performances. Rather than mocking Pennsylvania Germans, he defensively claimed that his stories, filled with earthy, often risqué puns and double entendres, "come directly from Amish and Mennonite people themselves" and that Budderschnip was an "alter ego" (Buzinski 2003). Although his audiences were often outsiders to Pennsylvania German culture, he told reporters that his material was in the tradition of Pennsylvania Dutch humorists such as Professor Schnitzel (a pseudonym of Theodore L. Rickenbach, 1903–69, who did a morning show on WHUM in Reading, Pennsylvania), whom he heard on local radio programs. Among his signature lines was "I'm probably the most modern Pennsylvania Dutchman in the whole Pennsylvania Dutch country. I have a CB radio in my buggy!" (Buzinski 2003). Much of the humor involved dialect word play, such as the story of two Dutch boys who were laid off from their job at a pantyhose factory. When they went to the state unemployment office, they told the clerk that they were "diesel fitters." Not finding this occupation in her listings, she asked the boys to explain their jobs. One replied, "When the finished pantyhose came down, I'd inspect them to make sure there were no runs in them. If they were all right, I'd hand them over to

Noah. Noah would hold them up and if they were the right size he would say, 'Yep, dese'll fit her'" (Buzinski 2003). Although recognizing that an Amishman would not be on stage and in videos telling jokes, Horst publicized that his Amish neighbors are his biggest fans. In one interview he emphasized to a reporter, "The groups of people that enjoy 'Jakey's' humor are the ones that are the most Dutch. They recognize the authenticity" (Buzinski 2003).

Are Horst's photographs and humor more authentic or revealing because he comes from a Pennsylvania German background? Does it make a difference that he selected photographs and material for public dissemination? As much as other writers, for example, he dwelled on the association of Pennsylvania Germans with hex signs and rusticity (M. Horst 1977; M. Horst and Smith 1960; 1965). Some anthropologists, folklorists, and sociologists would argue that a more objective rendering of a culture might be accomplished by a fieldworker who has a perspective unclouded by a localized or popularizer consciousness. From another angle, Horst was a participant-observer or even "cultural broker" who produced a visual culture that, whether or not it was accurate, controlled the message going out to the public about the Amish and Pennsylvania Germans. According to Richard Kurin (1997, 22) at the Smithsonian Institution, culture brokers "bring audiences and culture bearers together so that cultural meanings can be translated and even negotiated. If the process is effectively executed, the culture broker can facilitate participatory cultural transformation and change—both between and within culture groups." Horst proclaimed that he loved the Pennsylvania German culture, which he associated with "a life of honesty, integrity, and hard work," and wanted to promote it out of concern for the future of American society (Buzinski 2003). Feeling betwixt and between two cultures as a commercial photographer and entrepreneur, he created the Folk Craft Center and Museum in 1972 to immerse himself among artifacts of the past that mediated the values he cherished and wanted to convey to the public.

David Weaver-Zercher (2005b, 99) similarly described John Hostetler as being "betwixt and between" vernacular and popular worlds: "Hostetler devoted much of his professional life to mediating between the unworldly Amish and the worldly world, endeavoring on the one hand to help the larger world appreciate the integrity of Amish life, and endeavoring on the other to help the Amish navigate the threatening world in which they lived." Railing against the sensationalistic pamphlets of Monroe Aurand on superstition, witchcraft, and bundling, which gave the impression of the Amish and Pennsylvania Germans as backward and abnormal, Hostetler meant to displace them in the popular market with booklets emphasizing the cultural relativism of the Pennsylvania German lifestyle as different but legitimate within a plural democratic society: *Amish Life* (1952) and *Mennonite Life* (1954). As Hostetler (2005a, 26–27) reflected, they were intended to be "offered on the [tourist] bookracks" as "something more authentic" than Aurand's pamphlets.

Then, in response to the rise of cinematic representations of Amish culture, he conceived the idea of an "authentic" documentary film and solicited

Mennonite writer John Ruth to produce it. The result was *The Amish: A People of Preservation* (1975), which was distributed by the reputable information source of Encyclopedia Britannica and excerpted nationally on CBS's *60 Minutes*. Concerned for his good standing with his Amish subjects, Hostetler met with Lancaster County Amish leaders and defended the project by recounting pressure from television executives to produce such a film and suggesting that, rather than cave in to the representation of mass media, the project would allow insiders control of the message. Similar to his campaign against Aurand's pamphlets, Hostetler intended the film to displace what he called "disgusting" representations of the Amish in other documentaries. He thought that his insider influence would turn the forces of "Madison Avenue" public relations toward his more community-oriented "face to face" methods (D. Weaver-Zercher 2005b, 131, 132).

Building on this precedent, sociologist Donald Kraybill cooperated with PBS in the production of *The Amish* (2012) for the popular American Experience series that spotlighted ethnic-regional groups. In the twenty-first-century production, members of the Amish were even more prevalent in explaining themselves through interviews. In another twist, the filmmakers turned the lens on tourist groups and represented their misconceptions and consumer activities. Still, some critics wanted the documentary to delve deeper into the economic relationships of the Amish to the world by asking whether the Amish exploit their own image in popular culture to attract tourist dollars (Genzlinger 2012).

Horst, Hostetler, Ruth, and Kraybill signify a professional class, the so-called New Class out of the old middle class, who interpret authenticity in response to, and as part of, popular culture. Invoking their "authenticity," they seek to establish cultural authority about groups with which they formerly were associated or aligned (see S. Bronner 2005; Bruce-Briggs 1979; Mechling 1989). Arguably they earnestly wanted to "facilitate participatory cultural transformation and change," as Kurin described the function of the culture broker, in their liminal status between groups. The professional class they represent arose, according to social historians, around the mid-twentieth century with educated individuals who came from tradition-oriented backgrounds, such as the Pennsylvania German farming communities, and were swept up by urban growth and commercialization even as they felt distrustful of these "modern" movements. They often chose vernacular subjects that reflected their own backgrounds and legitimated their own participation in society as a result, even as they experienced psychological conflict between their former, traditional identities at mainstream society's margins and their newfound identification with elites at the center. One ploy was to claim to be modern by combining scientific (disciplinary affiliation) or technological advancement (use of the camera) with spiritual awareness of community, a rhetoric that implied a critique of dominant commercial and old education forces, as well as the empowerment of local, often marginalized communities. Indeed, an interpretation through text and images of Ameri-

can society as ethnically plural and relativistic served the class's ideological concerns for reorienting social power.

Concerned for the access to power to instill change and advance socially, New Class members commonly created distance from their vernacular subjects even as they offered a defense of their group's traditional values. They often appealed to the broad public in writings, performances, and visual productions that manifested revisionist understandings of American diversity, and they took on roles as public intellectuals mediating between their heritage and improving life as professionals. John Hostetler (1951, 1), for example, wrote in "Toward a New Interpretation of Sectarian Life in America" published shortly after he arrived at Penn State University, "Like other 'Dutchmen' the sectarian who has taken the trouble to get an education has not returned to the community to serve his people." He complained that outsiders have not helped the public gain an informed understanding of Pennsylvania German sectarian life and, in focusing on what is odd and titillating about the Amish, have reinforced the elitist and exploitative attitude of mass culture toward sectarian groups. Probably referring to popular writer Joseph W. Yoder, the first successful Mennonite literary figure in the United States, Hostetler was also critical of educated sectarians who exhibited tendencies to romanticize the groups from which they came (J. Yoder 1940; see also Kasdorf 2003). Hostetler (1951, 1) explained the modern alternative he favored: "In this day of scientific achievement and inquiry there must be a new approach to the study of the sectarian society combining the features of unbiased and intellectual honesty in comprehending the entire culture."

With the advent of the digital age in the twenty-first century, new questions were raised about the messages of media designed by groups within the Pennsylvania German diaspora. MennoMedia, for example, was established in 2011 in Harrisonburg, Virginia, as an agency of the Mennonite Church USA and Mennonite Church Canada to create faith-based print, video, radio, and web materials (Carpenter 2015, 84–88). It even launched an interactive website called Third Way Café (thirdway.com) to show that media can be used to spread Mennonite theology. Although the materials in the products created by MennoMedia were oriented toward a discourse on church beliefs rather than the ethnic-regional profiles in non-church-produced media (indeed, the website profiled the majority of Mennonites as "white, suburban and middle class" and did not mention the group's German roots), the significant message was the consciousness that media can be molded to broadcast one's values instead of being viewed as antithetical to them. In a statement of "basic beliefs" on thirdway.com, for example, there was a headline that the Mennonite "emphasis on community is a positive response to the indifference of modern culture." Therefore, the church is using media to create community rather than, as is usual, according to the site, for "mass marketing, uncontrolled consumerism, loneliness and growing violence."

The reference to "mass marketing" by MennoMedia suggests awareness

of the forces of massification, that is, the tendency of popular culture to standardize and homogenize cultural differences because of economic and social pressures to have productions contain mass appeal and, therefore, to displace or minimize the significance of social identities drawn from folk communities of religion, ethnicity, occupation, and place (Cunningham 2002, 52–72; Zukin 2004, 227–52). Some scholars refer to the loss of ideology in the process of "mainstreaming" media commodities as "incorporation." Film critics Harry M. Benshoff and Sean Griffin (2009, 14), for example, state that "incorporation" entails "the stripping of an ideology or cultural artifact's more 'dangerous' or critical meanings so that the watered-down artifact can be sold to mainstream culture." Thus, Mennonite media critic Steven P. Carpenter (2015, 116) complained that Disney stripped *Miracle in Lane 2* (2000) of Mennonite or Pennsylvania German references as a source of strength. The story in the made-for-television movie covers the real-life saga of Justin Yoder's family of Goshen, Indiana, and its decision to allow his participation in soapbox car racing. Carpenter points out that in a funeral scene, the priest is adorned in garb more typical of the mainline Episcopal church. He intimates that this incorporation was done to make the movie more broadly appealing and in the process mute the potentially unsettling Mennonite message.

On the other hand, easier access to media such as the Internet and user-friendly recording technologies allows for niche markets based on community interests and the possibility of heightened control over production by members of folk communities. This media pluralism is evident in Pennsylvania German programming on regional cable stations, home-grown YouTube productions, and personal blogs, vlogs, and social media. Instead of the predigital divide between producers in need of capital and consumers dependent on corporate distribution, individuals can be "prosumers" who reach out through social networks to both produce and consume ethnic content (Agger 1988; Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010; Zukin 2004). A notable example is the newspaper *Hiwwe wie Driwwe*, which began in 1993 as a limited-circulation newspaper serving Pennsylvania German readers. In the early twenty-first century it expanded its audience on the Internet (hiwwewiedriwwe.wordpress.com) and social media (Facebook), which allowed it to post multimedia presentations including online classes in Pennsylvania German (also available on YouTube). The electronic sites bridged audiences in Europe and North America, and the masthead of the website declared that it served "the interests of Pennsylvania Germans and Palatines on Both Sides of the Atlantic." In 2013 the Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center at Kutztown University assumed publication of the newsletter and integrated it into an expanded ethnic-regional presence spanning the globe.

In the predigital era, much of the ethnic-regional music related to Pennsylvania Germans still had a localized ethnic appeal, but with the advent of the Internet as a primary communicative medium, many acts went national but, by doing so, altered and commodified their image, as massification theory suggested, to be appealing on a broad scale. David Weaver-Zercher (2001,

5–7) noted in *The Amish in the American Imagination* the parodies of recording artists the Electric Amish who recast popular culture musical icons with Amish references for comedic effect and consequently reinforced the symbolic association of the Amish, even if popular as an image, as the opposite of modern. For example, the CD *A Hard Day's Work* (1999) was a takeoff on the Beatles' iconic *A Hard Day's Night* (1964) by setting up Amish devotion to work as a less desirable "tradition" compared to the popular culture of reference to "night" as self-satisfying pursuit of "play" or "leisure" as modern. Songs such as "Hay Ride" (a play on the hit "Free Ride" by the Edgar Winter Group in 1973), and "All Right Cow" (lampooning "All Right Now" by Free in 1970) are in the style of "classic rock" and create humor by setting up a structural incongruity of the old-fashioned Amish with contemporary popular culture and its appeal to urban youth. In the digital age, however, some groups emerged such as the Amish Outlaws and Shun with members of Pennsylvania German sectarian background who want to disturb assumptions about the Amish as producers, and subjects, of popular culture. Most of the members of the Amish Outlaws working out of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, were raised Amish and performed rock music beginning in 2002. They frenetically jump and gyrate on stage in Amish garb and between renditions of songs by "urban contemporary" composers Jay Z, Lady Gaga, and Dr. Dre, engage audiences with references to their *rumspringa* experience and ethnic-religious upbringing. Although they tour widely on the East Coast, their promotional videos have reached audiences worldwide in impressive numbers. On their website, they explain that they "decided to form a band that combined their love of the modern world and their traditional upbringing" (www.amishoutlaws.com) and to broadcast the Amish as part of popular culture.

Similarly, Shun was a rock band composed of three musicians brought up Amish who maintained Plain practices (and consequently needed to be driven to shows) and, in their words, "separate ourselves from the English every minute we are alive except when we are playing our shows, and even then there is a separation between us and the audience" (S. Brown 1999). They composed original rock songs with Amish themes such as "Girls in Bonnets," "Amish Junkie," "Rumspringa," and "Intercourse [Pennsylvania] Girl." Unlike the Amish Outlaws, Shun was more hostile to what they openly identified as the condescension of the "English" toward Pennsylvania Germans. When an interviewer asked them about their thoughts regarding "the juggling of the simplistic life vs. that of rock stars," the leader responded that they do not juggle. The interviewer followed up with the question, "So do you basically write your own music as well as churn your own butter?" and she got the testy reply, "Why are the English so interested in how we make butter? Do the English not make butter? I want to know how the English make margarine" (S. Brown 1999). "We do not like English society and wouldn't want to join it," a member of the band piped in, and related that they have a manager who deals with the business end of things (he visits rather than calls them), but they still tried to maintain their distance from popular culture even as their music was based

upon it. They claimed to record CDs to disseminate their music but would not listen to the recordings. Antagonistic toward their consuming audience, the members of Shun did not fare as well on the Internet and in the mass market as the Amish Outlaws, because they had to show that they were more than a novelty act, or not a comedic one, within popular culture.

While the Amish had become largely representative of tradition and community generally and Pennsylvania Germans specifically (although in a subsumed or incorporated way) in American popular culture, a prime location for discourse on the role of Pennsylvania Germans is the national observance of Groundhog Day and the mediation of the groundhog in American culture. Although Pennsylvania Germans recognize the groundhog as a symbol of ethnic heritage, especially in the creation of *Grundsow* (Groundhog) lodges in Pennsylvania in 1934, they also have viewed in media coverage and the diffusion of Groundhog Day ceremonies the deethnicization of the groundhog in popular culture (Donner 2002; 2016; R. Miller n.d.; Valuska and Donner 2004, 236–37; D. Yoder 2003). Groundhog Day is February 2, the date of Candlemas, which according to German folk tradition, is associated with weather prediction by the hedgehog or badger; in Pennsylvania, German settlers substituted the abundant groundhog. According to folklore deriving from Europe, if the groundhog emerges and sees its shadow, winter weather will last for six more weeks. On the day, formal ceremonies with the groundhog dubbed "Punxsutawney Phil" in Punxsutawney, Pennsylvania, receive national media coverage and an astounding amount of social media traffic (fig. 19.2). The Hollywood movie *Groundhog Day* (1993) starring Bill Murray and Andie MacDowell about a meteorologist covering the festivities built on, and helped spread, the renown of Groundhog Day as a midwinter event stripped of ethnic meaning.

Although the media descend upon Punxsutawney as the self-proclaimed "Weather Capital of the World" for a photo opportunity, the "Groundhog

Fig. 19.2. Groundhog Day from Gobbler's Knob in Punxsutawney, Pennsylvania, February 2, 2013. *Photograph by Anthony Quintano, Creative Commons.*

Day map," according to Don Yoder includes "such far-flung outposts as Wisconsin, where Jimmy the Sun Prairie Groundhog does the honors; Ohio, the realm of Buckeye Chuck; and Georgia, where little General Beauregard Lee waddles out from his white-columned plantation mansion to sniff the air and see if his shadow is available. Many other places have Groundhog Day activities—Vermont, Louisiana, even Ontario and Nova Scotia—and each year additional spots light up on the map" (D. Yoder 2003, xi). Meanwhile, in groundhog lodges, men of Pennsylvania German background stand in tribute to their ethnic heritage as an oversized effigy of a groundhog is carried or wheeled into a hall for a ceremonial dinner. The audience sings in Pennsylvania German, hears speeches, often comical, about Pennsylvania German tradition, and enjoys skits that, in the words of Pennsylvania German ethnographers David Valuska and William Donner, "combine satire and nostalgia" (2004, 237; see also Donner 2002; 2016; D. Yoder 2003, 75–76). Weather prophecy is discussed elevating the much maligned groundhog, with its Pennsylvania German symbolism, to a lofty status. New members might be inducted at the time, often by raising their "paws," that is, their hands, and reciting a Groundhog Oath (D. Yoder 2003, 76). The groundhog also graces publicity for *Fersommlinge* (literally "gatherings" in the dialect) that are open to women. Although broadcast media do not usually cover the *Fersommlinge* or *Grundsow* lodge meetings, members of lodges decked out in top hats will participate in public ceremonies and proclaim Pennsylvania German connections. In the middle of "Dutch Country," Octoraro Orphie in Quarryville and Cocalico Cal in Ephrata, both in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, for example, are touted as Pennsylvania German characters accompanied by poetic fanfare (Knapp 2015). Celebrations of "Dutchiness" on Groundhog Day have extended as far as California where the Groundhog Club of Silicon Valley was formed in 1990 (fig. 19.3). It held an annual Groundhog Day party featuring, according to its website, "a Pennsylvania Dutch dinner featuring chicken pot pie, Lebanon bologna, soft pretzels and other indigenous foods, Pennsylvania music and songs, dancing, a raffle and silent auction, and a six foot groundhog."

Analyzing the folk-popular relationships of Groundhog Day and the contested symbols of the groundhog in the festive play frames of various ceremonies, Don Yoder (2003, 82) suggests that the groundhog is a variety of totemic animal symbolizing tribal identity. The groundhog has become in his estimation the leading symbol of the Pennsylvania Dutch and, as a totem, represents their colonial-era roots, strong social relationship to one another, and earthy association with the land. There is also a sense in which Pennsylvania Germans present the annoying groundhog to one another to turn what is viewed publicly as negative into a positive trait or, looked at in another way, a stigmatized vernacular into an esteemed one (Goldstein and Shuman 2012, 116–17; Puglia 2015). In national media coverage of Punxsutawney Phil, however, the groundhog symbolizes the popular desire for leisure and fun in consumer culture. Arguably, the media mock Phil and his

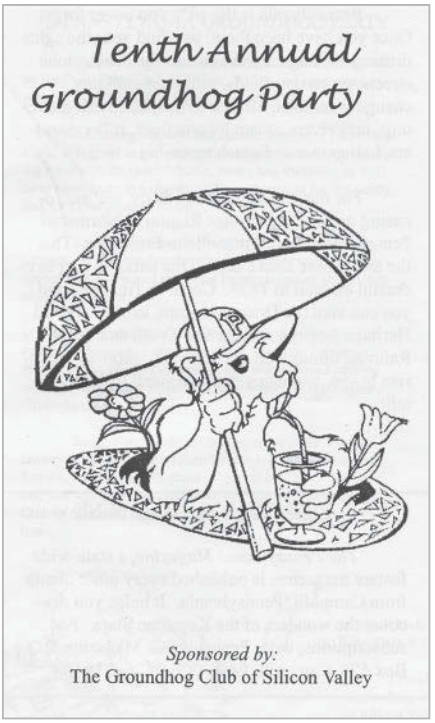


Fig. 19.3. Cover of Groundhog Party program by the Groundhog Club of Silicon Valley, Palo Alto, California, 1999

dutiful attendants as part of small town Pennsylvania along the byways of old-time America rather than the highways of modern life marked by human (and mechanical) dominion over, instead of subservience to, nature. Pennsylvania Germans are possibly noted as progenitors of the event, but their background becomes immaterial to the holiday's mediated message of sunny anticipation to a national deethnicized, future-oriented audience.

Don Yoder (2003, 83) recognizes that the folk-cultural heritage of Pennsylvania Germans on Groundhog Day "has been drastically reshaped or retreaded by the powerful, media-driven popular culture of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries." Yoder suggests analysis of the emergence of Pennsylvania German institutions, play frames, and ceremonies as "New Folklore" institutions that derive "some of their content from traditional folk culture, their format has been radically reshaped by the popular culture that surrounds us everywhere and invades our homes daily via radio, television, and computer screen, whether we speak Pennsylvania Dutch or not." This concept suggests agency by Pennsylvania Germans as a group rendered residual or stigmatized by popular culture to internally solidify bonds to one another and externally elevate their status, and cultural integration, in a mass market. In a process that combines apparently contradictory efforts to creatively traditionalize and popularize themselves as part of multicultural America (with which the Pennsylvania Germans have conceptually had an uneasy fit as a diasporic colonial-era set of communities with great internal diversity), Penn-

sylvania Germans often contend with the reconciliation of, on the one hand, their familiarity to the public as popular culture icons of separatist tradition and, on the other, in Don Yoder's words, "the thoroughgoing acculturation of the Pennsylvania Dutch to the popular culture surrounding them." While Yoder offers "New Folklore" as an objective category to indicate folk-popular culture interrelationships, other scholars have suggested "folkloresque," folklorism," "invented tradition," or "poplore" to describe the processes of cultural mediation of traditional and popular culture, often with social and political advocacy in mind in response to marginalization of a group in mass society. The term "folkloresque," for example, builds on the idea of the "carnivalesque" by Russian critic Mikhail Bakhtin for a mode of discourse that through humor and festivity subverts dominant powers (M. Foster and Tolbert 2015; see also Bluestein 1994; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Mechling 2002).

Researchers of popular culture by and about Pennsylvania Germans are challenged to provide background to both the encoding, conscious and unconscious, by producers of media and the decoding, often multivalent, by audiences and mediators. Changing media and commercialism in the digital age force more global perspectives on representations and productions of Pennsylvania German life. For example, mobile digital technology and social media allow for more networking of isolated individuals to express Pennsylvania German identity and potentially forces to displace it. Indeed, the idea of personal identity performances through media to effect a sense of belonging to heritage and the symbolization of Pennsylvania German practices and products (often through strategies such as exhibitionistic display in domestic and public spaces, alteration of scale to draw attention to the content of objects, and creative elaboration through literature and art rather than everyday practical use) is a trajectory beyond the identification of movies and television shows that feature Pennsylvania Germans.

Whereas "New Class" professionals took leading roles in the interpretation, and often moral judgment, of popular culture through the early twenty-first century, often in oppositional or corrective discourse with corporate and commercial interests, new generations of analysts followed whose exposure to Pennsylvania German culture is through multiple media outside of the traditional rural Pennsylvania enclaves. Moreover, there are signs of the broadening of analytical influence on the broadcast messages about Pennsylvania Germans with participation, and mediation, by members of Plain groups and subcommunities within the Pennsylvania German diaspora in addition to transnational and transcultural observers. Consideration of popular culture more centrally in the new Pennsylvania German studies forces professorial, curatorial, and public lenses to focus on the present as well as the past, and it suggests assessment of Pennsylvania Germans as very much part of the modern world.

This page intentionally left blank

Adam, Thomas, ed. 2005. *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Adams, Edward, and Barbara Brady O'Keefe. 1988–89. *Catholic Trails West: The Founding Families of Pennsylvania*. 2 vols. Baltimore: Gateway Press.

Adams, Paul K. 1980. "James P. Wickersham on Education and Crime in Nineteenth-Century Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Magazine of Biography and History* 104: 411–33.

Agger, Ben. 1988. *Fast Capitalism*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. 1972. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Albright, Frank P. 1978. *Johann Ludwig Eberhardt and His Salem Clocks*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Old Salem.

Albright, William. 1942. *A History of the Evangelical Church*. Harrisburg, PA: Evangelical Press.

Alderfer, E. Gordon. 1951. "Johannes Kelpius and the Spiritual Ferment of the Seventeenth Century." *American-German Review* 17: 3–6.

———. 1985. *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counter Culture*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Alexander, Edward Porter, and Mary Alexander. 2008. *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Alexander, June Granitir. 1994–95. "Slovak Churches: Religious Diversity and Ethnic Communities in Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 44 (2): 70–77.

Alter, Alexandra. 2009. "They're No Bodice Rippers, but Amish Romances Are Hot." *Wall Street Journal*, September 9.

Alves, Romulo, and Ierece L. Rosa. 2005. "Why Study the Use of Animal Products in Traditional Medicines?" *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 1: 5.

Amish Population by State/Province. 2016. http://groups.etown.edu/amishstudies/statistics/population-by-state/.

Amish Population Trends, 1992–2013: 21-Year Highlights. 2014. http://www2.etown.edu/amishstudies/Population_Trends_1992_2013.asp.

Amish Studies website. http://www2.etown.edu/amishstudies/.

Ammon, Richard. 1996. *An Amish Christmas*. New York: Aladdin Paperbacks, 1996.

———. 1998. *An Amish Wedding*. New York: Atheneum Books for Young Reader.

———. 2000. *An Amish Year*. New York: Athenaeum Books for Young Readers.

———. 2001. *Amish Horses*. New York: Athaneum Books for Young Readers.

Ammons, Elizabeth, and Valerie Rohy, eds. 1998. *American Local Color Writing, 1880–1920*. New York: Penguin.

Amsler, Cory M. 1987. "New York German Chests: A Study in Craft Influences." MA thesis, Cooperstown Graduate Program, SUNY Oneonta.

———, ed. 2001. *Bucks County Fraktur*. Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 33. Kutztown: Pennsylvania German Society and the Bucks County Historical Society.

Anburey, Thomas. 1789. *Travels through the Interior Parts of America: In a Series of Letters by an Officer*. Vol. 2. London: Printed for William Lane.

Anderson, Cory. 2012. *The Amish-Mennonites of North America*. Medina, NY: Ridgeway Publishing.

Anderson, Fred. 2005. *The War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War*. New York: Viking.

Anderson, H. George. 1975. "The Early National Period, 1790–1840." In *The Lutherans in North America*, edited by E. Clifford Nelson, 81–146. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Anderson, Mark J. 1995. "A New Look at Sulfur and Other Composition Inlay." In *Catalogue of the Chester County Antiques Show*, 36–39. West Chester, PA: Chester County Historical Society.

Appel, John J. 1962. "Marion Dexter Learned and the German American Historical Society." *Pennsylvania Magazine of Biography and History* 86: 287–318.

Armstrong, William H. 1967. *Organs for America: The Life and Work of David Tannenberg*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Arndt, Karl John Richard, and Reimer C. Eck, eds. 1989. *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America*. 2 vols. Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliotek.

Atwood, Craig D. 2004. *Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

———. 2007. "Deep in the Side of Jesus: The Persistence of Zinzendorfian Piety in Colonial America." In *Pious Pursuits: German Moravians in the Atlantic World*, edited by Michele Gillespie and Robert Beachy, 50–64. New York: Berghahn.

Aurand, A. Monroe, Jr. 1929. *The "Pow-Wow" Book: A Treatise on the Art of "Healing by Prayer" and "Laying on of Hands," etc., Practiced by the Pennsylvania-Germans and Others; Testimonials; Remarkable Recoveries; Popular Superstitions; etc., Including an Account of the Famous "Witch" Murder Trial, at York, Pa*. Harrisburg, PA: Aurand Press.

———. 1939a. *Pennsylvania-German Dialect: Stories and Poems*. Harrisburg, PA: Aurand Press.

———. 1939b. *Quaint Idioms and Expressions of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Harrisburg, PA: Aurand Press.

———. 1942. *The Realness of Witchcraft in America, with Special References to the Pennsylvania Germans and the Conflict of Science vs. Old Time Beliefs and Customs*. Harrisburg, PA: Aurand Press.

Axelrod, Alan, ed. 1985. *The Colonial Revival in America*. New York: W. W. Norton for Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

Bach, Jeff. 2003. *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Backcountry Dutch: German Heritage and Decorative Arts in Frederick County, Maryland. 2008. Frederick, MD: Historical Society of Frederick County.

Baer, Friederike. 2008. *The Trial of Frederick Eberle: Language, Patriotism, and Citizenship in Philadelphia's German Community*. New York: New York University Press.

Baer, George. 1875. *The Pennsylvania Germans: An Address Delivered at Palatinate College, December 23, 1875*. N.p., pamphlet in the Berks County Historical Society.

Baer, Samuel A. 1877. "The Educational Problem of the German Element." *Pennsylvania School Journal* 26: 109–14.
———. 1884. "Education and Labor." *Pennsylvania School Journal* 33: 100–107.
———. 1912. "Reunion Address." *Public School Bulletin* (Reading, PA) 2 (4): 8. Archives, Historical Society of Berks County.
Bahn, Rachel. 1869. *Poems*. York, PA: H. C. Adams.
Bailyn, Bernard. 1991. *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
———. 1996. "The Idea of Atlantic History." *Itinerario* 20: 19–44.
———. 2005. *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Bainton, Roland H. 1952. *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*. Boston: Beacon Press.
Banning, Tim. 1952. *The Pursuit of Glory: Europe 1648–1815*. New York: Viking Press.
Barba, Preston A., and Robert M. Kline, eds. 2011. "The Women in the Life of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 45 (2): 12–25.
Barber, Edwin Atlee. 1970. *Tulip Ware of the Pennsylvania-German Potters*. Philadelphia: Patterson & White, 1903; reprint, New York: Dover.
Barnes, M. Craig. 2012. *Body & Soul: Reclaiming the Heidelberg Catechism*. Louisville, KY: Congregational Ministries.
Baron, Robert. 2010. "Sins of Objectification? Agency, Mediation, and Community Self-Determination in Public Folklore and Cultural Tourism." *Journal of American Folklore* 123: 63–91.
Barrick, Mac E., ed. 1987. *German-American Folklore*. Little Rock: August House.
"Bars Witchcraft as Murder Defense." 1929. *New York Times*, January 9, 3.
Barth, Fredrik. 1998. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
Barth, Karl. 1964. *The Heidelberg Catechism for Today*. Translated by Shirley C. Guthrie. Richmond, VA: John Knox Press.
Bartlett, Virginia K. 1980. *Pickles and Pretzels: Pennsylvania's World of Food*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
Bassler, J. H. 1906. "The Myerstown Academy." *Paper Read before the Lebanon County Historical Society* 3 (12): 358–99.
Bauman, Richard, Patricia Sawin, and Inta Gale Carpenter. 1992. *Reflections on the Folklife Festival: An Ethnography of Participant Experience*. Special publications of the Folklore Institute, no. 2. Bloomington: Folklore Institute, Indiana University.
Beam, C. Richard, ed. 1995. *The Thomas R. Brendle Collection of Pennsylvania German Folklore*. Vol. 1. Schaefferstown, PA: Historic Schaefferstown.
———, ed. 2003. *Pennsylvania German Words in Context*. Millersville: Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, Millersville University.
Beam, C. Richard, Joshua R. Brown, Jennifer L. Trout, and Dorothy Pozniko Beam, eds. 2004–11. *The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary*. 12 vols. Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press.
Beck, Ervin. 2004. *MennoFolk: Mennonite and Amish Folk Traditions*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.
———, ed. 2005. *MennoFolk 2: A Sampler of Mennonite and Amish Folklore*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.
Beckel, Clarence E. 1938. *Early Marriage Customs of the Moravian Congregation in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: The Use of the Lot and Its Relation to the Marriage Rite, and Des-*

criptions of Some Notable Ceremonies. Allentown: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society.
Beckerdite, Luke, and Robert Hunter, eds. 2009–10. *Ceramics in America*. Milwaukee, WI: Chipstone Foundation.
Beer, Mathias, and Dittmar Dahlmann, eds. 2004. *Über die trockene Grenze und über das offene Meer. Binneneuropäische und transatlantische Migrationen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. Essen: Klartext Verlag.
Behney, J. Bruce, and Paul H. Eller. 1979. *The History of the Evangelical United Brehren Church*. Edited by Kenneth W. Krueger. Nashville: Abingdon Press.
Beidelman, William. 1898. *The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans: Embracing an Account of Their Origin, Their History, and Their Dialect*. Easton, PA: Express.
Beiler, Rosalind J. 1997. "Distributing Aid to Believers in Need: The Religious Foundations of Transatlantic Migration." *Pennsylvania History*, special suppl., 64: 73–104.
———. 2000. "From the Rhine to the Delaware Valley: The Eighteenth-Century Trading Channels of Caspar Wistar." In *In Search of Peace and Prosperity*, edited by Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson, 172–88. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
———. 2004. "German-Speaking Immigrants in the British Atlantic World, 1680–1730." *OAH Magazine of History* 18 (3): 19–22.
———. 2005. "Searching for Prosperity: German Migration to the British American Colonies, 1680–1780." In *The Atlantic World: Essays on Slavery, Migration, and Imagination*, edited by Wim Klooster and Alfred Padula, 91–106. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.
———. 2007. "Information Networks and the Dynamics of Migration: Swiss Anabaptist Exiles and Their Host Communities." In *Religious Refugees in Europe, Asia and North America (6th–21st century)*, edited by Susanne Lachenicht, 81–91. Hamburg: LIT.
———. 2009. *Immigrant and Entrepreneur: The Atlantic World of Caspar Wistar*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Bell, Lloyd. 1995. Bell's Meat Market, Hummelstown, PA. Interview by Yvonne Milspaw.
Bell, Michael. 2004. *Farming for Us All: Practical Agriculture and the Cultivation of Sensibility*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Bender, Harold C. 1970. *The Anabaptists and Religious Liberty in the Sixteenth Century*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
Bender, Ruth, Sarah E. Fisher, Jean Miller Thomas, Thomas Miller, and Leroy Miller. 2003. *The Kalona/Iowa Pennsylvania-German Dialect*, edited by C. Richard Beam and Rachel Cornelius. Millersville: Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, Millersville University of Pennsylvania.
Bender, Sue. 1989. *Plain and Simple: A Woman's Journey to the Amish*. New York: HarperOne.
Bendix, Regina. 1988. "Folklorism: The Challenge of a Concept." *International Folklore Review* 6: 5–15.
Benshoff, Harry M., and Sean Griffin. 2009. *America on Film: Representing Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality at the Movies*. 2nd ed. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
Bergengren, Charles Lang. 1988. "The Cycle of Transformations in the Houses of Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.
———. 1994. "From Lovers to Murderers: The Etiquette of Entry and the Social Implications of House Form." *Winterthur Portfolio* 29 (1): 43–72.
———. 2004. "Pennsylvania German House Forms." In *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920: Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, May 12–16, 2004*, edited by Nancy Van Dolsen and Sally McMurry, 23–46. Harrisburg, PA: Vernacular Architecture Forum.

Bergey, Lorna L., and Albert I. Hunsberger. 1986. "The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society of Ontario, 1951–1986." In *Three Pennsylvania German Pioneer Homesteads in Ontario: The Families and Their Way of Life*, by Lorna L. Bergey and Albert I Hunsberger, 9–10. Markham: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society of Ontario.

Berks County Pennsylvania Fraktur. 2001. Reading, PA: Historical Society of Berks County Press.

Berlin, Alfred Franklin. 1907. "Walter Jacob Hoffman, M.D.: Physician, Explorer and Scientist." *Pennsylvania-German* 8: 583–85.

Bernhart & Company: Shenandoah Valley Folk Art Fraktur (1774–1850). 2011. Dayton, VA: Heritage Museum of the Harrisonburg-Rockingham Historical Society.

Best, Martha S. 1972. "Christmas Customs in the Lehigh Valley." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 22 (2): 15–24.

Bestwick, Angela M. 2015. "Work as Community Building: A Small-Scale Barn Raising." *Social Studies and the Young Learner* 28 (1): 17–19.

Biesecker, Susan. 2008. "Heritage versus History: Amish Tourism in Two Ohio Towns." In *The Amish and the Media*, edited by Diane Zimmerman Umble and David L. Weaver-Zercher, 111–32. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Bilardi, C. R. 2009. *The Red Church, or the Art of Pennsylvania German Braucherei: The Traditional Blessed Healing Art for the Good of Man and Beast*. Sunland, CA: Pendraig.

Billington, Ray Allen. 1964. *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964.

Bird, Michael S. 1977. *Ontario Fraktur: A Pennsylvania German Folk Tradition in Early Canada*. Toronto: M. F. Feheley Publishers.

———. 2002. *O Noble Heart, O Edel Herz: Fraktur and Spirituality in Pennsylvania German Folk Art*. Lancaster, PA: Heritage Center Museum.

Bird, Michael S., and Terry Kobayashi. 1981. *A Splendid Harvest: Germanic Folk and Decorative Arts in Canada*. Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Bishir, Catherine W., and Michael T. Southern. 2003. *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Bishop, J. Leander, Edwin T. Freedley, and Edward Young. 1868. *A History of American Manufacturers from 1608 to 1860 . . . Comprising Annals of the Industry of the United States in Machinery, Manufacturers and Useful Arts, with a Notice of the Important Inventions, Tariffs, and the Results of Each Decennial Census*. Philadelphia: E. Young.

Bishop, Robert Charles, and Elizabeth Safanda. 1976. *A Gallery of Amish Quilts: Design Diversity from a Plain People*. New York: Dutton.

Bittenger, Lucy F. 1906. *German Religious Life in Colonial Times*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott.

Bivins, John. 1972. *The Moravian Potters in North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Old Salem.

Bivins, John, and Paula Welshimer. 1981. *Moravian Decorative Arts in North Carolina: An Introduction to the Old Salem Collection*. Winston-Salem, NC: Old Salem, 1981.

Bix, Amy S. 2004. "Engendering Alternatives: Women's Health Care Choices and Feminist Medical Rebellions." In *The Politics of Healing: Histories of Alternative Medicine in Twentieth-Century North America*, edited by Robert D. Johnston, 153–80. New York: Routledge.

Black, Mary. 1989. *Simplicity, a Grace: Jacob Maentel in Indiana*. Evansville, IN: Evansville Museum of Arts & Science.

Blank, Benuel. 1986. "What Is in a Language? The Scriptures Have the Answers." *Family Life*, February, 12–16.

Blank, Trevor, ed. 2009. *Folklore and the Internet: Vernacular Expression in a Digital World*. Logan: Utah State University Press.

———, ed. 2012. *Folk Culture in the Digital Age: The Emergent Dynamics of Human Interaction*. Logan: Utah State University Press.
Bluestein, Gene. 1994. *Poplore: Folk and Pop in American Culture*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
Board of Trustees Notes. 1877–99. Archives, Trexler Library, Muhlenberg College.
Bodle, Wayne. 1994. "Themes and Directions in Middle Colonies Historiography, 1980–1994." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 51: 355–88.
Bodnar, John. 1985. *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Bongiovanni, Marie G. 1987. "Bologna Spoken Here." *Apprise Magazine*, April, 38–39ff.
Bonson, James, and Vivian Bonson. 1994. *Pennsylvania Folk Art of Samuel L. Plank*. Allensville, PA: Kishacoquillas Valley Historical Society.
Boorstin, Daniel J. 1961. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. New York: Harper.
Borie, Beauveau, IV. 1986. *Farming and Folk Society: Threshing among the Pennsylvania Germans*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press.
Borneman, Henry S. 1937. *Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts: A Classification of Fraktur-Schriften and an Inquiry into Their History and Art*. Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 46. Norristown, PA: Pennsylvania German Society.
———. 1953. *Pennsylvania German Bookplates*. Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 54. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania German Society.
Bottinelli, Jennifer J. 2005. "'This Is Reality, Right Now, Right Here, So Be Real': Reality Television and the Amish 'Other.'" *Western Folklore* 64: 305–22.
Bouwsma, William J. 1988. *John Calvin: A Sixteenth Century Portrait*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Boyer, R. Troy. 1995–96. "A Fine-Tooth Comb: Atlee Crouse Carries on a Family Tradition." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 45 (2): 54–63.
———. 1997. "The Forsaken Founder, William John Thoms: From Antiquities to Folklore." *Folklore Historian* 14: 55–61.
———. 2002. "'The Beautiful Truth,' or Our Folk Culture on Parade." *Pennsylvania German Review*, Fall, 33–42.
———. 2006. "Pennsylvania German Communities." In *Encyclopedia of American Folklife*, 4 vols., edited by Simon J. Bronner, 3:944–47. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
Boyer, Walter E., Albert F. Buffington, and Don Yoder. [1951] 1964. *Songs along the Mahantongo: Pennsylvania Dutch Folksongs*. Hatboro, PA: Folklore Associates.
Brabrook, E. W. 1893. "Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom." *Science* 21 (January 6): 5.
Bradley, John. 2000. *Ephrata Cloister: Pennsylvania Trail of History Guide*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole.
———. 2001. *Conrad Weiser Homestead*. Pennsylvania Trail of History Guides. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole.
Brand, Millen. 1975. *Local Lives*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter.
Brandt, Mindy, and Thomas E. Gallagher. 1993–94. "Tourism and the Old Order Amish." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 43 (2): 71–75.
Brednich, Rolf. 1977. *Mennonite Folklife and Folklore: A Preliminary Report*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.
Breininger, Donald. 2005. "En Lieg Beim Donnie Breinninger." Transcribed and Translated by Ron Treichler. *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 39: 65–68.
Breininger, Lester P., Jr. 1972. "Just a Bone." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 21 (3): 21–23.

Brendle, Abraham S. [1901] 1979. *A Brief History of Schaefferstown*. York: Hiram Young. Reprinted by Historic Schaefferstown, Inc.

Brendle, Thomas R., and William S. Troxell. 1944. *Pennsylvania German Folk Tales, Legends, Once-upon-a-Time Stories, Maxims, and Sayings*. Norristown: Norristown Pennsylvania German Society.

———. 1949. "Pennsylvania German Songs." In *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends*, edited by George Korson, 62–128. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Brendle, Thomas R., and Claude Unger. 1935. *Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Non-occult Cures*. Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society.

Bridenbaugh, Carl. 1962. *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South*. New York: Atheneum.

Brinck, Andreas. 1993. *Die deutsche Auswanderungswelle in die britischen Kolonien Nordamerikas um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Brobst, S. K. 1872. "English and German in the People's Schools." *Pennsylvania School Journal* 21: 90–94.

Brocklebank, Lynn A. 1986. "Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, Fraktur: An Initial Survey." *Magazine Antiques* 129 (1): 258–67.

Bronner, Edwin B. 1982. "Village into Town, 17801–1746." In *Philadelphia: A Three Hundred-Year History*, edited by Russell F. Weigley, 33–67. New York: W. W. Norton.

Bronner, Edwin B., and David Fraser. 1986. *The Papers of William Penn*. Vol. 5, *William Penn's Published Writings, 1660–1726: An Interpretive Bibliography*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bronner, Simon J. 1979. "'We Live What I Paint and I Paint What I See': A Mennonite Artist in Northern Indiana." *Indiana Folklore* 12: 133–72.

———. 1981. "Investigating Identity and Expression in Folk Art." *Winterthur Portfolio* 16: 65–83.

———. 1985. *The Carver's Art: Crafting Meaning from Wood*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

———. 1986. *Grasping Things: Folk Material Culture and Mass Society in America*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

———. 1987. *American Folklore Studies: An Intellectual History*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

———. 1988. *American Children's Folklore*. Little Rock: August House.

———. 1989. "Folklife Starts Here: The Background of Material Culture Scholarship in Pennsylvania." In *The Old Traditional Way of Life: Essays in Honor of Warren E. Roberts*, edited by Robert E. Walls and George H. Schoemaker, 230–43. Bloomington, IN: Trickster Press.

———. 1992. "Elaborating Tradition: A Pennsylvania-German Folk Artist Ministers to His Community." In *Creativity and Tradition in Folklore: New Directions*, edited by Simon Bronner, 277–326. Logan: Utah State University Press.

———. 1996. "Shoemaker vs. Shoemaker: The Debate on Pennsylvania Germans in American Tradition." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania-German Society* 30: 3–30.

———. 1998. *Following Tradition: Folklore in the Discourse of American Culture*. Logan: Utah State University Press.

———. 1999a. "Cultural Historical Studies of Jews in Pennsylvania: A Review and Preview." *Pennsylvania History* 66: 311–38.

———. 1999b. "Eulogy for Pennsylvania Folklife (1957–1997)." *Journal of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies* 6: 4–7.

———. 2002. Introduction to *Folk Nation: Folklore in the Creation of American Tradition*, by Simon J. Bronner, 3–70. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources.
———. 2004a. *Grasping Things: Folk Material Culture and Mass Society in America*. 1986; reprint, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
———. 2004b. "Whither Pennsylvania-German Studies?" *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 38: 3–8.
———. 2005. "Plain Folk and Folk Society: John A. Hostetler's Legacy of the Little Community." In *Writing the Amish: The Worlds of John A. Hostetler*, edited by David L. Weaver-Zercher, 56–97. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
———. 2006. "'Heile, Heile, Hinkle Dreck': On the Earthiness of Pennsylvania German Folk Narratives." In *Preserving Heritage: A Festschrift for C. Richard Beam*, edited by Joshua R. Brown and Leroy T. Hopkins Jr., 77–100. Lawrence, KS: Society for German-American Studies.
———. 2010. "Framing Folklore: An Introduction." *Western Folklore* 69: 275–97.
———. 2011. *Explaining Traditions: Folk Behavior in Modern Culture*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
———. 2012a. "The Jewish Joke Online: Framing and Symbolizing Humor in Analog and Digital Culture." In *Folk Culture in the Digital Age: The Emergent Dynamics of Human Interaction*, edited by Trevor J. Blank, 119–49. Logan: Utah State University Press.
———. 2012b. "Practice Theory in Folklore and Folklife Studies." *Folklore* 123: 23–47.
———. 2013a. "Fakelore." In *Encyclopedia of Local History*, 2nd ed., edited by Carol Kammen and Amy H. Wilson, 179–80. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.
———. 2013b. "Plain and Frum: The Amish and Hasidim Compared as Folk Groups." Podcast. University Colloquium Series, Eastern Mennonite University, January 23.
Brown, Johanna. 2001. "Such Luxuries as Sofas: An Introduction to North Carolina Moravian Upholstered Furniture." *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 27 (2): 1–50.
Brown, Joshua R. 2010. "An Amish Mortuary Ritual at the Intersection of Cultural Anthropology and Lexicography." *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, suppl., 3: 85–100.
———. 2011. "Religious Identity and Language Shift among Amish-Mennonites in Kishacoquillas Valley, Pennsylvania." PhD diss., The Pennsylvania State University.
———. 2017. "Gendered Stories, Advice, and Narrative Intimacy in Amish Young Adult Literature." In *Gendered Identities: Critical Readings of Gender in Children's and Young Adult Literature*, edited by Tricia Clasen and Holly Hassel, 87–101. New York: Routledge.
Brown, Joshua R., and Leroy T. Hopkins, Jr., eds. 2006. *Preserving Heritage: A Festschrift for C. Richard Beam*. Lawrence, KS: Society for German-American Studies.
Brown, Sonya. 1999. "Interview: Shun, Amish Rock." *In Music We Trust*, no. 26 (December). http://www.inmusicwetrust.com/articles/26h04.html.
Bruce-Briggs, B., ed. 1979. *The New Class?* New York: McGraw-Hill.
Brumbaugh, G. Edwin. 1933. "Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans." *Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings* 41, pt. 2: 5–105.
Brumbaugh, M. G. 1898. "An Educational Struggle in Colonial Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania School Journal* 47: 65–71.
———. 1907. "An Educational Policy for Spanish-American Civilization." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 30: 65–68.
Bruner, Edward M. 2005. *Cultures on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Brunhouse, Robert L. 1942. *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776–1790*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission.

Brunner, Raymond J. 1990. *That Ingenious Business: Pennsylvania German Organ Builders*. Birdsboro: Pennsylvania German Society, 1990.
Bucher, Robert C. 1961–62. "Steep Roofs and Red Tiles." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (2): 18–26.
———. 1962. "The Continental Log House." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (4): 14–19.
———. 1962–63. "Grain in the Attic." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13 (2): 7–15.
———. 1991. "Steep Roofs and Red Tiles." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (2): 18–26.
Buck, Roy C. 1978. "Boundary Maintenance Revisited: Tourist Experience in an Old Order Amish Community." *Rural Sociology* 43: 221–34.
Buffington, Albert F. 1937. "A Grammatical and Linguistic Study of Pennsylvania German." PhD diss., Harvard University.
———. 1939. "Pennsylvania German: Its Relation to Other German Dialects." *American Speech* 14: 276–86.
———, ed. 1962. *The Reichard Collection of Early Pennsylvania German Dialogues and Plays*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society / Fackenthal Library, Franklin and Marshall College.
———. 1965. "*Dutchified German*" *Spirituals*. Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 62. Lancaster, PA: Franklin and Marshall College.
———. 1974. *Pennsylvania German Secular Folksongs*. Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 8. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.
———. 1980a. "Lach Hazhafdich! A Collection of 'Earthy' Pennsylvania German 'Schtories.'" In *Ebbes fer Alle-Ebber, Ebbes fer Dich / Something for Everyone, Something for You: Essays in Memoriam, Albert Franklin Buffington*, edited by Frederick S. Weiser, 35–60. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.
———. 1980b. "The Pennsylvania German Dialect and Folklore of Somerset County." In *Ebbes fer Alle-Ebber, Ebbes fer Dich / Something for Everyone-Something for You: Essays in Memoriam, Albert Franklin Buffington*, edited by Frederick S. Weiser, 1–34. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.
———. 1980c. "The Pennsylvania German Prose and Poetry of Thomas H. Harter and Harvey M. Miller." In *Ebbes for Alle-Epper, Ebbes fer Dich / Something for Everyone, Something for You: Essays in Memoriam, Albert Franklin Buffington*, edited by Frederick Weiser, 61–104. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.
Burgert, Annette K. 1983. *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from German-Speaking Lands to North America*. Vol. 1, *The Northern Kraichgau*. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.
———. 1985. *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from German-Speaking Lands to North America*. Vol. 2, *The Western Palatinate*. Birdsboro: Pennsylvania German Society.
———. 1992. *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from the Northern Alsace to America*. Camden, ME: Picton Press.
Burke, Susan M., and Matthew H. Hill. 1991. *From Pennsylvania to Waterloo: Pennsylvania-German Folk Culture in Transition*. Kitchener, Ontario: J. Schneider Haus.
Burridge, Kathryn. 1989. *Pennsylvania-German Dialect: A Localized Study within a Part of Waterloo County, Ontario*. Waterloo: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society of Ontario.
Butler, Jon. 1992. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
———. 2000. *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Buzinski, Amy M. 2003. "Ever Hear the One About . . .?" *Albright Reporter*, Spring. https://www.albright.edu/reporter/spring2003/everhear.html.

Carlson, Janice H., and John Krill. 1978. "Pigment Analysis of Early American Watercolors and Fraktur." *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 18 (1): 19–32.

Carpenter, Steven P. 2015. *Mennonites and Media: Mentioned in It, Maligned by It, and Markers of It*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock.

Carson, Cary. 1994. "Consumer Revolution in America: Why Demand?" In *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, 483–697. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Cassel, Daniel K. 1887. *History of the Mennonites*. Philadelphia: D. K. Cassel.

Cates, James A. 2014. *Serving the Amish: A Cultural Guide for Professionals*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Caton, Mary Anne. 2003. "Women's Plain Dress in the Delaware Valley." In *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption*, edited by Emma Jones Lapsansky and Anne A. Verplanck, 246–71. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Cazenove, Theophile. 1794. *Cazenove Journal, 1794: A Record of the Journey of Theophile Cazenove through New Jersey and Pennsylvania*. Edited by Rayner Wickersham Kelsey. Haverford: Pennsylvania History Press, 1922.

Chappell, Edward A. 1986a. "Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley: Rhenish Houses of the Massanutten Settlement." In *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 27–57. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

———. 1986b. "Germans and Swiss." In *America's Architectural Roots: Ethnic Groups that Built America*, edited by Dell Upton, 68–73. Washington, DC: Preservation Press of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

"Charm Book Throws Light on 'Witch' Trial." 1929. *New York Times*, January 6, 25.

Christopher, Matthew. 2006. "Lancaster Stockyard." Abandoned America. http://www.abandonedamerica.us/lancaster-stockyard.

"Clarence Birdseye." 2015. *Bio*. A&E Television Networks.

Clark, Delber. 1946. *The World of Justus Falckner*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press.

Clasen, Claus-Peter. 1966. *The Palatinate in European History, 1555–1618*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Clayton, Virginia Tuttle, Elizabeth Stillinger, and Erika Doss. 2002. *Drawing on America's Past: Folk Art, Modernism, and the Index of American Design*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Cleland, Alice Eichelberger. c. 1880. Recipes. Unpublished manuscript, author's collection.

Clements, William M. 1969. *The Types of the Polack Joke*. Folklore Forum Bibliographic and Special Series, no. 3. Bloomington, IN.

Clifford, James. 1988. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Clinkscale, Martha Novak. 1993. *Makers of the Piano, 1700–1820*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Clouse, Jerry. 2011. "Religious Landscapes." In *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920*, edited by Sally McMurry and Nancy Van Dolsen, 181–208. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Cobbett, William. 1819. *A Year's Residence in America*. London: Printed for Sherwood, Neely, and Jones.

Cocchiara, Giuseppe. 1981. *The History of Folklore in Europe*. Translated by John N. McDaniel. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.

Coffin, Margaret. 1968. *American Country Tinware, 1700–1900*. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons.

Coleman, James Samuel. 1966. *Equality of Educational Opportunity (Coleman) Study (EEOS), 1966*. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research.
Comaroff, John L., and Jean Comaroff. 2009. *Ethnicity, Inc*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Comstock, H. E. 1994. *The Pottery of the Shenandoah Valley Region*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, 1994.
———. 2005–6. "Stony Creek Fraktur Artist Identified." *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 31 (2) and 32 (1–2): 80–102.
Cong, Dachang. 1998. "Single Women in Amish Society." In *Sects, Cults, and Spiritual Communities: A Sociological Analysis*, edited by William W. Zellner and Marc Petrowsky, 131–39. Westport, CT: Praeger.
Conn, Steven. 1992. "Henry Chapman Mercer and the Search for American History." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 116: 323–55.
Conner, Paul, and Jill Roberts. 1988. *Pennsylvania German Fraktur and Printed Broadsides: A Guide to the Collections in the Library of Congress*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress.
Constitution. 1891. *The Pennsylvania-German Society: Sketch of Its Origin, with the Proceedings and Addresses at Its Organization*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania-German Society.
Contasta, David R. 2002. "Reforming the Commonwealth, 1900–1950." In *Pennsylvania, a History of the Commonwealth*, edited by Randall M. Miller and William Pencak, 257–316. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Cooper, J. David, Michael D. Robinson, Jill Ann Slansky, and Nancy D. Kiger. 2012. *Literacy: Helping Students Construct Meaning*. 9th ed. Stamford: Cengage Learning.
Cooper, Thomas. 1794. *Some Information Respecting America*. London: Printed for J. Johnson.
Cooper, Wendy A., and Lisa Minardi. 2011. *Paint, Pattern & People: Furniture of Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1725–1850*. Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.
Cooper, Wendy A., Patricia Edmonson, and Lisa M. Minardi. 2009. "The Compass Artist of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania." In *American Furniture*, edited by Luke Beckerdite, 62–87. Milwaukee, WI: Chipstone Foundation.
Core, Arthur C., ed. 1968. *Philip William Otterbein: Pastor, Ecumenist*. Dayton, OH: Board of Publication of the Evangelical United Brethren Church.
Costello, John R. 1980. "A Lexical Comparison of Two Sister Languages: Pennsylvania German and Yiddish." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 29 (3): 138–42.
Couloumbis, Angela. 2008. "PA. Midwife Fights to Keep Working: Court Case over Births Pits Private Preference vs. Public Policy." Philly.com, April 20. http://articles.philly.com/2008-04-20/news/25252513_1_midwives-midwife-north-american-registry.
Council Minutes, St. Luke Lutheran Church, Schaefferstown. 1918. St. Luke Archives, Schaefferstown, PA.
"Count Pulaski's Banner: This Interesting Relic of the Revolution Now in the Possession of the Maryland Historical Society." 1880. *New York Times*, July 18, 2.
A Craftsman's Handbook: Henry Lapp. 1975. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art.
Cremin, Lawrence A. 1970. *American Education, the National Experience, 1783–1876*. New York: Harper and Row.
Croll, Philip C. 1926. *Conrad Weiser and His Memorial Park: A Little History in Three Parts*. Reading, PA: Reading Eagle Press.
———. 1923. *Annals of Womelsdorf, Pa. and Community, 1723–1923, History's Yard-Stick for Two-Hundred Years*. Reading, PA: n.p.
Cronk, Sandra L. 1977. *Gelassenheit: The Rites of the Redemptive Process in Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite Communities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cross, Gary S., and John K. Walton. 2005. *The Playful Crowd: Pleasure Places in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Cuban, Larry. 1993. *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890–1990*. Research on Teaching Series. New York: Teachers College Press.
Cuff, David J., William J. Young, and Edward K. Muller, eds. 1989. *The Atlas of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Cummings, John, and Martha Cummings. 1958. "John Drissel and His Boxes." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 9 (4): 28–31.
Cunningham, Frank. 2002. *Theories of Democracy: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Routledge.
Cunz, Dieter. 1948. *The Maryland Germans: A History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
D'Antonio, Michael. 2006. *Hershey: Milton S. Hershey's Extraordinary Life of Wealth, Empire, and Utopian Dreams*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
Darrach, Henry. 1917. *Voyage of William Penn in Ship "Welcome" 1682: With a View of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: Welcome Society.
Leicht Büchlein für die Amischen Gemeinden in Lancaster County und die Umliegenden Gegenden. 2002. Gordonville, PA: n.p.
Davies, Owen. 2013. *America Bewitched: The Story of Witchcraft after Salem*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Davis, Martha Moore. 1997. *Sarah's Seasons: An Amish Diary and Conversation*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
———. 2002. *Sarah's Season: An Amish Diary and Conversation*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
Day, Sherman. 1843. *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: George W. Gorton.
de Angeli, Marguerite. 1936. *Henner's Lydia*. New York: Doubleday.
———. 1944. *Yonie Wondernose*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.
———. 1971. *Butter at the Old Price: The Autobiography of Marguerite de Angeli*. New York: Doubleday.
de Julio, Mary Antoine. 1985a. *German Folk Arts of New York State*. Albany, NY: Albany Institute of History and Art.
———. 1985b. "New York-German Painted Chests." *Magazine Antiques* 127 (5): 1156–65.
De la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, François-Alexandre-Frédéric. 1800. *Travels through the United States of North America, the Country of the Iroquois, and Upper Canada, in the Years 1795, 1796, 1797; with an Authentic Account of Lower Canada*. Translated by H. Neuman. London: R. Phillips.
De Montilla, Aida Negron. 1975. *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public School System, 1900–1930*. Rio Piedras: Universidad de Puerto Rico, Editorial Universitaria.
Deetz, James. 1996. *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life*. New York: Anchor/Doubleday.
Deppermann, Klaus. 1984. "Pennsylvanien als Asyl des frühen deutschen Pietismus." *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 10: 190–212.
Deibler, Barbara E. 1988–89. "The Bookish Aurands." *Pennsylvania Portfolio* 6 (2): 27–31.
———. 1989. "The Aurands in Print." *Pennsylvania Portfolio* 7 (1): 21–25.
Di Heilich Shrift. 2013. Berlin, OH: TGS International.
Derenne, Jean-Philippe. 2001. Introduction to *Sauer's Herbal Cures: America's First Book of Botanic Healing*, by William Woys Weaver, ix–x. New York: Routledge.
Dewalt, Mark W. 2006. *Amish Education in the United States and Canada*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Education.

Diamond, Heather A. 2008. *American Aloha: Cultural Tourism and the Negotiation of Tradition*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Diekmann, Heiko. 2005. *Lockruf der Neuen Welt. Deutschsprachige Werbeschriften für die Auswanderung nach Nordamerika von 1680 bis 1760*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.

Diffenderffer, Frank K. [1900] 1979. *The German Immigration to Pennsylvania through the Port of Philadelphia from 1700–1775 and the Redemptioners*. Reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing.

Dock, Christopher, Martin Grove Brumbaugh, and Samuel W. Pennypacker. 1908. *The Life and Works of Christopher Dock: America's Pioneer Writer on Education with a Translation of His Works into the English Language*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott.

Doerflinger, Thomas M. 1988. "Farmers and Dry Goods in the Philadelphia Market Area, 1750–1800." In *The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period*, edited by Ronald Hoffman et al., 166–95. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Domer, Dennis. 1994. "Genesis of the German-American Two–Door House." *Material Culture* 26: 1–35.

Donmoyer, Patrick J. 2013. *Hex Signs: Myth and Meaning in Pennsylvania Dutch Barn Stars*. Kutztown: Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center at Kutztown University of Pennsylvania.

Donner, William W. 1998. "Assimilation and Localism: Some Very Small Towns in Mass Society." *Sociological Inquiry* 68 (1): 61–82.

———. 2000. "'We Are What We Make of Ourselves': Abraham Reeser Horne and the Education of Pennsylvania Germans." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 124: 521–46.

———. 2002. "Loss Uns Deitcha wos M'r Sin: Leave Us Dutch the Way We Are; The Grundsow Lodges." *Pennsylvania German Review*, Spring, 39–57.

———. 2003. Reply to Boyer, "'The Beautiful Truth'—Beauty Is in the Eye of the Beholder." *Pennsylvania German Review*, Spring, 41–44.

———. 2008. "'Neither Germans nor Englishmen, but American': Education, Assimilation and Ethnicity among 19th Century Pennsylvania Germans." *Pennsylvania History* 75: 197–226.

———. 2010. "The First College Course in Pennsylvania German." In *The Language and Culture of the Pennsylvania Germans: A Festschrift for Earl C. Haag*, edited by William D. Keel and C. Richard Beam, 15–26. Topeka, KS: Society for German-American Studies.

———. 2016. *Serious Nonsense: Groundhog Lodges, Versammlinge and Pennsylvania German Heritage*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Dornbusch, Charles H., and John K. Heyl. 1956. *Pennsylvania German Barns*. Allentown: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society.

Dorson, Richard M. 1950. "Folklore and Fake Lore." *American Mercury*, March, 335–42.

———. 1964. *Buying the Wind: Regional Folklore in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1976. *The Birth of American Studies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———. 1977. *American Folklore*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Douglas, Mary. 1971. "Deciphering a Meal." In *Myth, Symbol and Culture*, edited by Clifford Geertz, 61–81. New York: Norton.

———. 1977. Introduction to *The Anthropologist's Cookbook*, by Jessica Kuper, 1–7. New York: Universe Books.

———. 1984. "Standard Social Uses of Food: Introduction." In *Food and the Social Order: Studies of Food and Festivities in Three American Communities*, edited by Mary Douglas, 1–39. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Doutrich, Paul. 1986. "Cresap's War: Expansion and Conflicts in the Susquehanna Valley." *Pennsylvania History* 53: 89–104.
Downing, Crystal. 2008. "Witnessing the Amish: Plain People on Fancy Film." In *The Amish and the Media*, edited by Diane Zimmerman Umble and David L. Weaver-Zercher, 25–42. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Downs, Joseph. 1929. *The House of the Miller at Millbach: The Architecture, Arts, and Crafts of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Museum of Art.
———. 1936a. "The House of the Miller on the Millbach." *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society Proceedings* 1: 75–90.
———. 1936b. "The Pennsylvania German Galleries in the Metropolitan Museum, New York." *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society Proceedings* 1: 90–100.
Dubbs, Joseph H. 1903. *History of Franklin and Marshall College: Franklin College, 1787–1853; Marshall College, 1836–1853; Franklin and Marshall College, 1853–1903*. Lancaster, PA: Franklin and Marshall College Alumni Association.
Dubbs, Joseph H., and William John Hinkle. 1902. *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania: Part IX of a Narrative and Critical History, Prepared at the Request of the Pennsylvania-German Society*. Proceedings and Addresses of the Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 11 of Publications. Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society.
Dunbar, Gary S. 1961. "Henry Chapman Mercer, Pennsylvania Folklife Pioneer." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (2): 48–52.
Duncan, Cameron. 1971. "The Museum, a Temple or the Forum." *Curator* 14: 11–24.
Dundes, Alan. 1984. *Life Is like a Chicken Coop Ladder: A Portrait of German Culture through Folklore*. New York: Columbia University Press.
———. 2007. "Folk Ideas as Units of Worldview." In *The Meaning of Folklore: The Analytical Essays of Alan Dundes*, edited by Simon J. Bronner, 179–95. Logan: Utah State University Press.
Dundore, M. Walter. 1955. "The Saga of the Pennsylvania Germans in Wisconsin." *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society Proceedings*, 33–166. Allentown: Schlechter's.
Dunn, David D., ed. 1961. *The History of the Evangelical and Reformed Church*. Philadelphia: Christian Education Press.
Dunn, Richard S., and Mary Maple Dunn. 1984. *The Papers of William Penn*. Vol. 2, *1680–1684*. Philadelphia; University of Pennsylvania Press.
Durnbaugh, Donald F. 1958. "Christopher Sauer, Pennsylvania German Printer: His Youth in Germany and Later Relations with Europe." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 82: 316–40.
———. 1959. "Two Early Letters from Germantown." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 84: 219–33.
———. 1967. *The Brethren: A Source of Book on the Transportation and Development of the Brethren in Eighteenth Century*. Elgin, IL: Brethren Press.
———. 1994. "The Radical Pietist Involvement in Early German Emigration to Pennsylvania." *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 29: 29–48.
———. 1997. *Fruit of the Vine: A History of the Brethren, 1708–1995*. Elgin, IL: Brethren Press.
———. 2001. "Pennsylvania's Crazy Quilt of German Religious Groups." *Pennsylvania History* 68: 8–30.
Dyke, Linda F. 1996. *Henry Chapman Mercer: An Annotated Chronology*. Doylestown, PA: Bucks County Historical Society.
Earnest, Adele. 1984. *Folk Art in America: A Personal View*. Exton, PA: Schiffer.
Earnest, Corinne, and Russell Earnest. 1997. *Papers for Birth Dayes: A Guide to the Fraktur Artists and Scriveners*. 2 vols. East Berlin, PA: Russell D. Earnest Associates.
———. 1999. *Fraktur: Folk Art & Family*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing.

———. 2004. *To the Latest Posterity: Pennsylvania-German Family Registers in the Fraktur Tradition*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
———. 2005. *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets: Pennsylvania German Broadsides, Fraktur, and Their Printers*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Books.
———. 2007. "Fraktur-Fest II: A Tribute to Richard S. Machmer." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 41 (2): 3–26.
———. 2012. *The Heart of the Taufschein: Fraktur & the Pivotal Role of Berks County, Pennsylvania*. Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 46. Kutztown: Pennsylvania German Society.
———. 2015. *God Bless This House: The Printed House Blessings (Haus-Segen) of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1780–1921*. Dover, DE: Russell D. Earnest Associates.
Earnest, Corinne, Russell Earnest, and Klaus Stopp. 2014. *The Printed Birth and Baptismal Certificates of the German Americans*. Vol. 7. Clayton, DE: Russell D. Earnest Associates.
Eberlein, Harold D., and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard. 1937. "Household Furniture of the Pennsylvania Germans." *American German Review*, pts. 1–2 (June and September 1937): 4–9, 4–8.
Eckhardt, George H. 1955. *Pennsylvania Clocks and Clockmakers*. New York: Bonanza Books.
Egge, Marion F. 2000. *Pennsylvania Roots across the Ocean*. Philadelphia: Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania.
Eggert, Gerald G. 1992. *Harrisburg Industrializes: The Coming of Factories to an American Community*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
———. [1994] 2008. *The Iron Industry in Pennsylvania*. Pennsylvania History Studies 25. Mansfield: Pennsylvania Historical Association.
Egle, William Henry. 1883. *History of the Counties of Dauphin and Lebanon in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: Biographical and Genealogical*. Philadelphia: Everts & Peck.
Eichoff, Jürgen. 2001. "German Place Names in Pennsylvania." Unpublished address to the German Department Symposium. The Pennsylvania State University, October 20.
Eine Unparteiische Lieder-Sammlung . . . 2005. Sugarcreek, OH: Carlisle Press.
Eitzen, Dirk. 2008. "Hollywood *Rumspringa*: Amish in the City." In *The Amish and the Media*, edited by Diane Zimmerman Umble and David L. Weaver-Zercher, 133–54. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Emery, M. B. I., and Irwin Richman,. 2013. *Living Crafts, Historic Tools: The Craftspeople & Collections of the Landis Valley Museum*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer.
Endy, Melvin B. 1973. *William Penn and Early Quakerism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Enninger, Werner, ed. 1986. *Studies on the Languages and the Verbal Behavior of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Vol. 1. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
Ensminger, Robert F. 1992. *The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and Distribution in North America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
———. 2003. *The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origins, Evolution, and Distribution in North America*. Rev. ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Epp, Frank H. 1974. *Mennonites in Canada, 1786–1920*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada.
Epp, Reuben. 1993. *The Story of Low German and Plautdietsch: Tracing a Language across the Globe*. Hillsboro, KS: Reader's Press.
Erb, Peter, ed. 1987. *Schwenkfelders in America*. Pennsburg: Schwenkfelder Library.
Erben, Patrick M. 2002. "'Honey Combs' and 'Paper Hives': Positioning Francis Daniel Pastorius' Manuscript Writings in Early Pennsylvania." *Early American Literature* 37 (2): 157–94.

Ermentrout, John. 1863. "How to Teach German Children the English Language." *Pennsylvania School Journal* 12 (September): 80–84.
———. 1876. *Historical Sketch of Kutztown and Maxatawny, Berks County, Penn'a*. Kutztown, PA: Urick & Gehring's Steam Job Print.
Eshleman, H. Frank. 1911. "The Meaning of Lancaster County's Two Hundred Years of History, 1710–1910." *Pennsylvania-German* 12: 1–14.
Evans, Lewis. 1753. *A Brief Account of Pennsylvania: in a Letter to Richard Peters, Esq., in Answer to Some Queries of a Gentleman in Europe*. Manuscript, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
Evans, Nancy Goyne. 2006. *Windsor-Chair Making in America: From Craft Shop to Consumer*. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England.
Fabian, Monroe H. 1972–73. "The Easton Bible Artist Identified." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 22 (2): 2–14.
———. 1977. "Sulfur Inlay in Pennsylvania German Furniture." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 27 (1): 2–9.
———. 2004. *The Pennsylvania-German Decorated Chest*. New York: Universe Books, 1978; reprint, Schiffer Publishing.
Faculty Notes. Kutztown University. Archives, Rohrbach Library.
Fager, Harold "Doc." 1974–78. Fager's Market. Middletown, PA. Interview by Yvonne Milspaw.
Falk, Cynthia G. 2003. "Sarah Bixler's Plates and Flowerpots." *Magazine Antiques* 164 (1): 70–77.
———. 2008. *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Falk, Cynthia G., and Lisa Minardi. 2014. "Pennsylvania, German, and Beyond." In *A Shared Legacy: Folk Art in America*, edited by Susan Higman Larsen, 60–77. Alexandria, VA: Art Services International and Skira Rizzoli.
Faull, Katherine M. 1997. *Moravian Women's Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750–1820*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
Faust, Albert B. 1916. "Swiss Emigration into the American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century." *American Historical Review* 22: 21–44.
———. 1927. *The German Element in the United States with Special Reference to Its Moral, Social, and Educational Influence*. Vol. 1. New York: Steuben Society.
Faust, Albert B., and Gaius M. Brummbaugh, eds. [1918] 1946. *List of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies*. Reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing.
"Fear of Witchcraft Leads to Murder." 1928. *New York Times*, December 1, 3.
Feaster, Felicia. 2015. "Violent Saturday." *TCM: Film Article*. http://www.tcm.com/this-month/article/253508|0/Violent-Saturday.html.
Featherstone, Mike, ed. 1990. *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization, and Modernity: A Theory*. London: Sage.
Fegley, H. Winslow, and Schwenkfelder Library. 1987. *Farming, Always Farming: A Photographic Essay of Rural Pennsylvania German Land and Life*. Birdsboro: Pennsylvania German Society.
Fellows, Will. 2004. *A Passion to Preserve: Gay Men as Keepers of Culture*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Fennimore, Donald L. 1996. *Metalwork in Early America: Copper and Its Alloys from the Winterthur Collection*. Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.
———. 2004. *Iron at Winterthur*. Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

Fenske, Hans. 1980. "International Migration: Germany in the Eighteenth Century." *Central European History* 13: 332–47.

Fertig, Georg. 1994. "Transatlantic Migration from the German-Speaking Parts of Central Europe, 1600–1800: Proportions, Structures, and Explanations." In *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500–1800*, edited by Nicholas Canny, 192–235. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

———. 1997. "Eighteenth-Century Transatlantic Migration and Early German Antimigration Ideology." In *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, edited by Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, 271–90. Berne: Peter Lang.

———. 2000. *Lokales Leben, atlantische Welt. Die Entscheidung zur Auswanderung vom Rhein nach Nordamerika im 18. Jahrhundert*. Osnabrück: Rasch, 2000.

Fetterman, William. 1988–89. "Asseba un Sabina: The Flower of Pennsylvania German Folk Theater." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 38 (2): 50–68.

———. 1989. "The Pennsylvania German Dialect Playwriting Contests of 1941, 1942, 1983, and 1986." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 38 (3): 128–44.

Fisher, Elizabeth W. 1985. "'Prophesies and Revelations': German Cabbalists in Early Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 109: 299–333.

Fisher, George Sydney. 1896. *The Making of Pennsylvania: An Analysis of the Population and the Formative Influences That Created One of the Greatest of the American States*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott.

Fisher, Gideon L. 1978. *Farm Life and Its Changes*. Gordonville, PA: Pequea Publishers.

Fisher, Sara E., and Rachel K. Stahl. 1997. *The Amish School*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

Fleming, Mary Lou Robson. 1988. "Folk Artist Jacob Maentel of Pennsylvania and Indiana." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 37 (3): 98–111.

Fleming, Mary Lou Robson, and Marianne Ruch. 1991. "Jacob Maentel: A Second Look." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 41 (1): 2–19.

Fletcher, Stevenson Whitcomb. 1950. *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640–1840*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

———. 1955. *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1840–1940*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Flower, Milton E. 1986. *Three Cumberland County Wood Carvers: Schimmel, Mountz, Barrett*. Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society.

Fogel, Edwin Miller. 1915. *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Philadelphia: American Germanica Press.

———. 1995. *Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans*. 1925; reprint, Bern, Germany: Peter Lang.

Fogleman, Aaron S. 1992. "Migrations to the Thirteen British American Colonies, 1700–1775. New Estimates." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 22: 691–709.

———. 1996. *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture, 1717–1775*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 2007. *Jesus Is Female: Moravians and Radical Religion in Colonial America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Folk Craft Center. N.d. "The Folk Craft Center—Amish Photography: About Mel Horst Photography." Folk Craft Center. http://www.folkcraftcenter.com/mel_horst_photography.html.

Forbes, Esther. 1962. *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Foreword. 1936. *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, 1:iii–iv. Allentown: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society.

Forman, Benno M. 1983. "German Influences in Pennsylvania Furniture." In *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, by Scott T. Swank et al., edited by Catherine E. Hutchins, 102–70. New York: W. W. Norton for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

Forman, Bruce Ross. 2000. *Clockmakers of Montgomery County, 1740–1850*. Norristown, PA: Historical Society of Montgomery County.
Forney, C. H. 1914. *History of the Churches of God*. Harrisburg: Publishing House of the Church of God.
Foster, Michael Dylan, and Jeffrey A. Tolbert, eds. 2015. *The Folkloresque: Reframing Folklore in a Popular Culture World*. Logan: Utah State University Press.
Foster, Thomas L. 1861. "Teaching German Children." *Pennsylvania School Journal* 9: 301.
Fox, Francis S. 2000. *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Ordeal of the American Revolution in Northampton County, Pennsylvania*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Fraktur: A Selective Guide to the Franklin and Marshall Fraktur Collection. 1987. Lancaster, PA: Franklin and Marshall College.
Fraktur and Related Works on Paper: The Pioneer Americana Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Donald A. Shelley. 2004. Downingtown, PA: Pook & Pook.
Frame, Richard, and Horatio Gates Jones. 1867. *A Short Description of Pennsilvania*. Philadelphia: Oakwood Press.
Franklin, Benjamin. 1755. *Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, Etc.* Boston: S. Kneeland.
Frantz, John B. 1964. "The Return to Tradition: An Analysis of the New Measure Movement in the German Reformed Church." *Pennsylvania History* 31: 311–26.
———. 1976. "The Awakening of Religion among the German Settlers in the Middle Colonies." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 33: 266–88.
———. 1998. "Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans." *Pennsylvania History* 65 (1): 21–34.
———. 2001. "The Pennsylvania Germans, 'A Persistant Minority.'" *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 35 (1–2): 3–20.
———. 2008. "Men of the Cloth under the Wrong Sheets; Moral Lapses of Early Pennsylvania Clergymen." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 42 (2): 19–27.
———. 2010. "Religion, the American Revolution, and the Pennsylvania Germans." In *Pennsylvania's Revolution*, edited by William Pencak, 76–96. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Frantz, John B., and A. G. Roeber, eds. 2001a. "Pennsylvania Germans, Part One." *Pennsylvania History*, special issue, 68 (1).
———, eds. 2001b. "Pennsylvania Germans, Part Two." *Pennsylvania History*, special issue, 68 (2).
Fraser, Esther Stevens. 1925. "Pennsylvania Brides, Boxes, and Dower Chests, Parts I and II." *Magazine Antiques* 8 (1 and 2): 20–23; 79–84.
———. 1927. "Pennsylvania German Dower Chests." *Magazine Antiques* 11 (2): 119–23; 11 (4): 280–83; 11 (6): 474–76.
Frederick, J. George. 1935. *The Pennsylvania Dutch and Their Cookery: Their History, Art, Accomplishments, Also a Broad Collection of Their Food Recipes*. New York: Business Bourse.
Fretz, J. Winfield. 1989. *The Waterloo Mennonites: A Community in Paradox*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
Frey, J. William. 1941. "The German Dialect of Eastern York County, Pennsylvania." PhD diss., University of Illinois.
———. 1949. "Amish Hymns as Folk Music." In *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends*, edited by George Korson, 129–62. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
———. 1951. *That Amazing Pennsylvania Dutch Language*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center.
Friedrich, Tammy J. 2004. "Nebraska Amish Needlework Textiles: Female Makers in

the Yost B. Yoder Family, Voices of Self and Community." MA thesis, Penn State Harrisburg.
Friesen, Steve. 1991. "The Five-Plate Stove Revisited." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 41 (1): 20–24.
Frost, J. William. 1990. *A Perfect Freedom: Religious Liberty In Pennsylvania*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Funk, Mrs. H. H. 1908. "Revival of the Patch-Work Quilt." Edited by Howard W. Kriebel. *Pennsylvania German* 9: 86.
Furlong, Salmona Miller. 2011. *Why I Left the Amish: A Memoir*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
Gäbler, Ulrich. 1986. *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work*. Translated by Ruth C. L. Gritsch. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
Games, Alison. 2006. "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities." *American Historical Review* 111 (3): 741–57.
Gamon, Albert T. 1979. "Story of a Stove." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 28 (4): 12–16.
Garrett, Ruth Irene, and Rick Farrant. 2001. *Crossing Over: One Woman's Exodus from Amish Life*. Allen, TX: Thomas More.
Garvan, Beatrice B. 1982. *The Pennsylvania German Collection*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art.
Garvan, Beatrice B., and Charles F. Hummel. 1982. *The Pennsylvania Germans: A Celebration of Their Arts, 1683–1850*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.
Gastil, Raymond D. 1975. *Cultural Regions of the United States*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
Gehret, Ellen J. 1976. *Rural Pennsylvania Clothing: Being a Study of the Wearing Apparel of the German and English Inhabitants . . .* New York: Liberty Cap Books.
Gehret, Ellen J., Tandy Hersh, Alan G. Keyser, and Frederick S. Weiser. 1985. *This Is the Way I Pass My Time: A Book about Pennsylvania German Decorated Hand Towels*. Birdsboro: Pennsylvania German Society.
Gehret, Ellen J., and Alan G. Keyser. 1976. *The Homespun Textile Tradition of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania Farm Museum of Landis Valley.
Genzlinger, Neil. 2012. "They've Got Cute Buggies and Kids, but Their Lives Aren't Always Heavenly." *New York Times*, February 27. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/28/arts/telePAvision/the-amish-an-american-experience-film-on-pbs.html?_r=1.
Getrude Huntington Papers. 2011. Penn State University Archives.
Getty, Joseph M. 1985. "A Pennsylvania German Vernacular Structure in Maryland—the Christian Bauer House." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 19 (2): 42–54.
Gibble, Patricia E. 2001. "Continuity, Change, and Ethnic Identity in 18th Century Pennsylvania Red Earthenware: An Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Study." PhD diss., American University.
———. 2005. "Eighteenth-Century Redware Folk Terms and Vessel Forms: A Survey of Utilitarian Wares from Southeastern Pennsylvania." *Historical Archaeology* 39 (2): 33–62.
Gibbons, Phebe Earle. 1869. "Pennsylvania Dutch." *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 473–87.
———. 1963. *The Pennsylvania Dutch: A Reprint of the Famous Essay First Published in the Atlantic Monthly in October, 1869*. Witmer, PA: Applied Arts Publishers.
———. 2001. *"Pennsylvania Dutch" and Other Essays*. 1872; reprint, Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole.
Gilbert, Russell Wieder. 1956a. "Religious Services in Pennsylvania German." *Susquehanna University Studies* 5: 277–89.

———. 1956b. "The Pennsylvania German Versammling Speeches." *Pennsylvania Speech Annual* 13: 3–20.
Gilgenast, Trudy E. 2009. *Pennsylvania German Broadsides: A Reflection of Daily Life, 1741–1890*. Wilmington, DE: Cedar Tree Books.
Gillespie, Angus K. 1976. "Pennsylvania Folk Festivals of the 1930's." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 26 (1): 2–11.
———. 1980. *Folklorist of the Coal Fields: George Korson's Life and Work*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
———. 1996. "Festival." In *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Jan Harold Brunvand, 249–51. New York: Garland.
Gillespie, Michelle, and Robert Beachy, eds. 2007. *Pious Pursuits: German Moravians in the Atlantic World*. New York: Berghahn Books.
Gilpin, Sandra. 1988. "Scherenschnitte and Fraktur." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 37 (4): 190–92.
Gingerich, Debra. 2007. *Where We Start*. Telford, PA: Cascadia Publishing.
Gingerich, Melvin. 1970. *Mennonite Attire through Four Centuries*. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.
Gingerich, Melvin, and Noah Good. 1989. "Dialect Literature and Speech, Pennsylvania German." *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*. http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Dialect_Literature_and_Speech,_Pennsylvania_German&oldid=102166.
Gipson, Lawrence H. 1962. *The Coming of the American Revolution, 1763–1776*. New York: Harper and Row.
Glass, Daniel G. C. George Bachman, Harry E. Shepardson, John F. Frantz, and J. N. Le Van, eds. 1941. *History of the Lancaster Classis of Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1852–1940*. New Holland: New Holland Printing.
Glass, Joseph W. 1986. *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press.
Glassie, Henry. 1968a. "A Central Chimney Continental Log House." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 18 (2): 32–39.
———. 1968b. *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
———. 1970. "The Double-Crib Barn in South-Central Pennsylvania. Part 4." *Pioneer America* 2 (2): 23–34.
———. [1972] 1986. "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building." In *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 394–425. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
———. 1982. *Passing the Time in Ballymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster Community.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
———. 1998. "American Vernacular Architecture." Lecture Notes.
Glatfelter, Charles H. 1980–81. *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717–1793*. 2 vols. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.
———. 1990. *The Pennsylvania Germans: A Brief Account of Their Influence on Pennsylvania*. University Park: Pennsylvania Historical Association; rev. ed., 2002.
Gleason, Philip. 1983. "Identifying Identity: A Semantic History." *Journal of American History* 69: 910–31.
Goda, Anne Whitney. 1990. "An Old Time Mostly Forgotten Art: Isaac and Thomas Stahl, Colonial Revival Potters." MA thesis, George Washington University.
———. 1995. "Isaac and Thomas Stahl, the Revival Potters of Powder Valley." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 44 (3): 104–17.
Goda, Anne Whitney, and Barbara R. Goda. 2008. *Stahl's Pottery of Powder Valley*. Alburtis, PA: Third Generation Publishing.

Goldstein, Diane E., and Amy Shuman. 2012. "The Stigmatized Vernacular: Where Reflexivity Meets Untellability." *Journal of Folklore Research* 49: 113–26.

Gollin, Gillian Lindt. 1967. *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gonzalez, Roseann Duenas, and Ildiko Melis, eds. 2000. *Language Ideologies*. Vol. 1, *Education and the Social Implications of Official Language*, and vol. 2, *History, Theory, and Policy*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English; Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Good, E. Reginald. 1976. *Anna's Art: The Fraktur Art of Anna Weber, a Waterloo County Mennonite Artist, 1814–1888*. Kitchener, Ontario: Pochauna Publications.

Good, James I. 1911. *History of the Reformed Church in the United States in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America.

Good, Merle. 2008. *Reuben and the Balloon*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

———. 1995. *Reuben and the Blizzard*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

———. 1999. *Reuben and the Quilt*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

Good, Phyllis Pellman. 1983. *Cooking and Memories: Favorite Recipes from 20 Mennonite and Amish Cooks*. Lancaster, PA: Good Books.

Graeff, Arthur D. 1939. *The Relations between the Pennsylvania Germans and the British Authorities, 1750–1776*. Norristown, PA: Norristown Herald.

———. 1942. "The Pennsylvania German as Soldier." In *The Pennsylvania Germans*, edited by Ralph Wood, 225–36. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. 1951. "1950 in Pennsylvania German Folklore." *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society Proceedings*, 129–34. Allentown: Schlechter's.

Granick, Eve Wheatcroft. 1989. *The Amish Quilt*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

Graver, Lee. 1966. "Beacon on the Hill: The Centennial History of Kutztown State College." *Kutztown Bulletin* 99 (1): 1–174.

Graves, James Bau. 2005. *Cultural Democracy: The Arts, Community, and the Public Purpose*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Graves, Thomas. 1983. "Ethnic Artists, Artifacts, and Authenticity: Pennsylvania German and Ukrainian Folk Craft Today." *Pioneer America* 15: 21–34.

———. 1988. "The Selling of Pennsylvania German Folk Art." In *Craft and Community: Traditional Arts in Contemporary Society*, edited by Shalom D. Staub, 119–26. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission and Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

Graybill, Beth. 2007. "'Not All Made Alike': A Review of Recent Writing about and by Amish and Mennonite Women." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 42 (1): 13–22.

———. 2009. "Amish Women, Business Sense: Old Order Women Entrepreneurs in the Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Tourist Marketplace." PhD diss., University of Maryland.

———. 2010. "Chasing the Bonnet: The Premise and Popularity of Writing Amish Women." *CMW Journal* 2 (4). http://www.mennonitewriting.org/journal/2/4/bonnet-fiction/.

Greaser, Arlene, and Paul H. Greaser. 1965. *Homespun Ceramics: A Study of Spatterware*. Allentown, PA: the authors.

Greasley, P. A., ed. 2001. *Dictionary of Midwestern Literature*. Vol. 1, *The Authors*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Green, Jo-Ann. 2010. "Street Cred? Author Has Dirt-Lane Cred." *Lancaster Sunday Newspaper*, September 4.

Griebel, Helen Bradley. 1991. "Carroll County Rug Hookers: Morphology of a Craft." *Midwestern Folklore* 17: 34–55.

Grier, Katherine C. 1979. *Celebrations in Wood: The Sculpture of John Scholl (1827–1916)*. Harrisburg, PA: William Penn Memorial Museum.
Griffith, Sally Foreman. 2010. *Liberalizing the Mind: Two Centuries of Liberal Education at Franklin & Marshall College*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Grimsrud, Ted. 2007. *Embodying the Way of Jesus: Anabaptist Convictions for the Twenty-First Century*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.
Groff, Betty. 1981. *Betty Groff's Country Goodness Cookbook*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
"The Growing of a Guild." 2007. *Hollerbier Haven: Newsletter for Herbal and Healing Arts* 1 (1). http://www.urglaawe.com/uploads/1_Spring_2007.pdf.
Grubb, Farley. 1986. "Redemptioner Immigration to Philadelphia: Evidence on Contract Choice and Profitability." *Journal of Economic History* 46: 407–18.
———. 1987a. "Colonial Immigrant Literacy: An Economic Analysis of Pennsylvania-German Evidence, 1727–1775." *Explorations in Economic History* 24: 63–76.
———. 1987b. "The Market Structure of Shipping German Immigrants to Colonial America." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 111: 27–48.
———. 1987c. "Morbidity and Mortality on the North Atlantic Passage, Eighteenth Century German Immigration." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17: 565–85.
———. 1990. "German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1709–1820." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 20: 417–26.
———. 2011. *German Immigration and Servitude in America, 1709–1920*. London: Routledge.
Grumbine, Ezra. 1905. *Folk-Lore and Superstitious Beliefs of Lebanon County*. Lebanon, PA: Lebanon County Historical Society.
Guenther, Karen A. 1984. "The Roman Catholics in Reading." *Historical Review of Berks County* 50: 4, 27, 31, 33.
———. 1998. "Berks County." In *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland*, edited by John B. Frantz and William Pencak, 67–84. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Gunnemann, Louis H. 1977. *The Shaping of the United Church of Christ: An Essay in the History of American Christianity*. New York: United Church Press.
Gunnion, Vernon S. 1983. "The Pennsylvania-German Schrank." *Magazine Antiques* 123 (5): 1022–26.
Haag, Earl C. 1956. "A Comparison of the Pennsylvania-German and Mannheim Dialects." MA thesis, The Pennsylvania State University.
———. [1982] 2001. *Pennsylvania German Reader and Grammar*. University Park: Penn State University Press.
———, ed. 1988. *A Pennsylvania German Anthology*. Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press.
———. 1998. *The First One Hundred Years: An Index of Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society (1891–1990) Including the Yearbooks of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society (1936–1966)*. Kutztown: Pennsylvania German Society.
———. 2010. "Pennsylvania German Literature: Trials, Tribulations, Triumph." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 44 (1): 84–87.
Häberlein, Mark. 1993. *Vom Oberrhein zum Susquehanna. Studien zur badischen Auswanderung nach Pennsylvania im 18. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
———. 2000. "Communication and Group Interaction among German Immigrants to Colonial Pennsylvania: The Case of Baden-Durlach." In *In Search of Peace and Prosperity*, edited by Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson, 156–71. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
———. 2002. "Transatlantische Beziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert. Die Kontakte südwestdeutscher und Schweizer Einwanderer in Pennsylvania zu ihren Heimatre-

gionen." In *Menschen zwischen zwei Welten. Auswanderung, Ansiedlung, Akkulturation*, edited by Walter G. Rödel and Helmut Schmahl, 45–60. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier.

———. 2005. "Konfessionelle Grenzen, religiöse Minderheiten und Herrschaftspraxis in süddeutschen Städten und Territorien in der Frühen Neuzeit." In *Staatsbildung als kultureller Prozess. Strukturwandel und Legitimation von Herrschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Ronald G. Asch and Dagmar Freist, 151–90. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag.

———. 2009. *The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1730–1820*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Häberlein, Mark, and Michaela Schmölz-Häberlein. 2001. "Eighteenth-Century Mennonites in the Margravate of Baden and Neighboring Territories." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 75: 471–92.

Hacker, Werner. 1980. *Auswanderungen aus Baden und dem Breisgau*. Stuttgart and Aalen: Konrad Theiss Verlag.

———. 1983. *Kurpfälzische Auswanderer vom Unteren Neckar. Rechsrheinische Gebiete der Kurpfalz*. Stuttgart and Aalen: Konrad Theiss Verlag.

Haegele, Katie. 2010. "The Amish Romance: Bonnets, but No Bosoms." *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 25.

Haldeman, Samuel Stehman. 1872. *Pennsylvania Dutch: A Dialect of South German with an Infusion of English*. London: Trübner.

Haller, John S., Jr. 1994. *Medical Protestants: The Eclectics in American Medicine*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Hamilton, J. Taylor, and Kenneth G. Hamilton. 1967. *History of the Moravian Church: The Unitas Fratrum, 1722–1957*. Bethlehem, PA: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, Moravian Church in America.

Handler, Richard. 1988. *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Handler, Richard, and Eric Gable. 1997. *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Handler, Richard, and Jocelyn Linnekin. 1984. "Tradition, Genuine or Spurious." *Journal of American Folklore* 97: 273–90.

Hansen, Gregory. 2014. "Heritage Studies." In *Encyclopedia of American Studies*, edited by Simon J. Bronner. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hanson, Gregory J. 2008. "*Asseba un Sabina*: A Pennsylvania German Radio Series of the 1940s and 1950s." *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 43: 123–29.

———. 2009a. "*Nau sinn mer don redi fer die Wascht tzu schtuppe*—Making Sausage with Asseba and Sabina: A Reflection of Pennsylvania German Folk Life." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 43 (2): 13–26.

———. 2009b. "*'S Pennsylvaanisch Deitsch Eck*: A Journalistic Success Story." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 43 (1): 20–32.

Harbaugh, Henry. 1857–72. *The Fathers of the Reformed Church*. 4 vols. Reading, PA: Daniel Miller.

———. 1870. *Harbaugh's Harfe: Gedichte in Pennsylvanisch-Deutscher Mundart*. Edited by Benjamin Bausman. Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board.

Harding, Anneliese. 1994. *John Lewis Krimmel: Genre Artist of the Early Republic*. Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

Hark, Richard R., Katelyn R. Houston, Jennifer Mass, Lisa Minardi, Hedwig T. Durnbaugh, and John Mumford. 2012. "Investigating the Juniata College Collection of Pennsylvania German Fraktur: Art Historical Perspectives and Scientific Analysis." *Juniata Voices* 12: 102–25.

Hart, Albert Bushnell. 1907. "The Pennsylvania-Dutch." *Pennsylvania-German* 8: 539–43.
Hart, D. G. 2013. *Calvinism: A History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Hart, Freeman H. 1942. *The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763–1789*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
Harter, Thomas. 1893. *Boonastiel: A Volume of Legend, Story and Song in Pennsylvania Dutch*. Middleburg, PA: T. Harter.
Harvey, David C. 2007. "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies." In *Cultural Heritage: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, edited by Laurajane Smith, 1:25–44. London: Routledge.
Hatmaker, Julia. 2012. "'Amish Mafia': Amish Experts Weigh in on New Discovery Channel Show." *Patriot-News* (Harrisburg, PA), December 10. http://www.pennlive.com/ midstate/index.ssf/2012/12/amish_mafia_amish_experts_weig.html.
Haussmann, Carl Frederick. 1917. *Kunze's Seminarium and the Society for the Propagation of Christianity and Useful Knowledge among the Germans in America*. Americana Germanica, no. 27. Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press.
Hays, H. W. 1907. "Agricultural Education." *Pennsylvania Live Stock Breeders' Association: Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting Held at Harrisburg, PA, January 23–25, 1907*, 7–12. Wilmerding, PA: Wilmerding Printing.
Headings, Dan. 2004a. "Desemol Iss Es Waya Pennsylvaanisch Deutsch," *Lighthouse*, January–February, 14–16.
———. 2004b. "Die Mudderschprooch." *Lighthouse*, May–June, 24–27.
Heerwart, Sabine, and Claudia Schnurmann, eds. 2007. *Atlantic Migrations: Regions and Movements in Germany and North America / USA during the 18th and 19th Century*. Münster: LIT.
Heiges, George L. 1976. *Henry William Stiegel and His Associates: A Story of Early American Industry*. 2nd ed. Manheim, PA: Arbee Foundation.
Heinz, Joachim. 1989. *"Bleibe im Lande und nähre dich redlich!" Zur Geschichte der pfälzischen Auswanderung vom Ende des 17. bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Kaiserslautern: Institut für pfälzische Geschichte und Volkskunde.
Heisey, M. Luther. 1932. "Penn's Manors, Their Origin, Location, and Number." *Lancaster County Historical Society Papers* 42: 47–48.
Helbig, Louis F. 1976. "German Studies as Culture Studies: The Bloomington Model." In *German Studies in the United States: Assessment and Outlook*, edited by Walter F. W. Lohnes and Valters Nollendorfs, 47–55. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Helffrich, William A. 1906. *Lebensbild aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Predigerstand: oder Wahrheit in Licht und Schatten*. Allentown, PA: N. W. A. & W. U. Helffrich.
Heller, Edna Eby. 1968. *The Art of Pennsylvania Dutch Cooking*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
Hellerich, Mahlon H. 1991. "The Founding of the Pennsylvania German Society." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 25: 33–41.
Henretta, James A. 1978. "Families and Farms: Mentalité in Pre-industrial America." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 35: 3–32.
Herman, Bernard L., Thomas R. Ryan, and David Schuyler. 2004. "Townhouse: From Borough to City; Lancaster's Changing Streetscape." In *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920: Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, May 12–16, 2004*, edited by Nancy Van Dolsen and Sally McMurry, 78–87. Harrisburg, PA: Vernacular Architecture Forum.
Herr, Donald M. 1995. *Pewter in Pennsylvania German Churches*. Birdsboro: Pennsylvania German Society.
———. 2006. "John Long & John Boyer: Nineteenth-Century Craftsmen in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 29 (April): 20–27.

———. 2008. "Christian Beschler: The 'Sussel-Unicorn' Artist." *Antiques and Fine Art* 8 (4): 150–57.

Herr, Karl. 2002. *Hex and Spellwork: The Magical Practices of the Pennsylvania Dutch*. York Beach, ME: Red Wheel/Weiser.

Herr, Patricia T. 1996. *The Ornamental Branches: Needlework and Arts from Lititz Moravian Girls' School between 1800 and 1965*. Lancaster, PA: Heritage Center Museum of Lancaster County.

———. 1998. *Amish Arts of Lancaster County*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer.

———. 2000. *Quilting Traditions: Pieces from the Past*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer.

Herrick, Cheesman A. 1926. *White Servitude in Pennsylvania: Indentured and Redemptioner Labor in Colony and Commonwealth*. Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey.

Hersh, Tandy, and Charles Hersh. 1991. *Samplers of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Birdsboro: Pennsylvania German Society.

———. 1995. *Cloth and Costume, 1750–1800: Cumberland County, Pennsylvania*. Heritage Series. Harrisburg, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society.

Hersh, Tandy, Charles Hersh, Christian Frey, and Henry Small. 2001. *Rural Pennsylvania German Weaving, 1833–1857; and the Christian Frey and Henry Small, Jr., Pattern Books*. Carlisle, PA: T. Hersh.

Hershey, Mary Jane Lederach. 1987. "Andreas Kolb, 1749–1811." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 61: 121–201.

———. 2001. "The Notenbüchlein Tradition in Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonite Community Schools, in an Area Known as the Franconia Conference, 1780 to 1845." In *Bucks County Fraktur*, edited by Cory M. Amsler, 114–49. Kutztown: Pennsylvania German Society and Bucks County Historical Society.

———. 2003. *This Teaching I Present: Fraktur from the Skippack and Salford Mennonite Meetinghouse Schools, 1747–1836*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

Herzfeld, Michael. 2010. "Engagement, Gentrification and the Neoliberal Hijacking of History." *Current Anthropology* 51, suppl. 2: S259–S267.

Hess, Clarke. 2002. *Mennonite Arts*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer.

Hill, Susan Colestock. 2009. *Heart Language: Elsie Singmaster and Her Pennsylvania German Writings*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Hinke, William J., ed. 1903. *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations of Pennsylvania, 1747–1792*. Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publications Board.

———. 1905–6. "Diary of the Rev. Michael Schlatter, June 1–December 15, 1746." *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 3: 113–14, 118–19.

———. 1908. *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, 1734–1792, Together with Three Preliminary Reports of Rev. John Philip Boehm, 1734–1744*. Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board.

———. 1916. *Life and Letters of John Philip Boehm: Founder of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: Publication and Sunday School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States.

———, ed. 1934. *Pennsylvania German Pioneers: A Publication of the Original Lists of Arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727–1808*. Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society.

———. 1950. "Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations." In *Pennsylvania and Other Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by George W. Richards. Lancaster, PA: Historical Commission of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

———. 1951. *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania and Other Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*. Lancaster: Historical Commission of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

Hippel, Wolfgang von. 1984. *Auswanderung aus Südwestdeutschland. Studien zur württembergischen Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

Hirsch, Jerrold. 2003. *Portrait of America: A Cultural History of the Federal Writers' Project*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

History of St. Paul's Church, Schaefferstown, Pa., 1765–1965. 1965. Schaefferstown: St. Paul's Church Council.

Hiwwe wie Driwwe: The Pennsylvania German Newspaper. 2014. https://hiwwewiedriwwe.wordpress.com/.

Hobsbawm, Eric John, and Terence Ranger, eds. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobson, Freeland G., William J. Buck, and Henry S. Dotterer. 1884. *The Centennial Celebration of Montgomery County: At Norristown, Pa., September 9, 10, 11, 12, 1884; An Official Record of Its Proceedings*. Norristown, PA: Centennial Association of Montgomery.

Hoehnle, Peter. 2003. *Amana People: History of a Religious Community*. Iowa City: Penfield.

———, ed. 2015. *The Inspirationists, 1714–1932*. 3 vols. London: Pickering and Chatto.

Hoelscher, Steven D. 1998. *Heritage on Stage: The Invention of Ethnic Place in America's Little Switzerland*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Hoffman, Henry C. N.d.-a. *Brodheadsville in the Days of Yore*. Western Pocono Community Library, Brodheadsville, PA.

———. N.d.-b. *Landmarks of Monroe County. Selected from the Writings of William S. Lesh*. Complied and Edited by Henry C. Hoffman. Western Pocono Community Library, Brodheadsville, PA.

Hoffman, W. J., III. 1888. "Folk-Lore of the Pennsylvania Germans I." *Journal of American Folklore* 1: 125–35.

———. 1889a. "Folk-Lore of the Pennsylvania Germans II." *Journal of American Folklore* 2: 23–35.

———. 1889b. *Folk-Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Philadelphia: Press of MacCalla.

Hohendahl, Peter Uwe. 2003. "German Studies in the United States: A General Introduction." In *German Studies in the United States: A Historical Handbook*, edited by Peter Uwe Hohendahl, 1–22. New York: Modern Language Association of America.

Hohman, John George. 1971. *Powwows: The Long Lost Friend; Famous Witchbook of the Pennsylvania Dutch*. Originally published Reading, PA, 1820. Translated and reissued, n.p.: American History Publications.

———, comp. 2012. *Der Freund in der Noth; or, The Friend in Need; An Annotated Translation of an Early Pennsylvania Folk-Healing Manual*. Translated by Patrick J. Donmoyer. Kutztown: Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center, Kutztown University of Pennsylvania.

Holborn, Hajo. 1959. "The Amish Citizens of Heaven and America." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 10 (1): 33–37.

———. 1964. *A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation*. New York: Alfred Knopf.

Holenstein, André. 2003. *"Gute Policey" und lokale Gesellschaft im Staat des Ancien Régime. Das Fallbeispiel der Markgrafschaft Baden(-Durlach)*. 2 vols. Epfendorf: bibliotheca academica Verlag.

Hollands, Mara. 1991. "Garden to Table: Continuity and Change in the Gardens of Waterloo's Mennonites." In *From Pennsylvania to Waterloo: Pennsylvania-German Folk Culture in Transition*, edited by Susan M. Burke and Matthew H. Hill, 109–15. Kitchener, Ontario: Friends of the Joseph Schneider Haus.

Hollenbach, Raymond E., trans., and Alan G. Keyser, ed. 1975. *The Account Book of the*

Clemens Family of Lower Salford Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, 1740–1857. Sources and Documents of the Pennsylvania Germans, vol. 1. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.

Holstein, Jonathan. 1973. *The Pieced Quilt: An American Design Tradition*. Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society.

Hood, Adrienne D. 2003. *The Weaver's Craft: Cloth, Commerce, and Industry in Early Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hoover, Amos B., ed. 1982. *The Jonas Martin Era: Presented in a Collection of Essays, Letters and Documents.* Denver, PA: Muddy Creek Farm Library.

———, comp. 2006. *Whether by Word or Epistle: Letters of Frank W. Hurst and Other Weaverland Conference Mennonites of Pennsylvania to Thomas Reesor of Ontario, 1920–1948*. Ephrata, PA: Muddy Creek Farm Library.

Hoover, W. Paul. 1996. *My Memories in Poetry and Prose: Life at Five Points, Goshen, Indiana*. Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press.

Hornberger, Patrick. 2009. *Berks County Longrifles & Gunmakers, 1750–1900*. Reading, PA: Historical Society of Berks County.

Horne, Abraham Reeser. 1875. *Pennsylvania German Manual*. Kutztown, PA: Urick & Gehring.

Hornsby Heindl, Brenda. 2010. "Pottery and Piety: A Reassessment of the Potters and Pottery of Moravian Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1743–1768." MA thesis, University of Delaware.

Horst, Isaac R. 2001. *Separate and Peculiar: Old Order Mennonite Life in Ontari / Bei sich Selwer un Ungwehnlich: Alt Mennischde Weg vun Lewe in Ontario*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.

Horst, Mel. 1977. *The Lancaster County Farm Cook Book: A Collection of Nearly Three Hundred Popular Recipes Gathered from Amish and Mennonite Farm Families of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Representing Yesterday and Today in Farm Cookery*. Lebanon, PA: Applied Arts.

Horst, Mel, and Elmer L. Smith. 1959. *Among the Amish: A Pictorial Presentation*. Akron, PA: Applied Arts.

———. 1960. *Covered Bridges of Pennsylvania Dutchland*. Akron, PA: Applied Arts.

———. 1965. *Hex Signs and Other Barn Decorations*. Witmer, PA: Applied Arts, 1965.

Hostetler, Ann. 2003. *A Capella: Mennonite Voices in Poetry*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

Hostetler, John A. 1951. "Toward a New Interpretation of Sectarian Life in America." *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 3 (4): 1–2, 7.

———. 1952. *Amish Life*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.

———. 1954. *Mennonite Life*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.

———. 1963. *Amish Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 1974. *Hutterite Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 1976. "Folk Medicine and Sympathy Healing among the Amish." In *American Folk Medicine: A Symposium*, edited by Wayland D. Hand, 249–58. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1980. *Amish Society*. 3rd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———, ed. 1989. *Amish Roots: A Treasury of History, Wisdom, and Lore*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 1993. *Amish Society*. 4th ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 2005a. "An Amish Beginning." In *Writing the Amish: The Worlds of John A. Hostetler*, edited by David L. Weaver-Zercher, 5–35. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

———. 2005b. "Marketing the Amish Soul" (1984). In *Writing the Amish: The Worlds of John A. Hostetler*, edited by David L. Weaver-Zercher, 280–83. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Hostetler, John A., and Gertrude Enders Huntington. 1971. *Children in Amish Society: Socialization and Community Education*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
———. 1992. *Amish Children: Education in the Family, School and Community*. 2nd ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Hostetler, John A., with Susan Fisher Miller. 2005. "An Amish Beginning." In *Writing the Amish: The Worlds of John A. Hostetler*, edited by David L. Weaver-Zercher, 5–35. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Houston, Alan. 2008. *Benjamin Franklin and the Politics of Improvement*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Huber, Randall B. 2001. "Documenting the Talent of John Cunnius: Berks County Master Craftsman." *Historical Review of Berks County* 66 (2): 88–90.
Huffines, Marion Lois. 1980. "Pennsylvania German: Maintenance and Shift." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 25: 43–57.
———. 1990. "Pennsylvania German in Public Life." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 39 (3):117–25.
Hughes, Robert, and Julie Silber. 1990. *Amish: The Art of the Quilt*. New York: Knopf, 1990.
Hummel, Charles, and Helen Cain. 1982. "The Carnation Chests: New Discoveries in Pennsylvania-German Art." *Magazine Antiques* 122 (3): 552–57.
Hunter, Frederick William. [1914] 1950. *Stiegel Glass*. Reprint, New York: Dover.
Huyett, Laura. 1961. "Straw Hat Making among the Old Order Amish." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (1): 40–41.
Igou, Brad, ed. 1999. *The Amish in Their Own Words: Amish Writings from 25 Years of Family Life Magazine*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.
Illick, Joseph S. 1928. *Pennsylvania Trees*. Harrisburg, PA: Department of Forestry.
In Meiner Jugend: A Devotional Reader in German and English. 2000. LaGrange, IN: Pathway Publishers.
Iobst, Clarence F. 1939. *En Quart Millich un en Halb Beint Raahm*. Allentown: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society.
Irving, Joan, and Lisa Minardi. 2011. "A Metamorphosis: The Changing Nature of Fraktur Studies." *Antiques & Fine Art* 10 (6): 327–29.
Isaacs, Susan L. F. 1988. "Redware Revival and Re-presentation: A Pennsylvania Pottery Tradition." In *Craft and Community: Traditional Arts in Contemporary Society*, edited by Shalom D. Staub, 127–30. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission and Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.
Isenson, Nancy. 2011. "In US-German Relations It's All about Jobs." http://www.dw.com/en/in-us-german-relations-its-all-about-jobs/a-15436361.
Issel, William Henry. 1969. "Schools for a Modern Age: Educational Reform in Pennsylvania in the Progressive Era." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.
———. 1978. "Americanization, Acculturation and Social Control: School Reform Ideology in Industrial Pennsylvania." *Journal of Social History* 12: 569–90.
———. 1979. "The Politics of Public School Reform in Pennsylvania, 1880–1911." *Pennsylvania Magazine of Biography and History* 102: 59–92.
Jaehn, Tomas. 2005. *Germans in the Southwest: 1850–1920*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.
Jansen, Wm. Hugh. 1965. "The Esoteric-Exoteric Factor in Folklore." In *The Study of Folklore*, edited by Alan Dundes, 43–56. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Janzen, Reinhild Kauenhoven, and John M. Janzen. 1991. *Mennonite Furniture: A Migrant Tradition (1766–1910)*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

Janzen, Rod, and Max Stanton. 2010. *The Hutterites of North America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

"John L Mason." Notable Names Database (NNDB). http://www.nndb.com/people/822/000165327.

Johnson, David R. 1979. "Christian Strenge, Fraktur Artist." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 13 (3): 1–24.

———. 1986. "Christian Alsdorff, the 'Earl Township Artist.'" *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 20 (2): 45–59.

———. 1995. *Christian Strenge's Fraktur*. East Petersburg, PA: East Petersburg Historical Society.

Johnson, Elizabeth. 2002. *Landis Valley Museum*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole.

Johnson-Weiner, Karen M. 1989. "Keeping Dutch: Linguistic Heterogeneity and the Maintenance of Pennsylvania German in Two Old Order Amish Communities." In *Studies on the Languages and the Verbal Behavior of the Pennsylvania Germans II*, edited by Werner Enninger, Joachim Raith, and Karl-Heinz Wandt, 95–101. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

———. 1998. "Community Identity and Language Change in North American Anabaptist Communities." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2 (3): 375–94.

———. 2001. "The Role of Women in Old Order Amish, Beachy Amish and Fellowship Churches." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 75: 231–56.

———. 2007. *Train Up a Child: Old Order Amish and Mennonite Schools*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 2014. "Technological Diversity and Cultural Change among Contemporary Amish Groups." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 88: 5–22.

Jolly, Karen, Catharina Raudvere, and Edward Peters. 2002. *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Jones, Michael Owen. 1989. *Craftsman of the Cumberlands: Tradition and Creativity*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

———. 1993. "Why Take a Behavioral Approach to Folk Objects?" In *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture,* edited by Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery, 182–96. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Jordan, Terry G. 1983. "A Reappraisal of Fenno-Scandian Antecedents for Midland American Log Construction." *Geographical Review* 73: 58–94.

Kammen, Michael. 1991. *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*. New York: Vintage.

Kasdorf, Julia. 2001. *The Body and the Book: Writing from a Mennonite Life*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 2003. *Fixing Tradition: Joseph W. Yoder, Amish American*. Telford, PA: Pandora Press.

Katz, Michael B. 1968. *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 1987. *Reconstructing American Education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kaufmann, Gerhard. 1979. *North German Folk Pottery of the 17th to the 20th Centuries*. Richmond, VA: W. M. Brown & Son for the International Exhibitions Foundation.

Kauffman, Henry J. 1960. *The Pennsylvania-Kentucky Rifle*. New York: Bonanza.

———. [1946] 1964. *Pennsylvania Dutch American Folk Art*. Rev. ed. New York: Dover.

———. 1981. "The Pennsylvania Copper Tea Kettle." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 31 (1): 2–7.

———. 1995. *The Colonial Silversmith: His Techniques & His Products*. Mendham, NJ: Astragal Press.

Kauffman, J. Howard, and Leo Driedger. 1991. *The Mennonite Mosaic: Identity and Modernization*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.

Kaufman, Stanley A., with Ricky Clark. 1986. *Germanic Folk Culture in Eastern Ohio*. Walnut Creek, OH: German Culture Museum.

Kaylor, Earl C., Jr. 1996. *Martin Grove Brumbaugh: A Pennsylvanian's Odyssey from Sainted Schoolman to Bedeviled World War I Governor, 1862–1930*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.

Kazal, Russell Andrew. 2004. *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Keel, William D. 2006. "Deitsch, Däätsch, Düütsch, and Dietsch: The Varieties of Kansas German Dialects after 150 Years of German Group Settlement in Kansas." In *Preserving Heritage: A Festschrift for C. Richard Beam*, edited by Joshua R. Brown and Leroy T. Hopkins Jr., 27–48. Lawrence, KS: Society for German-American Studies.

Keel, William D., and C. Richard Beam, eds. 2010. *The Language and Culture of the Pennsylvania Germans: A Festschrift for Earl C. Haag*. Topeka, KS: Society for German-American Studies.

Keis, Rudolf. 1992. *Pfälzisch: Einführung in eine Sprachlandschaft*. 2nd ed. Landau/Pfalz, Germany: Pfälzische Verlagsanstalt.

Keiser, Steven Hartman. 2012. *Pennsylvania German in the American Midwest*. Publications of the American Dialect Society 96. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Keller, Christian B. 2004a. "Diverse German Immigrants and Ethnic Identity on the Eve of the Civil War." In *Damn Dutch: Pennsylvania Germans at Gettysburg*, by David L. Valuska and Christian B. Keller, 1–15. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books.

———. 2004b. "Pennsylvania Dutch and 'the Hard Hand of War.'" In *Damn Dutch: Pennsylvania Germans at Gettysburg*, by David L. Valuska and Christian B. Keller, 45–73. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books.

Keller, Christian B. and David L. Valuska. 2004. "Epilogue: After Gettysburg." In *Damn Dutch: Pennsylvania Germans at Gettysburg*, by David L. Valuska and Christian B. Keller, 189–98. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books.

Keller, Patricia J. 1991. "Black-Unicorn Chests of Berks County, Pennsylvania." *Magazine Antiques* 140 (4): 592–603.

———. 1994. "Approaching Analysis: The Lancaster County Quilt Harvest." *Quilt Journal* 1: 10–13.

———. 2007. "The Quilts of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania: Production, Context, and Meaning, 1750–1884." PhD diss., University of Delaware.

Kelley, Joseph J., Jr. 1980. *Pennsylvania: The Colonial Years, 1681–1776*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Kelsey, R. W., ed. 1921. "An Early Description of Pennsylvania: Letters of Christopher Sower, Written in 1724." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 45: 243–54.

Kemp, Alvin F. 1946. "The Pennsylvania German Versammlinge." *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society Proceedings*, 185–218. Allentown: Schlechter's.

Kern, Richard. 1974. *John Winebrenner: Nineteenth Century Reformer*. Harrisburg, PA: Central Publishing House.

Kersten, Holger. 2000. "The Creative Potential of Dialect Writing in Later Nineteenth-Century America." *Nineteenth Century Literature* 55: 92–117.

Keyser, Alan G. 1978. "Beds, Bedding, Bedsteads, and Sleep." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 12 (4): 1–28.

Keyser, Alan G., Larry M. Neff, and Frederick S. Weiser, trans. and ed. 1978. *The Accounts of Two Pennsylvania German Furniture Makers: Abraham Overholt, Bucks County, 1790–1833, and Peter Ranck, Lebanon County, 1794–1817*. Sources and Documents of the Pennsylvania Germans, vol. 3. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.

Keyser, Alan G., Marjie Thompson, and Kathleen L. Grant. 2005. *Forgotten Pennsylvania Textiles of the 18th and 19th Centuries*. Cumberland, ME: Linen Press.

"Keystone State Normal School." 1867. *Pennsylvania School Journal* 15: 207–8.

Kidder, Robert L., and John A. Hostetler. 1990. "Managing Ideologies: Harmony as Ideology in Amish and Japanese Societies." *Law and Society Review* 24: 895–922.

Kieffer, Elizabeth Clarke. 1945. *Henry Harbaugh, Pennsylvania Dutchman, 1817–1867. Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings* 51. Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society.

Kimball, Fiske. 1922. *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Kindig, Joe, Jr. 1960. *Thoughts on the Kentucky Rifle in Its Golden Age*. Wilmington, DE: George H. Hyatt.

Kindig, Paul E. 1984. "Butter Prints of Joel John Hoch." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 18 (2): 46–55.

———. 1986. *Butter Prints and Molds*. West Chester, PA: Schiffer.

Kinsinger, Andrew S. 1997. *A Little History of Our Parochial Schools and Steering Committee from 1956–1994*. Gordonville, PA: Gordonville Print Shop.

Kirchner, Audrey Burie, and Margaret R. Tassia. *In Days Gone By: Folklore and Traditions of the Pennsylvania Dutch*. Englewood, CO: Libraries Unlimited.

Kirschner, Ann. 1997. "From Hebron to Saron: The Religious Transformation of an Ephrata Convent." *Winterthur Portfolio* 32: 39–63.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 1998. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kitch, Carolyn. 2012. *Pennsylvania in Public Memory: Reclaiming the Industrial Past*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Klees, Frederick. 1950. *The Pennsylvania Dutch*. New York: Macmillan.

Klein, H. M. J. 1952. *History of Franklin and Marshall College, 1787–1948*. Lancaster, PA: Alumni Association.

Klein, Philip S., and Ari Hoogenboom. 1980. *A History of Pennsylvania*. 2nd ed. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Kleiner, John W., and Helmut T. Lehmann, trans. and eds. 1993. *The Correspondence of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg*. Vol. 1. Camden, ME: Picton Press.

Klepp, Susan E., Farley Grubb, and Anne Pfaelzer de Ortiz, eds. 2006. *Souls for Sale: Two German Redemptioners Come to Revolutionary America; The Life Stories of John Frederick Whitehead and Johanna Carl Buttner*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Kline, John B. 1975. *Tobacco Farming and Cigar Making Tools*. N.p.: Author.

Kline, Robert M., and Frederick S. Weiser. 1970. "A Fraktur-Fest." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 4 (3–4): 3–12.

Klingebiel, Thomas. 2000. "Huguenot Settlements in Central Europe." In *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America*, edited by Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson, 39–67. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Kloss, Heinz. 1931. *Die Pennsylvaniadeutsche Literatur*. Munich: Der Deutsche.

———. 1998. *The American Bilingual Tradition*. McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.

Knapp, Tom. 2015. "And the Groundhog Says . . . Spring Is Coming: Octoraro Orphie Makes His Yearly Pronouncement, Defying Phil's Forecast." *LancasterOnline*, February 2. http://lancasteronline.com/news/local/spring-is-coming-octoraro-orphie-makes-his-yearly-pronouncement-defying/article_3e50e344-a8c9-11e4-a34b-53b4aa010f84.html.

Knauss, James Owen, Jr. 1922. *Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society.

Kniffen, Fred B. [1965] 1986. "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion." In *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 3–26. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Knorr, Lawrence. 2010. *The Relations of Isaac F. Stiely: Minister of the Mahantongo Valley*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Sunbury Press.

Knouse, Nola Reed, ed. 2008. *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.

Koch, Charles Dison. 1951. *Nathan Schaeffer: Educational Philosopher*. Harrisburg, PA: Telegraph Press.

Kolbe, J. Christian, and Brent Holcomb. 1979. "Fraktur in the 'Dutch Fork' Area of South Carolina." *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 5 (2): 36–51.

Kollmorgen, Walter M. 1942. "The Pennsylvania German Farmer." In *The Pennsylvania Germans*, edited by Ralph Wood, 27–55. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Konersmann, Frank. 2001. "Duldung, Privilegierung, Assimilation und Säkularisation. Mennonitische Glaubensgemeinschaften in der Pfalz, in Rheinhessen und am nördlichen Oberrhein (1664–1802)." In *Minderheiten, Obrigkeit und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit. Integrations- und Abgrenzungsprozesse im süddeutschen Raum*, edited by Mark Häberlein and Martin Zürn, 339–75, St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag.

Kopp, Achim. 2010. "Abraham Reeser Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual*." *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 45: 107–27.

Korson, George. 1960. *Black Rock: Mining Folklore of the Pennsylvania Dutch*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Krahn, Cornelius, Harold S. Bender, and John J. Friesen. 1989. "Migrations." *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*. http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Migrations&oldid=126724.

Krause, Sydney J. 2004. "Charles Brockden Brown and the Philadelphia Germans." *Early American Literature* 39: 85–119.

Kraybill, Donald B. 1977. *Ethnic Education: The Impact of Mennonite Schooling*. San Francisco: R&E Research Associates.

———. 1989. *The Riddle of Amish Culture*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 1991. *Passing on the Faith: The Story of a Mennonite School*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

———. 1993. "Negotiating with Caesar." In *The Amish and the State*, edited by Donald B. Kraybill, 3–22. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 2001. *The Riddle of Amish Culture*. Rev. ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———, ed. 2003. *The Amish and the State*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 2005. "The Redemptive Community: An Island of Sanity and Silence." In *Writing the Amish: The Worlds of John A. Hostetler*, edited by David Weaver-Zercher, 36–55. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

———. 2010. *Concise Encyclopedia of Amish, Brethren, Hutterites, and Mennonites*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 2014. *Renegade Amish: Beard Cutting, Hate Crimes, and the Trial of the Bergholz Barbers*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kraybill, Donald B., and James P. Hurd. 2006. *Horse-and-Buggy Mennonites: Hoofbeats of Humility in a Postmodern World*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Kraybill, Donald B., Karen Johnson-Weiner, and Steven M. Nolt. 2013. *The Amish*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kraybill, Donald B., and Steven M. Nolt. 2004. *Amish Enterprise: From Plows to Profits*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kraybill, Donald B., Steven M. Nolt, and David Weaver-Zercher. 2007. *Amish Grace: How Forgiveness Transcended Tragedy*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Kraybill, Donald B., and Marc Alan Olshan. 1994. *The Amish Struggle with Modernity*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Kriebel, David W. 2002. "Powwowing: A Persistent American Esoteric Tradition." *Esoterica*, no. 4. http://www.esoteric.msu.edu/Contents.html#VolumeIV.

———. 2007. *Powwowing among the Pennsylvania Dutch: A Traditional Medical Practice in the Modern World*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

———. 2010. "New Directions in a Traditional Pennsylvania German Healing Practice: A Twenty-First Century Powwower." In *The Language and Culture of the Pennsylvania Germans: A Festschrift for Earl C. Haag*, edited by William Keel, 57–72. Topeka, KS: Society for German-American Studies.

Kriebel, Martha B. 1968. *Schwenkfelders and the Sacraments*. Pennsburg: Board of Publication of the Schwenkfelder Church.

Krile, Katherine M. 1989. *Measure, Mug, and a Lot of Pewter Plates: Pewter in the Delaware Valley*. West Chester, PA: Chester County Historical Society.

Kube, Paul A. 2005. *Wagon-Making in the United States during the Late-19th through Mid-20th Centuries: A Study of the Gruber Wagon Works at Mt. Pleasant, Pennsylvania*. Blacksburg, VA: McDonald and Woodward.

Kuhns, Oscar. 1901. *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-Called Pennsylvania Dutch*. New York: Henry Holt.

Kupfer, Charles. 2007. "Public Heritage as Program Strength: How Cross-Institutional Partnerships Enhance Penn State Harrisburg's American Studies Program." *Pennsylvania History* 74: 552–62.

Kurin, Richard. 1997. *Reflections of a Culture Broker: A View from the Smithsonian*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

———. 1998. *Smithsonian Folklife Festival: Culture of, by, and for the People*. Washington, DC: Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies, Smithsonian Institution.

Kwon, Lillian. 2012. "Hutterites Upset over New Reality Show's 'Distorted' Portrayal." *Christian Post*, June 15. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rand_silas_tertius_11E.html.

Labaree, Leonard W., William B. Willcox, Claude A. Lopez, Barbara E. Oberg, and Ellen R. Cohn, eds. 1959–2014. *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*. 41 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press.

LaFond, Edward F., Jr., and J. Carter Harris. 2008. *Pennsylvania Shelf and Bracket Clocks, 1750–1850*. Columbia, PA: National Association of Watch and Clock Collectors.

Lamech and Agrippa. 1889. *Chronican Ephratense: A History of the Community of Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata*. Translated by J. Max Hark. Lancaster, PA: S. H. Zahm.

Landwehr, Achim. 2000. *Policey im Alltag. Die Implementation frühneuzeitlicher Policeyordnungen in Leonberg*. Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann.

Lange, Amanda E., and Julie E. Reilly. 1994. "Chalkware." *Magazine Antiques* 146 (4): 496–505.

Langley, Zach. 2009. "*Asseba un Sabina*: The Culmination of a Folk Culture Movement." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 43 (2): 3–12.

———. 2010. "Asseba un Sabina: Pennsylvania German Folk Identity in an American World." MA thesis, The Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg.

Lanier, Gabrielle M. 2005. *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic: Architecture, Landscape, and Regional Identity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 2011. "Landscapes." In *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans*, edited by Sally McMurry and Nancy Van Dolsen, 10–31. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Lanmon, Dwight P. 1990. *John Frederick Amelung, Early American Glassmaker*. Corning, NY: Corning Museum of Glass Press.
Lapansky, Emma. 2002. "Building Democratic Communities: 1800–1850." In *Pennsylvania, a History of the Commonwealth*, edited by Randall M. Miller and William Pencak, 153–202. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Lasansky, Jeanette. 1978. *Willow, Oak, & Rye: Basket Traditions of Pennsylvania*. Lewisburg, PA: Union County Oral Traditions Project.
———. 1979a. *Central Pennsylvania Redware Pottery, 1780–1904*. Lewisburg, PA: Union County Oral Traditions Project.
———. 1979b. *Made of Mud—Stoneware Potteries in Central Pennsylvania, 1831–1929*. Lewisburg, PA: Union County Oral Traditions Project.
———. 1980. *To Draw, Upset, & Weld: The Work of the Pennsylvania Rural Blacksmith, 1742–1935*. Lewisburg, PA: Union County Historical Society.
———. 1982a. "Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Pottery." *Magazine Antiques* 122 (3): 538–47.
———. 1982b. *To Cut, Piece, and Solder: The Work of the Pennsylvania Rural Tinsmith, 1778–1908*. Lewisburg, PA: Union County Historical Society.
———. 1984. "Pennsylvania-German Round-Rod Oak Baskets." *Magazine Antiques* 125 (4): 886–95.
———. 1985. *In the Heart of Pennsylvania: 19th & 20th Century Quiltmaking Traditions*. Lewisburg, PA: Oral Traditions Project of the Union County Historical Society.
———. 1986. *In the Heart of Pennsylvania: Symposium Papers*. Lewisburg, PA: Oral Traditions Project of the Union County Historical Society.
———. 1988. *Pieced by Mother: Symposium Papers*. Lewisburg, PA: Oral Traditions Project of the Union County Historical Society.
———. 1990a. *A Good Start: The Aussteier or Dowry*. Lewisburg, PA: Oral Traditions Project of the Union County Historical Society.
———. 1990b. "Berks County Redware Pottery, 1767–1909." *Magazine Antiques* 137 (1): 325–39.
Lasansky, Jeannette, and Celia Y. Oliver. 1994. *On the Cutting Edge: Textile Collectors, Collections, and Traditions*. Lewisburg, PA: Oral Traditions Project.
Lawton, Arthur J. 1969. "The Pre-metric Foot and Its Use in Pennsylvania German Architecture." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 19 (1): 37–45.
———. 1973. "The Ground Rules of Folk Architecture." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 23 (1): 13–19.
Learned, Marion Dexter. 1889. *The Pennsylvania German Dialect*. Baltimore: Press of Isaac Friedenwald.
———. 1897. "Ethnographical Data. Pennsylvania. No. 1. Preliminary Circular." *Americana Germanica* 1: 107–8.
———. 1898. "Ethnographical Data. Pennsylvania. Circular No. 3.—Sentence Accent." *Americana Germanica* 2: 108–9.
———. 1907. "An American Ethnographical Survey." *Americana Germanica* 9: 30–53.
———. 1908. *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius*. Philadelphia: William J. Campbell.
———. 1911. *The American Ethnographical Survey: Conestoga Expedition, 1902*. New York: D. Appleton.
Lears, T. J. Jackson. 1985. "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities." *American Historical Review* 90: 567–93.

Leary, James P. 1980. "The 'Polack Joke' in a Polish-American Community." *Midwestern Journal of Language and Folklore* 6: 26–33.

Ledbetter, Roy. 2007. "Postscript: Are the Moravians Pennsylvania Dutch? Do They Consider Themselves Pennsylvania Dutch?" *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 41 (1): 40–41.

Lehmann, Hartmut, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson, eds. 2000. *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Lemon, James T. 1966. "The Agricultural Practices of National Groups in Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania." *Geographical Review* 56 (4): 467–96.

———. 1976. *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1966. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1977. "The Roast and the Boiled." In *The Anthropologist's Cookbook*, edited by Jessica Kuper, 221– 30. New York: Universe Books.

Lewis, Arthur. 1969. *Hex*. New York: Trident Press.

Lewis, Peirce F. 1989. "The Pennsylvania Mosaic." In *The Atlas of Pennsylvania*, edited by David J. Cuff, William J. Young, and Edward K. Muller, 2–7. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Licht, Walter. 2002. "Civil Wars: 1850–1900." In *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*, edited by Randall M. Miller and William Pencak, 203–56. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Lichten, Frances. 1946. *Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

———. 1954. *Folk Art Motifs of Pennsylvania*. New York: Hastings House.

Lick, David E., and Thomas R. Brendle. 1923. "Plant Names and Plant Lore among the Pennsylvania Germans." *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society* 33: 21–300.

Lienemann, Robert, and Steven D. Hench. 2010. *Moravian Gun Making of the American Revolution*. Trappe, MD: Eastwind Publishing for the Kentucky Rifle Association and the Kentucky Rifle Foundation.

Light, Dale. 1996. *Rome and the New Republic: Conflict and Community in Philadelphia*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Lindsey, Jack L. 1999. *Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania, 1680–1758*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Lister, Martin, ed. 2013. *The Photographic Image in Digital Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Lloyd, June Burk. 2001. *Faith and Family: Pennsylvania German Heritage in York County Area Fraktur*. York, PA: York County Heritage Trust.

Lloyd, June Burk, and Lila Fourhman-Shaull, eds. 2014. *Lewis Miller's People*. York, PA: York County Heritage Trust.

Lockard, Christine. 1974–78. Middletown, PA. Interviews by Yvonne Milspaw.

Lockyer, Timothy J. 1979. "Walking with the Lord: Rachel Bahn." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 103: 484–96.

Löher, Franz. 1847. *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*. Cincinnati: Eggers & Wullkop.

Lohnes, Walter F. W., and Valters Nollendorfs. 1976. Introduction to *German Studies in the United States: Assessment and Outlook*, edited by Walter F. W. Lohnes and Valters Nollendorfs, 1–4. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Lohse, Barnhard. 1986. *Martin Luther: An Introduction to His Life and Work*. Translated by Robert C. Schultz. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Lonetree, Amy, and Amanda J. Cobb, eds. 2008. *The National Museum of the American Indian Critical Conversations*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
Long, Amos. 1960. "Pennsylvania Cave and Ground Cellars." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 11 (2): 36–41.
———. 1972a. *Farmsteads and Their Buildings*. Lebanon, PA: Applied Arts Press.
———. 1972b. *The Pennsylvania German Farm: A Regional and Architectural Folk Cultural Study of an American Agricultural Community*. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.
Loomis, Charles P., and J. Allen Beegle. 1951. *Rural Social Systems*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Loose, John Ward Willson. 2010. "Founders and Builders of Lancaster County." *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 111 (4): 126–31.
Lord, Mary. 2008. "'The Patriotism and Piety of our Fathers': The Origins of the Pennsylvania German Society as a Nineteenth Century Hereditary Organization." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 49 (1): 29–40.
Louden, Mark L. 1988. "Bilingualism and Syntactic Change in Pennsylvania German." PhD diss., Cornell University.
———. 2001. "The Development of Pennsylvania German Linguistics within the Context of General Dialectology and Linguistic Theory." In *A Word Atlas of Pennsylvania German*, edited by Lester W. J. Seifert, 7–52. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute.
———. 2003a. "An Eighteenth-Century View of Pennsylvania German and Its Speakers." In *German Language Varieties Worldwide: Internal and External Perspectives*, edited by William D. Keel and Klaus J. Mattheier, 69–85. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
———. 2003b. "Minority-Language 'Maintenance by Inertia': Pennsylvania German among Nonsectarian Speakers." In *"Standardfragen": Soziolinguistische Perspektiven auf Sprachgeschichte, Sprachkontakt und Sprachvariation*, edited by Jannis K. Androutsopoulos and Evelyn Ziegler, 121–37. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
———. 2003c. "Edward Henry Rauch." *Pennsylvania German Review*, Fall, 27–40.
———. 2006a. "Pennsylvania German in the Twenty-First Century." In *Sprachinselwelten —The World of Language Islands*, edited by Nina Berend and Elisabeth Knipf-Komlósi, 89–107. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
———. 2006b. "Edward H. Rauch's *Pennsylvania Dutch Hand-Book*." In *Preserving Heritage: A Festschrift for C. Richard Beam*, edited by Joshua R. Brown and Leroy T. Hopkins Jr., 111–22. Lawrence, KS: Society for German-American Studies.
———. 2008. "Die Alde un Neie Zeide: Old Times and New Times for the Pennsylvania German Language." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 42: 3–18.
———. 2016. *Pennsylvania Dutch: The Story of an American Language*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Louis-Phillipe, King of France. 1796–99. *Diary of My Travels in America*. Translated by Stephen Becker, 1977. New York: Delacorte Press.
Luebke, Frederick C. 1990. *Germans in the New World: Essay in the History of Emigration*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
Luthy, David. 1986. *The Amish in America: Settlements That Failed, 1840–1960*. Aylmer, Ontario: Pathway Publishers.
———. 1994. "The Origin and Growth of Amish Tourism." In *The Amish Struggle with Modernity*, edited by Donald B. Kraybill and Marc A. Olshan, 113–32. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.
———. 1995. *Amish Folk Artist Barbara Ebersol: Her Life, Fraktur, and Death Record Book*. Lancaster, PA: Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society.
———. 2007. *Why Some Amish Communities Fail: Extinct Settlements, 1961–2007*. Aylmer, Ontario: Pathway Publishers.

———. 2009. *Amish Settlements across America: 2008*. Aylmer, Ontario: Pathway Publishers.
———. 2011. *Why Some Amish Communities Fail: Extinct Settlements, 1961–2011*. Aylmer, Ontario: Pathway Publishers.
Luthy, David, and Joseph Donnermeyer. 2013. "Amish Settlements across America: 2013." *Family Life*, January, 20–25.
Machmer, Richard S., and Rosemarie B. Machmer. 1991. *Just for Nice: Carving and Whittling Magic of Southeastern Pennsylvania*. Reading, PA: Historical Society of Berks County.
———. 1995. *Berks County Tall-Case Clocks, 1750–1850*. Reading, PA: Historical Society Press of Berks County.
MacMaster, Richard K. 1985. *Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America, 1683–1790*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.
MacMaster, Richard K., Samuel L. Horst, and Robert F. Ulle, eds. 1979. *Conscience in Crisis: Mennonites and Other Peace Churches in America, 1739–1789, Interpretation and Documents*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1979.
Made in Cumberland County: The First Hundred Years, 1750–1850. 1991. Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society.
Made in Pennsylvania: A Folk Art Tradition. 2007. Greensburg, PA: Westmoreland Museum of American Art.
Magelssen, Scott. 2007. *Living History Museums: Undoing History through Performance*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.
Mahr, August C. [1945] 1965. "Origin and Significance of Pennsylvania Dutch Barn Symbols." In *The Study of Folklore*, edited by Alan Dundes, 373–99. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Malone, P. W. 1860. "Thoughts on the Instruction of German Children in English Schools." *Pennsylvania School Journal* 8: 297–98.
Mann, William J. 1888. *The Life and Times of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*. Philadelphia: G. W. Frederick.
Manufactured by Hand. 1993. Loretto, PA: Southern Alleghenies Museum of Art.
Marshall, Howard Wright. 1986. "The Pelster Housebarn: Endurance of Germanic Architecture on the Midwestern Frontier." *Material Culture* 18: 65–104.
Martin, Donald. 2003. *Old Order Mennonites of Ontario: Gelassenheit, Discipleship, Brotherhood*. Kitchener, Ontario: Pandora Press.
Martin, Willard. 1976. "The German Reformed Hymn Book." In *Pennsylvania 1776*, edited by Robert Secor, 271–72. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Mason, M. Theodore, Jr., and Beulah B. Fehr. 1986. *Brader in Berks, 1880–1883*. Reading, PA: Historical Society of Berks County.
Mass, Jennifer L., Catherine R. Matsen, and Janice H. Carlson. 2005. "Materials of the Pennsylvania German Fraktur Artist." *Magazine Antiques* 168 (3): 128–35.
Massey, James C., Shirley Maxwell, J. Daniel Pezzoni, Judy B. Reynolds, and Maral Kalbian. 1995. *Shenandoah County Historic Resources Survey Report*. Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources.
Maurer, Charles Lewis. 1932. *Early Lutheran Education in Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: Dorrance.
Max Kade Institute. 2005. *How German Is American?* Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute.
McCarthy, John A. 2003. "The History of the Organization of German Departments in the United States." In *German Studies in the United States: A Historical Handbook*, edited by Peter Uwe Hohendahl, 27–54. New York: Modern Language Association of America.
McCauley, Daniel, and Kathryn McCauley. 1988. *Decorative Arts of the Amish of Lancaster County*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

McGowan, John P. 1986. "Looking at the (Alter)natives: Peter Weir's 'Witness.'" *Chicago Review* 35: 36–47.
McKearin, Helen, and George S. McKearin. 1950. *Two Hundred Years of American Blown Glass*. New York: Bonanza.
McLoughlin, William C. 1959. *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham*. New York: Ronald Press.
McMahon, James D., Jr. 1999. *Built on Chocolate: The Story of the Hershey Chocolate Company*. Santa Monica, CA: General Publishing Group.
———. 2015. "Built of Stone: The Family of Milton S. Hershey Constructs a Pennsylvania German Cultural Landscape." PhD diss., The Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg.
McMurry, Sally. 2001. *From Sugar Camps to Star Barns: Rural Life and Landscape in a Western Pennsylvania Community*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
———. 2009. "The Pennsylvania Barn as a Collective Resource, 1830–1900." *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 16: 9–28.
———. 2011. "Rural Houses." In *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans*, edited by Sally McMurry and Nancy Van Dolsen, 32–65. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
McMurry, Sally, and J. Ritchie Garrison. 2004. "Barns and Agricultural Outbuildings." In *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920: Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, May 12–16, 2004*, edited by Nancy Van Dolsen and Sally McMurry, 62–77. Harrisburg, PA: Vernacular Architecture Forum.
McMurry, Sally, and Nancy Van Dolsen, eds. 2011. *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Mead, George Herbert. 2011. "A Behavioristic Account of the Significant Symbol" (1922). In *G. H. Mead: A Reader*, edited by Filipe Carreira da Silva, 65–69. New York: Routledge.
Mechling, Jay. 1989. "Richard M. Dorson and the Emergence of the New Class in American Folk Studies." *Journal of Folklore Research* 26: 11–26.
———. 2002. "Children and Colors: Folk and Popular Culture in America's Future." In *Folk Nation: Folklore in the Creation of American Tradition*, edited by Simon J. Bronner, 265–83. Wilmington, DE: SR Books.
Medick, Hans. 1996. *Weben und Überleben in Laichingen, 1650–1900. Lokalgeschichte als Allgemeine Geschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
Meindl, Jörg. 2010. "Solving the Preacher's Dilemma. Communication Strategies in Old Order Amish Sermons." *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 3: 123–38.
The Mennonite Encyclopedia. 1955–90. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.
Mercer, Henry C. 1897. "The Survival of the Mediaeval Art of Illuminative Writing among Pennsylvania Germans." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 36 (156): 424–33.
———. 1900. "The Pottery of the Pennsylvania-Germans." *Pennsylvania-German* 2: 86–88.
———. [1914a] 1961. *The Bible in Iron: The Pictured Stoves and Stove Plates of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Revised and updated by Horace M. Mann and Joseph E. Stanford. Doylestown, PA: Bucks County Historical Society.
———. 1914b. "Notes on the Moravian Pottery at Doylestown," February 10, MSC 291, ser. 8, folder 4. Mercer Papers, Spruance Library, Mercer Museum.
———. 1924. "The Origin of Log Houses in the United States." *Papers Read before the Bucks County Historical Society* 5: 568–83.
Meyers, Thomas J. 2003. "Education and Schooling." In *The Amish and the State*, 2nd ed., edited by Donald B. Kraybill, 87–108. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Middlekauff, Robert. 1982. *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Miller, Mary M. 2004. *Our Fervent Prayers: Translated Prayers from the Ernsthafte Christenpflicht*. Sugar Creek, OH: Author.

———. 2008. *Our Heritage, Hope, and Faith*. Rev. ed. Shipshewana, IN: Author.

Miller, Randall M., ed. 1984. *Germans in America: Retrospect and Prospect; Tricentennial Lectures Delivered at the German Society of Pennsylvania in 1983*. Philadelphia: German Society of Pennsylvania.

Miller, Randall M., and William Pencak, eds. 2002. *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*. University Park and Harrisburg: Pennsylvania State University Press and Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Miller, Richard. 2014. "A Distinction without a Difference: The Art of American Folk Art." In *A Shared Legacy: Folk Art in America*, edited by Susan Higman Larsen, 15–31. Alexandria, VA: Art Services International and Skira Rizzoli.

Miller, Richard, and Gene Handwerk. N.d. "The Mysterious Pennsylvania German Groundhog Lodge." Lynn-Heidelberg Historical Society: Preserving the PA Dutch Culture. http://lynnheidelberg.org/groundhoglodge.html.

Miller, Rosina S. 2004. "Of Politics, Disciplines, and Scholars: MacEdward Leach and the Founding of the Folklore Program at the University of Pennsylvania." *Folklore Historian* 21: 17–34.

Milligan, Amy K. 2014. *Hair, Headwear, and Orthodox Jewish Women: Kallah's Choice*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Milnes, Gerald C. 2007. *Signs, Cures, and Witchery: German Appalachian Folklore*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Milspaw, Yvonne J. 1983a. "Ordinary Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Turnpike Houses." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 33 (1): 30–35.

———. 1983b. "Reshaping Tradition: Changes to Pennsylvania German Houses." *Pioneer America: Journal of Historic Material Culture* 15: 67–84.

Minardi, Lisa. 2004. *Fraktur: Art and Artifact; A Study of the Fraktur Collection of the Berman Museum of Art at Ursinus College*. Collegeville, PA: Ursinus College.

———. 2011a. "From Millbach to Mahantongo: Fraktur and Furniture of the Pennsylvania Germans." In *American Furniture*, edited by Luke Beckerdite, 2–119. Milwaukee, WI: Chipstone Foundation.

———. 2011b. *Pastors & Patriots: The Muhlenberg Family of Pennsylvania*. Collegeville, PA: Philip and Muriel Berman Museum of Art at Ursinus College and the Pennsylvania German Society.

———. 2013. "Philadelphia, Furniture, and the Pennsylvania Germans: A Reevaluation." In *American Furniture*, edited by Luke Beckerdite, 196–292. Milwaukee, WI: Chipstone Foundation.

———. 2014. "Adam Hains and the Philadelphia-Reading Connection." In *American Furniture*, edited by Luke Beckerdite, 142–201. Milwaukee, WI: Chipstone Foundation.

———. 2015a. *A Colorful Folk: Pennsylvania Germans and the Art of Everyday Life*. Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

———. 2015b. *Drawn with Spirit: Pennsylvania German Fraktur from the Joan and Victor Johnson Collection*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art.

———. 2015c. "Henrich Otto and Sons: Fraktur Artists and Furniture Decorators." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 49 (2): 1–97.

———. 2015d. "Sulfur Inlay in Pennsylvania German Furniture: New Discoveries." In *American Furniture*, edited by Luke Beckerdite, 86–199. Milwaukee, WI: Chipstone Foundation.

Minardi, Lisa, and Jennifer L. Mass. 2014. "Faux Fraktur: Too Good to Be True." *Antiques & Fine Art* 13 (2): 150–53.

Mittelberger, Gottlieb. 1960. *Journey to Pennsylvania*. Edited and translated by Oscar Handlin and John Clive. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

———. 1997. *Reise nach Pennsylvanien im Jahr 1750 und Rückreise nach Deutschland im Jahr 1754*. Edited by Jürgen Charnitzky. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.

Montgomery, Florence M. 1969. Review of *Historical Needlework of Pennsylvania* by Margaret B. Schiffer. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 93: 269–71.

Montgomery, Morton L. 1886. *History of Berks County in Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: Everts, Peck & Richards.

Moore, J. Roderick. 1982. "Painted Chests from Wythe County, Virginia," *Magazine Antiques* 122 (3): 516–21.

Moyer, Dennis K. 1997. *Fraktur Writings and Folk Art Drawings of the Schwenkfelder Library Collection*. Kutztown: Pennsylvania German Society.

Mroszczyk, Lisa J., and Virginia B. Price. 2008. "Disappearing Act: The Barns of Mid-Maryland." *Vernacular Architecture Newsletter*, no. 118: 1–9.

Muhlenberg, Henry Melchior. 1942–58. *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*. 3 vols. Translated and edited by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press.

Mullen, Patrick B. 1978. "The Folk Idea of Unlimited Good in American Buried Treasure Legends." *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 15: 209–20.

———. 1992. *Listening to Old Voices: Folklore, Life Stories, and the Elderly*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Muller, Charles R. 2002. *Soap Hollow: The Furniture and Its Makers*. Groveport, OH: Canal Press, 2002.

Mullet, Michael A. 1999. *The Catholic Reformation*. New York: Routledge.

Mullins, Michael. 2012. "Experts Dispute Existence of 'Amish Mafia' as Reality Show Debuts." *Newsmax*, May 12. http://www.newsmax.com/TheWire/amish-mafia-dispute-reality/2012/12/11/id/467251/.

Murray, S. 2014. "Goldenrod-Plant of the Week!" Wild Foodies of Philly, September 16. http://www.meetup.com/Wild-Foodies-of-Philly/.

Myers, Albert C., ed. 1912. *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630–1707*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Myers, Thomas J. 1993. "Education and Schooling." In *The Amish and the State*, edited by Donald B. Kraybill, 87–108. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Nagata, Judith A. 1989. *Continuity and Change among the Old Order Amish of Illinois*. New York: AMS Press.

Nash, Gary. 2002. *The First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Nash, Gary, and Billy Smith. 1975. "The Population of Philadelphia." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 93: 362–68.

National Educator. 1860–1903. Edited by A. R. Horne. Various related names, locations, and publishers. Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center.

Neff, Larry M., and Frederick S. Weiser. 1979. *Friedrich Heinrich Gelwicks, Shoemaker and Distiller—Accounts, 1760–1783*. Sources and Documents of the Pennsylvania Germans, 4. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.

Nelson, E. Clifford, ed. 1975. *The Lutherans in America*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Nelson, Vernon H. 2012. *John Valentine Haidt: The Life of a Moravian Painter*. Bethlehem, PA: Moravian Archives.

Nelson, William H. 1961. *The American Tory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Nevin, John W. 1844. *The Anxious Bench: A Tract for the Times*. Chambersburg: Publication Office of the German Reformed Church.
Newall, Venetia J. 1987. "The Adaptation of Folklore and Tradition (Folklorismus)." *Folklore* 98: 131–51.
"New Year, New Name." 2015. *Hollerbeer Hof: Journal of Urglaawe, Braucherei, Hexerei, and Deitsch Wisdom* 8 (1). http://www.urglaawe.com/uploads/26_Hollerbeer_Hof_Spring_2015.pdf.
Nichols, James H. 1961. *Romanticism in American Theology: Nevin and Schaff at Mercersburg*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
———. ed. 1966. *The Mercersburg Theology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Nitzsche, Elsa Koenig. 1958. *Marriage by Lot: A Novel Based on Moravian History*. Allentown: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society.
Nodelman, Perry. 2008. *The Hidden Adult: Defining Children's Literature*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Nolt, Steven M. 1992. *A History of the Amish*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.
———. 1998. "Finding a Context for Mennonite History: Pennsylvania German Ethnicity and the (Old) Mennonite Experience." *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 21 (October): 2–14.
———. 2002. *Foreigners in Their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
———. 2003. *A History of the Amish*. Rev. ed. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.
———. 2015. *A History of the Amish*. 3rd ed. New York: Good Books.
Nolt, Steven M., and Thomas J. Meyers. 2007. *Plain Diversity: Amish Cultures and Identities*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Nutting, Wallace. 1924. *Pennsylvania Beautiful*. Framingham, MA: Old American Company.
Oberholtzer, John H. 1862. "Vom naus Heira." *Das Christliche Volks-Blatt*, April 2, 71.
O'Conner, Richard. 1968. *The German-Americans: An Informal History*. Boston: Little, Brown.
O'Connor, Bonnie, and David Hufford. 2001. "Understanding Folk Medicine." In *Healing Logics: Culture and Medicine in Modern Health Belief Systems*, edited by Erika Brady, 13–35. Logan: Utah State University Press.
Oley Freindschaft Guild of Braucherei Practitioners and the Guild of Urglaawe Braucherei and Hexerei Practitioners. 2016. *Die Braucherei* (blog). http://www.braucherei.org/.
Olshan, Marc Alan. 1993. "Amish Cottage Industries as Trojan Horse." In *The Amish Struggle with Modernity*, edited by Donald B. Kraybill and Marc Alan Olshan, 133–46. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.
1001 Questions and Answers on the Christian Life. 1992. Aylmer, Ontario: Pathway.
O'Reilly, William. 2006. "Alluding to Alternatives, Sourcing and Securing Colonists in Eighteenth Century Germany." In *Atlantic Understandings: Essays on European and American History in Honor of Hermann Wellenreuther, American Cultural Series*, edited by Claudia Schnurman and Hartmut Lehmann, 159–83. Hamburg: Lit Verlag.
Orvell, Miles. 1989. *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880–1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
———. 2003. *American Photography*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Otterness, Philip. 2013. "The Palatine Immigrants of 1710 and the Native Americans." In *A Peculiar Mixture: German Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth Century North America*, edited by Jan Sievermann and Oliver Scheiding, 58–82. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013.

Owens, J. G. 1891. "Folk-Lore from Buffalo Valley, Central Pennsylvania." *Journal of American Folklore* 4: 115–28.

Page, B. Richard, and Joshua R. Brown. 2007. "The Big Valley Oral History Project: Language Attitudes toward Pennsylvania German in Big Valley." *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 42:125–40.

Palmer, Arlene. 1993. *Glass in Early America*. Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

Palmer, C. V. 1992. "The Health Beliefs and Practices of an Old Order Amish Family." *Journal of the American Association of Nurse Practitioners* 4: 117–22.

Parker, Seth D. 2011. "Biography for Cornelius Weygandt." Pennsylvania Center for the Book. http://pabook2.libraries.psu.edu/palitmap/bios/Weygandt__Cornelius.html.

Parkinson, Richard. 1805. *Tour in America in 1798, 1799, and 1800*. London: J. Harding.

Parsons, William T. 1976. *The Pennsylvania Dutch: A Persistent Minority*. Boston: Twain.

Pass, Karl H. 2003a. "Wilhelm Schimmel: Cumberland County Image Maker, 1817–1890." *Folk Art* 28 (2): 52–59.

———. 2003b. "Wilhelm Schimmel: Cumberland County 'Image Maker,' 1817–1890." MA thesis, Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg.

Pastorius, Francis Daniel. 1912. "Positive Information from America." In *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630–1707*, edited by Albert C. Myers, 392–410. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Peck, Amelia. 2015. "American Needlework in the Eighteenth Century." Metropolitan Museum of Art, Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. http://metmuseum.org/toah/.

Pencak, William. 2005. *Jews and Gentiles in Early America, 1654–1800*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Pendleton, Philip E. 1994. *Oley Valley Heritage: The Colonial Years, 1700–1775*. Birdsboro: Pennsylvania German Society.

———. 2004. "Domestic Outbuildings." In *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920: Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, May 12–16, 2004*, edited by Sally McMurry and Nancy Van Dolsen, 47–61. Harrisburg, PA: Vernacular Architecture Forum.

Pennsylvania. Adjutant-General's Office. 1900. *Annual Report of the Adjutant General of Pennsylvania for the Year 1898*. Harrisburg: State Printer of Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction (PDPI). 1835–74; 1875–1936. *Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools; Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*. Harrisburg: Superintendent, Department of Public Instruction.

Pennsylvania Dutch Day, Hershey Park, Hershey, Pa., August 23, 24 and 25. Program. 1951.

Pennsylvania German Folklore Society of Ontario. 2013. "The Society's Beginnings." Pennsylvania German Folklore Society of Ontario. http://www.pgfso.com/society/the-societys-beginnings-2/.

Pennsylvania German Heathen Alliance for the Urglaawe. http://www.urglaawe.org/Englisch.html.

Pennsylvania German Society. 1891. *Sketch of Its Origin with the Proceedings and Addresses at Its Organization*. Proceedings and Addresses of the Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 1. Lancaster PA: New Era Printing.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. "Pennsylvania's Agricultural History Project." http://phmc.info/aghistory.

Pennsylvania State Education Association. 1852–1980. *Pennsylvania School Journal*. Harrisburg, PA: Department of Public Instruction.

Pennsylvania State University College of Agricultural Sciences. "PA Impact." http://paimpact.cas.psu.edu/agr9985.html.

Pennypacker, Samuel W. 1883. *Historical and Biographical Sketches*. Philadelphia: R. A. Tripple.

———. 1895. "Response of Hon. S. W. Pennypacker, LL.D." In *The Pennsylvania-German Society: Proceedings and Addresses at Reading, Oct. 3, 1894*, 94–101. Reading: Pennsylvania German Society.

———. 1903. *Inaugural Address of Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, LL.D., Harrisburg, PA., January, 20th, 1903*. Harrisburg: Wm. Stanley Ray, State Printer of Pennsylvania.

Penzen, Klaus, ed. 1991. *Philip Schaaf: Historian and Ambassador of the Universal Church; Selected Writings*. Macon, GA: Macon University Press.

Perry, Candace Kintzer. 2005. *Cotton in Pennsylvania German Life*. Pennsburg: Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center.

———. 2015. "Keeping Up with the Wistars: Needlework of the Yeakle Family of Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania 1774–1800." Illustrated paper presented at "Stitching Together a National Identity," Williamsburg, Virginia, March 16.

Perry, William S. 1870–78. *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*. 5 vols. Hartford, CT: Church Press.

———, ed. 1969. *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*. Vol. 2, *Pennsylvania*. New York: AMS Press.

"Peter Bausher—Powwower." [1895] 1953. *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 4 (13): 11–15.

Peters, Shawn Francis. 2003. *The Yoder Case: Religious Freedom, Education, and Parental Rights*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Peucker, Paul. 2010. "Function and Meaning of the Colored Choir Ribbons." In *Pietism and Community in Europe and North America: 1650–1850*, vol. 45, edited by Jonathan Storm, 179–97. Leiden: Brill.

Pfister, Hans Ulrich. 1987. *Die Auswanderung aus dem Knonauer Amt, 1648–1750. Ihr Ausmass, ihre Strukturen und ihre Bedingungen*. Zurich: Rohr.

The Pioneer Americana Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Donald A. Shelley. 2007. Downingtown, PA: Pook & Pook.

Poncavage, Joanna. 2007. "The Secret Garden: Pennsylvania German Healing Roots Reach Deep." *Allentown Morning Call*, May 21.

The Potters Medinger: The Last of the Traditional Pennsylvania German Potters. 1992. Collegeville, PA: Berman Museum of Art at Ursinus College.

Powell, Elizabeth. 1974. *Pennsylvania Butter Tools and Processes*. Tools of the Nation Maker Series, vol. 2. Doylestown, PA: Bucks County Historical Society.

Priddy, Sumpter T., III 2004. *American Fancy: Exuberance in the Arts, 1790–1840*. Milwaukee, WI: Chipstone Foundation.

Puglia, David J. 2012. *South Central Pennsylvania Legends and Lore*. Charleston, SC: History Press.

———. 2015. "Hon Culture Wars: Revering and Reviling the Vernacular in Baltimore and Beyond." PhD diss., The Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg.

Purvis, Thomas L. 1987. "Patterns of Ethnic Settlement in Late Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania." *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 70: 107–22.

Raber's New American Almanac. Baltic, OH: Raber's.

Raichelson, Richard. 1975. "The Social Context of Musical Instruments within the Pennsylvania German Culture." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 25 (1): 35–44.

Randall. 1998. Review of *American Folk Magic: Charms, Spells, & Herbals*, by Silver RavenWolf. http://www.ecauldron.net/bkafm.php.

Rauch, Edward H. 1868. *Pennsylvania Deitsch. De Campaign Breefa fum Pit Schwefelbrenner un de Brevy si Alty*. Lancaster, PA: Rauch and Cochran.

———. 1879. *Rauch's Pennsylvania Dutch Hand-Book. A Book for Instruction*. Mauch Chunk, PA: E. H. Rauch.

Rauhauser, Barry. 2002. "The Development of the Pennsylvania Farmhouse Type in Manchester Township, York County, Pennsylvania." MA thesis, University of Delaware.

Raum, Elizabeth. 2001. *Everyday a Holiday: Celebrating Children's Literature throughout the Year*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.

RavenWolf, Silver. 1997. *HexCraft: Dutch Country Magick*. St. Paul: Llewellyn.

———. 1998. *American Folk Magick: Charms, Spells, & Herbals*. St. Paul: Llewellyn.

Ray, Celeste, ed. 2003. *Southern Heritage on Display: Public Ritual and Ethnic Diversity within Southern Regionalism*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Ray, Clayton E. 2005. "Some Notes on Wagons and Wagon-Making." In *Wagon-Making in the United States during the Late-19th through Mid-20th Centuries: A Study of the Gruber Wagon Works at Mt. Pleasant, Pennsylvania*, by Paul A. Kube, 13–29. Blacksburg, VA: McDonald and Woodward.

Reaman, George Elmore. 1957. *The Trail of the BlackWalnut*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

Redekop, Bill. 2012. "Internet No Longer an Un-Hutterite Thing: Laptops, Cellphones, iPods on Colonies—With Restrictions." *Winnipeg Free Press*, December 22. http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/breakingnews/internet-no-longer-an-un-hutterite-thing-184528901.html.

Redekop, Calvin. 1989. *Mennonite Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Redfield, Robert. 1950. *The Little Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Reed, Carroll E. 1941. "The Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks: Phonology and Morphology." PhD diss., Brown University.

Reed, Cleota. 1996. *Henry Chapman Mercer and the Moravian Potter and Tile Works*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Reed, Henry M. 1987. *Decorated Furniture of the Mahantongo Valley*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University.

Regis, Pamela. 2003. *A Natural History of the Romance Novel*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Reichard, Harry Hess. 1918. "Pennsylvania-German Dialect Writings and Their Writers." *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society* 26: 1–400. Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society.

———. 1939. Introduction to *En Quart Millich un En Halb Beint Raahm* by Clarence F. Iobst. *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society Yearbook* 4: 1–28.

———. 1940. "Pennsylvania German Verse. An Anthology of Representative Selections in the Dialect Popularly Known as Pennsylvania Dutch with an Introduction." *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society* 48: 1–299. Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society.

Reichmann, Felix, and Eugene E. Doll. 1952. *Ephrata as Seen by Contemporaries*. Allentown: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society.

Reimensnyder, Barbara L. 1989. *Powwowing in Union County: A Study of Pennsylvania German Folk Medicine in Context*. New York: AMS Press.

Reinert, Guy F. 1949. *Coverlets of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Allentown, PA: Schlechter.

Reinhard, Wolfgang. 2002. "Frühmoderner Staat und deutsches Monstrum. Die Entstehung des modernen Staates und das Alte Reich." *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 29: 339–57.

"Reverend Samuel K. Brobst: Sunday-School Founder, Minister and Editor." 1907. *The Pennsylvania-German* 8: 360–64.

Reynolds, Margaret C. 2001. *Plain Women: Gender and Ritual in the Old Order River Brethren*. Edited by Simon J. Bronner. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Richardson, Bill. 1990a. "The Pennsylvania German Tombstones of Isaac F. Stiehly (1800–1869)." *Northumberland Historical Society Proceedings* 30: 1–67.
———. 1990b. "Self Image and Social Network: The Pennsylvania German Baskets of H. Wilson Brosius." *Material Culture* 22: 23–32.
Richman, Irwin. 2001. *Pennsylvania German Arts: More than Hearts, Parrots, and Tulips*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer.
———. 2003. *German Architecture in America: Folk House, Your House, Bauhaus and More*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 2003.
———. 2007. *Pennsylvania German Farms, Gardens, and Seeds: Landis Valley in Four Centuries*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer.
Richmond, Andrew. 2011. *Equal in Goodness: Ohio Decorative Arts, 1788–1860*. Lancaster, OH: Decorative Arts Center of Ohio.
Riley, Jobie E. 1977. "The Rhetoric of the German-Speaking Pulpit in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania." *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 81: 138–59.
Ring, Betty. 1993. *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers & Pictorial Needlework, 1650–1850*. New York: Knopf.
Rippley, LaVern J. 1984. *The German Americans*. New York: Lanham.
Ritzer, George, and Nathan Jurgenson. 2010. "Production, Consumption, Prosumption: The Nature of Capitalism in the Age of the Digital 'Prosumer.'" *Journal of Consumer Culture* 10: 13–36.
Roan, Nancy. 1978. *Boyertown Area Cookery*. Boyertown, PA: Boyertown Area Historical Society.
Roan, Nancy, and Donald Roan. 1993. *Lest I Shall Be Forgotten: Anecdotes and Traditions of Quilts*. Green Lane, PA: Goschenhoppen Historians.
Robacker, Earl F. 1938. "Pennsylvania Cooky Cutters." *Magazine Antiques* 34 (6): 304–7.
———. 1943. *Pennsylvania German Literature: Changing Trends from 1683 to 1942*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
———. 1944. *Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
———. 1947. "The Case for Pennsylvania German Painted Tin." *Magazine Antiques* 52 (4): 263–65.
———. 1956–57. "Pennsylvania Redware." *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 8 (2): 2–7.
———. 1961. "Tin—With Holes In." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (3): 2–7.
———. 1962–63. "Pennsylvania Pewter and Pewterers." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13 (2): 2–6.
———. 1973. *Old Stuff in Up-Country Pennsylvania*. New York: A. S. Barnes.
———. 1997. "Pennsylvania Redware." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 46 (3): 137–42.
Robacker, Earl F., and Ada F. Robacker. 1978. *Spatterware and Sponge: Hardy Perennials of Ceramics*. South Brunswick, NJ: A. S. Barnes.
Robertson, Roland. 1992. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.
Rödel, Walter G. 1978. "Das freye Land—Berichte über das koloniale Nordamerika." *Scripta Mercaturae* 12: 70–82.
Roeber, A. G. 1987. "In German Ways? Problems and Potentials of Eighteenth-Century German Social and Emigration History." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 44: 750–74.
———. 1991. "'The Origin of Whatever Is Not English among Us': The Dutch-Speaking and the German-Speaking Peoples of Colonial British America." In *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, edited by Bernard Bailyn and Philip Morgan, 220–83. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
———. 1993. *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Roeland, Johan, Stef Aupers, Dick Houtman, Martijn de Koning, and Ineke Noomen.

2010. "The Quest for Religious Purity in New Age, Evangelicalism, and Islam: Religious Renditions of Dutch Youth and the Luckmann Legacy." *Annual Review of the Sociology of Religion* 1: 289–306.

Rosenberger, Homer Tope. 1966. *The Pennsylvania Germans, 1891–1965 (Frequently Known as the "Pennsylvania Dutch")*. Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society 63. Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society.

Roth, John D. 2002. *Letters of the Amish Division: A Sourcebook*. 2nd ed. Goshen, IN: Mennonite Historical Society.

Rumford, Benjamin, Count of. 1796. *An Essay on Chimney Fire-Places, with Proposals for Improving Them, to Save Fuel*. Dublin: R. E. Mercier.

Rupp, I. Daniel. 1844a. *History of Lancaster County: To Which Is Prefixed a Brief Sketch of the Early History of Pennsylvania*. Lancaster, PA: Gilbert Hills.

———. 1844b. *History of the Counties of Berks and Lebanon Containing a Brief Account of the Indians*. Lancaster, PA: G. Hills.

———. 1844c. *History of Northampton, Lehigh, Monroe, Carbon and Schuylkill Counties: Containing a Brief History of the First Settlers*. Harrisburg, PA: Hickok and Cantine.

———. 1898. *A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French and Other Immigrants in Pennsylvania from 1727–1776*. 2nd rev. and enl. ed. Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart.

Rupp, William J. 1946. *Bird Names and Bird Lore among the Pennsylvania Germans*. Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society.

Rush, Benjamin. 1789. "An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania." *Columbian Magazine* 3, no. 1 (January): 22–30.

———. [1789] 1910. *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania-German Society.

———. 1950. "The Conception of Franklin College" (1785). *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1 (January): 7.

Russ, William A., Jr. 1966. *Pennsylvania's Boundaries*. University Park: Pennsylvania Historical Association.

Ryan, Thomas R., ed. 2003. *The Worlds of Jacob Eichholtz*. Lancaster, PA: Lancaster County Historical Society.

Sachse, Julius F., trans. 1905. *Falckner's Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania: The Book That Stimulated the Great German Emigration to Pennsylvania in the Early Years of the XVIII Century*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society.

———, trans. 1909. *Diary of a Voyage from Rotterdam to Philadelphia in 1728*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society.

Sack, Saul. 1963. *History of Higher Education in Pennsylvania*. Vol. 1. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Said, Edward W. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Salinger, Sharon V. 1987. *To Serve Them Well and Faithfully: Labor and Indentured Servitude in Pennsylvania, 1682–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schaeffer, Charles E. 1944. *History of the Classis of Philadelphia of the Reformed Church in the United States*. N.p.: Classis of Philadelphia.

Schaltenbrand, Phil. 1996. *Stoneware of Southwestern Pennsylvania*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

———. 2002. *Big Ware Turners: The History and Manufacture of Pennsylvania Stoneware*. Bentleyville, PA: Westerwald Publishing.

Schaumann, Merri Lou. 2009. *Plank Bottom Chairs and Chairmakers: South Central Pennsylvania, 1800–1880*. Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society.

Schelbert, Leo, ed. 1996. *America Experienced: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Accounts of Swiss Immigrants to the United States*. Translated by Hesdwig Rappert. Camden, ME: Pixton Press.

———. 1980. *Migration to America: The Swiss Mennonites*. New York: Arno Press.

Schelbert, Leo, and Hedwig Rappolt, eds. 1977. *Alles ist ganz anders hier. Auswandererschicksale in Briefen aus zwei Jahrhunderten*. Olten and Freiburg im Breisgau: Walter.

Schilling, Heinz. 2001. "Reichs-Staat und frühneuzeitliche Nation der Deutschen oder teilmodernisiertes Reichssystem. Überlegungen zu Charakter und Aktualität des Alten Reiches." *Historische Zeitschrift* 272: 377–95.

Schlabach, Theron F. 1988. *Peace, Faith, Nation: Mennonites and Amish in Nineteenth-Century America*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.

Schlegel, Jennifer Rachael. 2004. "Pennsylvania German Overhearers: Living with Language Maintenance and Language Loss." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles.

Schlossman, Steven. 1983a. "Is There an American Tradition of Bilingual Education? German in the Public Elementary Schools, 1840–1919." *American Journal of Education* 91 (2): 139– 86.

———. 1983b. "Self Evident Remedy? George I. Sanchez, Segregation, and Enduring Dilemmas in Bilingual Education." *Teachers College Record* 84: 871–907.

Schmidt, Georg. 1999. *Geschichte des alten Reiches. Staat und Nation in der frühen Neuzeit, 1495 –1806*. Munich: C. H. Beck.

———. 2001. "Das frühneuzeitliche Reich—komplementärer Staat und föderative Nation." *Historische Zeitschrift* 273: 371–99.

Schmidt, Kimberly, Diane Zimmerman Umble, and Steven D. Reschly. 2002. *Strangers at Home: Amish and Mennonite Women in History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Schmucker, Samuel S. 1969. *The American Lutheran Church*. 1851; reprint, New York: Arno Press.

Schnabel, Werner Wilhelm. 1992. *Österreichische Exulanten in oberdeutschen Reichsstädten: Zur Migration von Führungsschichten im 17. Jahrhundert*. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Schneider, Carl E. 1935. "The Genius of the Reformed Church in the United States." *Journal of Religion* 15: 26–41.

———. 1939. *The German Church on the American Frontier: A Study in the Rise of Religion among the Germans of the West*. St. Louis: Eden Publishing House.

Schneider, David B. 1994. *Foundations in a Fertile Soil: Farming and Farm Buildings in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*. Lancaster, PA: Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County.

Schöpf, Johann David. 1788. *Reise durch einige der mittlern und südlichen vereinigten nordamerikanischen Staaten nach Ost-Florida und den Bahama-Inseln unternommen in den Jahren 1783 und 1784*. Vol. 1. Erlangen: Johann Jacob Palm.

———. 1911. *Travels in the Confederation [1783–1784]*. Translated and edited by Alfred J. Morrison. 1788; reprint, Philadelphia: William J. Campbell.

Schrader, Hans-Jürgen. 2002. "Philadelphia Hope: The Attitudes of Pietist Immigrants in Pennsylvania towards Jews." *Pietismus und Neuzeit: Ein Jarhrbuch zur Geschichte des neueren Protestanismus* 28: 185–212.

Schrag, Martin. 1976. "The Impact of Pietism upon the Mennonites in Early American Christianity." In *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity*, edited by F. Ernest Stoeffler, 74–122. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans.

Schrift, Gwen. 2015. "From Another Realm." *Bucks County Courier Times*, January 25.

http://www.urglaawe.com/uploads/From_Another_Realm_-_Bucks_County_Courier_Times_-_January_25_2015.pdf.
Schultz, Edward T. 1986. *The First Settlements of Germans in Maryland*. Frederick, MD: David Smith.
Schultz, Selina Gerhard. 1946. *Casper Schwenkfeld Von Ossig (1459-1561): Spiritual Interpreter of Christianity, Apostle of the Middle Way, Pioneer of Modern Religious Thought*. Norristown, PA: Board of Publication of the Schwenkfelder Church.
Schurman, Claudia, and Hartmut Lehmann, eds. 2006. *Atlantic Understandings: Essays on European and American History in Honor of Herman Wellenreuther*. Hamburg: LIT Verlag.
Schwartz, Sally. 1987. *"A Mixed Multitude": The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania*. New York: New York University Press.
Schweyer, Peter G. 2015. "House Adopts Schweyer Resolution to Commemorate "Pennsylvania Dutch Heritage Week.'" http://www.pahouse.com/Schweyer/InTheNews/NewsRelease/?id=72859.
Scott, Stephen. 1996. *An Introduction to Old Order and Conservative Mennonite Groups*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.
———. 1997. *Why Do They Dress That Way?* Rev. ed. Intercourse, PA: Good Books. Originally published 1986.
———. 1998. *Plain Buggies: Amish, Mennonite and Brethren Horse-Drawn Transportation*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.
Seaton, Beverly. 1980. "Helen Reimensnyder Martin's 'Caricatures of the Pennsylvania Germans.'" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 104: 86–95.
Seecamp, Carston E. 1970. "The Chapter of Perfection: The Neglected Influence on George Lippard." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 94 (2): 192–212.
Seibert, Peter S. 2001. "Decorated Chairs of the Lower Susquehanna River Valley." *Magazine Antiques* 159 (5): 780–87.
Seidensticker, Oswald. 1878. "William Penn's Travels in Holland and Germany in 1677." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 2: 237–82.
———. 1888. "The Hermits of the Wissahickon." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 11: 427–41.
———. 1893. *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728–1830*. Philadelphia: Schaefer & Koradi.
———. 1917. *Geschichte der deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien, 1764–1917*. Philadelphia: Graf & Breuninger.
Seifert, Lester W. J. 1941. "The Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks: Vocabulary." PhD diss., Brown University.
———. 1971. "The Word Geography of Pennsylvania German: Extent and Causes." In *The German Language in America: A Symposium*, edited by Glenn G. Gilbert, 14–42. Austin: University of Texas Press.
———. 2001. *A Word Atlas of Pennsylvania German*. Edited by Mark L. Louden, Howard Martin, and Joseph C. Salmons. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute.
Seilhamer, Frank H. 1960. "The New Measures Movement among Lutherans." *Lutheran Quarterly* 12: 121–43.
Sellers, Charles. 1991. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Seltzers' Bologna spokesperson. 1995. Palmyra, PA. Interview by Yvonne Milspaw.
"Seminars on the Folk-Culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch Country." 1952. *Pennsylvania Dutchman: Devoted to Pennsylvania Dutch Folk-Culture* 4 (May): 2.
Shade, William G. 1972. "Pennsylvania Politics in the Jacksonian Period: A Case Study, Northampton County, 1824–1844." *Pennsylvania History* 39: 313–33.

Shambaugh, Bertha M. H. 1908. *Amana: The Community of True Inspiration*. Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa.
Shandler, Jeffrey. 2006. *Adventures in Yiddishland: Postvernacular Language and Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Shaner, Richard H. 1973. *Hexerei: A Practice of Witchcraft among the Pennsylvania Dutch*. Indiana, PA: A. G. Halldin.
Shantz, Douglas H. 2013. *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Shaw, Robert. 2009. *American Quilts: The Democratic Art, 1780–2007*. New York: Sterling Publishing.
Shelley, Donald A. 1961. *The Fraktur-Writings or Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Publications of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, vol. 23. Allentown: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society.
Shelly, Susan. 2008a. "Albany Woman Is Passionate about Ancient Tradition of Folk Healing." *Reading Eagle*, June 3.
———. 2008b. "Herbalist Holds onto a Healing Tradition of Women." *Reading Eagle*, June 29.
Shi, David E. 1985. *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Shoemaker, Alfred L. 1940. "Studies on the Pennsylvania German Dialect of the Amish Community in Arthur, Illinois." PhD diss., University of Illinois.
———. 1949. "Stop Sneering." *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, May 5, 3.
———. 1951a. "Early Use of Dialect." *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, January 15, 7.
———. 1951b. *Three Myths about the Pennsylvania Dutch Country*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center.
———. 1951c. *Traditional Rhymes and Jingles of the Pennsylvania Dutch*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center.
———. 1952. *Check List of Pennsylvania Dutch Printed Taufscheins*. Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center.
———. 1953a. *My Off Is All: A Treasury of Pennsylvania Dutch Humor*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center.
———. 1953b. *Hex No!* Lancaster: Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center.
———. 1954. *The Pennsylvania Dutch Country*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center.
———. 1955. "The Pennsylvania Barn." In *The Pennsylvania Barn*, edited by Alfred L. Shoemaker, 4–11. Lancaster: Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center.
———. 1959a. Foreword to *Amish and Pennsylvania Dutch Tourist Guide*, edited by Alfred L. Shoemaker, 5. Kutztown: Pennsylvania Folklife Society.
———. 1959b. *Amish and Pennsylvania Dutch Tourist Guide*. Kutztown: Pennsylvania Folklife Festival.
———. 1959c. *The Pennsylvania Barn*. Kutztown: Pennsylvania Folklife Society.
———. 1959d. *Christmas in Pennsylvania: A Folk-Cultural Study*. Kutztown: Pennsylvania Folklife Society.
———. 1960. *Eastertide in Pennsylvania: A Folk Cultural Study*. Kutztown: Pennsylvania Folklife Society.
———. 2000. *Eastertide in Pennsylvania: A Folk-Cultural Study*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole.
———. 2009. *Christmas in Pennsylvania: 50th Anniversary Edition*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole.
Showalter, Mary Emma. 1950. *Mennonite Community Cookbook*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.

Shriver, George. 1987. *Philip Schaff: Christian Scholar and Ecumenical Prophet*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press.
Shryock, Richard H. 1939a. "British versus German Traditions in Colonial Agriculture." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 26: 175–85.
———. 1939b. "The Pennsylvania Germans in American History." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 63: 261–81.
———. 1942. "The Pennsylvania German as Seen by the Historian." In *The Pennsylvania Germans*, edited by Ralph Wood, 237–58. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Shultze, David, and Andrew S. Berky. 1952. *The Journals and Papers of David Shultze*. Vol. 1. Pennsburg, PA: Schwenkfelder Library.
Shumway, George. 1980. *Rifles of Colonial America*. 2 vols. York, PA: George Shumway Publisher.
Shumway, George, Edward Durrell, and Howard C. Frey. 1964. *Conestoga Wagon, 1750–1850*. York, PA: Early American Industries Association and George Shumway Publisher.
Sikoun, Pang Xiong Sirirathasuk, and Debora Kodish. 2012. "We Try to Be Strong Exhibition." Philadelphia Folklore Project, July 2. http://folkloreproject.org/artists/pang-xiong-sirirathasuk-sikoun.
Silber, Julie. 2010. "So Much for 'Dutch'!" *Julie Silber's Blog*. August 27. http://blog.thequiltcomplex.com/2010/08/so-much-for-dutch.html.
Silvey, Anita. 1995. *Children's Books and Their Creators*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
Simmons, Linda Crocker. 1975. *Jacob Frymire: American Limner*. Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art.
Singmaster, Elsie. [1937] 2009. "Thanksgiving Isn't Christmas." In *Heart Language: Elsie Singmaster and Her Pennsylvania German Writings*, by Susan Colestock Hill, 253–64. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Slasky, Eugene R. 1998. "The Lehigh Valley." In *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland*, edited by John B. Frantz and William Pencak, 46–66. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Smaby, Beverly P. 1988. *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.
———. 2007. "'No One Should Lust for Power . . . Women Least of All': Dismantling Female Leadership among Eighteenth Century Moravians." In *Pious Pursuits: German Moravians in the Atlantic World*, edited by Michelle Gillespie and Robert Beachy, 159–75. New York: Berghahn Books.
Šmidchens, Guntis. 1999. "Folklorism Revisited." *Journal of Folklore Research* 36: 51–70.
Smith, Abbot E. 1947. *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
Smith, C. Henry. 1929. "The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century." *Proceedings and Addresses of the Pennsylvania German Society* 35: 1–412.
Smith, Horace Wemyss. 1879. *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.* Vol. 1. Philadelphia: S. A. George.
Smith, Laurajane, ed. 2007. *Cultural Heritage: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*. 4 vols. London: Routledge.
Smucker, Janneken L. 2010. "From Rags to Riches: Amish Quilts and the Crafting of Value." PhD diss., University of Delaware.
———. 2013. *Amish Quilts: Crafting an American Icon*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Smucker, Janneken, Robert Shaw, and Joe Cunningham. 2009. *Amish Abstractions:*

Quilts from the Collection of Faith and Stephen Brown. San Francisco: Pomegranate Communications.

Snyder, C. Arnold. 1995. *Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction*. Kitchener, Ontario: Pandora Press.

Snyder, John J., Jr. 1974. "The Bachman Attributions: A Reconsideration." *Magazine Antiques* 105 (5): 1056–65.

———. 1975. "Carved Chippendale Case Furniture from Lancaster, Pennsylvania." *Magazine Antiques* 107 (5): 964–75.

———. 1976. "Chippendale Furniture of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1760–1810." MA thesis, University of Delaware.

———. 1984. "New Discoveries in Documented Lancaster County Chippendale Furniture." *Magazine Antiques* 125 (5): 1150–55.

———. 1999. "Federal Furniture of Lancaster Borough/City, 1795–1825." *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 101 (Spring): 2–38.

Soderlund, Jean, ed. 1983. *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1680–1684: A Documentary History*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Soderlund, Jean, and Catherine S. Parzynski, eds. 2008. *Back Country Crucibles: The Lehigh Valley from Settlement to Steel*. Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press.

Sollors, Werner. 1986. *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Dissent in American Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 1988. *The Invention of Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Songs of the Ausbund: History and Translations of Ausbund Hymns. 2001. Vol. 1. 3rd ed. Millersburg, OH: Ohio Amish Library.

Spears, James. 1949. *A Picture Story of the House of Derr*. Myerstown, PA: Church Center Press.

Spener, Philip Jacob. 1964. *Pia Desideria*. Translated and edited by Theodore G. Tappert. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Spohn, Clarence E., ed., and Alan G. Keyser, trans. 1999. *Joseph Long Lehn's Day Book (1856–1876) and His Painted Woodenware*. Ephrata, PA: Historical Society of the Cocalico Valley.

Spring, Joel. 2005. *The American School: 1642–2004*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

———. 2007. *Deculturalization and the Struggle for Equality: A Brief History of the Education of Dominated Cultures in the United States*. Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.

Standiford, Les. 2005. *Meet You in Hell: Andrew Carnegie, Henry Clay Frick, and the Bitter Partnership That Transformed America*. New York: Three Rivers Press.

Stanton, Cathy. 2005. "Serving up Culture: Heritage and Its Discontents at an Industrial History Site." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11: 415–31.

Steinfeldt, Berenice. 1937. *The Amish of Lancaster County*. N.p.: A. G. Steinfeldt.

Steinmetz, Andrew. 1941. "Kelpius: The Hermit of the Wissahickon." *American- German Review* 7: 7–12.

Stevens, Sylvester K. 1968. *Pennsylvania: The Heritage of a Commonwealth*. Vol. 1 of 3. West Palm Beach, FL: American Historical Company.

Stillinger, Elizabeth. 1980. *The Antiquers: The Lives and Careers, the Deals, the Finds, the Collections of the Men and Women Who Were Responsible for the Changing Taste in American Antiques, 1850–1930*. New York: Knopf.

Stine, Clyde S. 1938. "Problems of Education among Pennsylvania Germans." PhD diss., Cornell University.

———. 1942. "The Pennsylvania Germans and the School." In *The Pennsylvania Germans*, edited by Ralph Wood, 105–27. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stoeffler, F. Ernest. 1965. *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara. 2006. *Das heilige römische Reich deutscher Nation. Vom Ende des Mittelalters bis 1806*. Munich: C. H. Beck.
Stoltzfus, Linda. 1994. *Amish Women: Lives and Stories*. Lancaster, PA: Good Books.
———. 1998. *Traces of Wisdom: Amish Women and the Pursuit of Life's Simple Pleasures*. New York: Hyperion.
Stoltzfus, Louise. 1994. *Amish Women: Lives and Stories*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.
Stokes, Samuel N., A. Elizabeth Watson, and Shelley S. Mastran. 1997. *Saving America's Countryside: A Guide to Rural Conservation*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Stopp, Klaus. 1997–99. *The Printed Birth and Baptismal Certificates of the German Americans*. 6 vols. Mainz, Germany and East Berlin, PA: Published by the author.
Stoudt, John Baer. 1915. *The Folklore of the Pennsylvania-German*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society.
Stoudt, John Joseph. 1937. *Consider the Lilies How They Grow: An Interpretation of the Symbolism of Pennsylvania German Art*. Allentown, PA: Schlechter's.
———. 1948. *Pennsylvania Folk Art: An Interpretation*. Allentown, PA: Schlechter's.
———. 1964. *Early Pennsylvania Arts and Crafts*. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1964.
———. 1966. *Pennsylvania German Folk Art: An Interpretation*. Allentown: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society.
———. 1973. *Sunbonnets and Shoofly Pies: A Pennsylvania Dutch Cultural History*. New York: A. S. Barnes.
Strassburger, Ralph Beaver. 1934. *Pennsylvania German Pioneers: A Publication of the Original Lists of Arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727 to 1808*. 3 vols. Edited by William John Hinke. Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society.
Strasser, Brendan D. 2002. "The 1876 Centennial Monument at Kutztown: An Enduring Symbol of Pennsylvania German Ethnic Pride." *Pennsylvania German Review*, Spring, 25–38.
Suckow, Ruth. 2002. "The Folk Idea in American Life" (1930). In *Folk Nation: Folklore in the Creation of American Tradition*, edited by Simon J. Bronner, 145–60. Wilmington, DE: SR Books.
Sullivan, Mary Hammond, and Frederick S. Weiser. 1973. "Decorated Furniture of the Mahantongo Valley." *Magazine Antiques* 103 (5): 932–39.
———. 1980. "Decorated Furniture of the Schwaben Creek Valley." In *Ebbes fer Alle-Ebber, Ebbes fer Dich/Something for Everyone, Something for You: Essays in Memoriam, Albert Franklin Buffington*, edited by Frederick S. Weiser, 332–94. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.
Sultzbaugh, Mrs. Mark. 1968. "Folklore from the Lykens Valley." Edited by Larry M. Neff. *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania-German Society* 2: 3–5.
Swan, Susan Burrows. 1983. "Household Textiles." In *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, by Scott T. Swank, 221–29. New York: W. W. Norton for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.
Swank, Scott T. 1983. *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans*. Edited by Catherine Hutchins. New York: W. W. Norton for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.
Swartz, Mrs. O.H. c. 1930. Recipes. Unpublished manuscript, author's Collection.
Swetnam, George. 1964. *Pennsylvania Transportation*. Gettysburg: Pennsylvania Historical Association.
Tannendaum, Judith, ed. 2015. *Framing Fraktur: Pennsylvania German Material Culture and Contemporary Art*. Philadelphia: Free Library of Philadelphia.

Tappert, Theodore G. 1975. "The Church's Infancy, 1650–1790." In *The Lutherans in North America*, edited by E. Clifford Nelson, 3–80. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Taylor, Alan. 2001. *American Colonies*. New York: Penguin.

Taylor, Lonn W. 1980. "*Fachwerk* and *Brettstuhl*: The Rejection of Traditional Folk Culture." In *Perspectives on American Folk Art*, edited by Ian M. G. Quimby and Scott T. Swank, 162–76. New York: W. W. Norton.

Taylor, Steven J. 2009. *Acts of Conscience: World War II, Mental Institutions, and Religious Objectors*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Ten Brook, Andrew. 1896. "Our German Immigrations." *Collections and Researches Made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society* 26: 241–55.

Thayer, Theodore. 1982. "From the Town into City, 1746–1765." In *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, edited by Russell F. Weigley, 68–108. New York: W. W. Norton.

Thiessen, Jack. 2003. *Mennonite Low German Dictionary / Mennonitisch-Plattdeutsches Wörterbuch*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Thompson, Bard. 1953. "Philip Melanchthon and the German Reformed Church." *Bulletin of the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church* 24: 162–85.

Thompson, Chad. 1994. "The Language of the Amish of Allen County, Indiana: Multilingualism and Convergence." *Anthropological Linguistics* 36: 69–91.

Thompson, Stith. 1946. *The Folktale*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

———. 1955. *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*. 6 vols. Rev. and enl. ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Thoms, William. [1846] 1965. "Folklore." In *The Study of Folklore*, edited by Alan Dundes, 4–6. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Three Sisters Center for the Healing Arts website. http://www.threesisterscenter.com.

Thursby, Jacqueline S. 2008. *Foodways and Folklore: A Handbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Tice, George. 1970. *Fields of Peace: A Pennsylvania German Album*. Boston: Godine.

Tishler, William H. 1986a. "Fachwerk Construction in the German Settlements of Wisconsin." *Winterthur Portfolio* 21 (4): 275–92.

———. 1986b. "Midwestern Germans." In *America's Architectural Roots: Ethnic Groups That Built America*, edited by Dell Upton, 142–48. Washington, DC: Preservation Press of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Tishler, William, and Christopher S. Witmer. 1986. "The Housebarns of East-Central Wisconsin." In *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 2, edited by Camille Wells, 102–19. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

Toth, Carolyn R. 1990. *German-English Bilingual Schools in America: The Cincinnati Tradition in Historical Context*. New York: Peter Lang.

Translations from the Unparteyisches Gesang-Buch. 2008. Ephrata, PA: Allen Hoover.

Trask, Haunani-Kay. 1999. "From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i." Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Trollinger, Susan L. 2012. *Selling the Amish: The Tourism of Nostalgia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Trommler, Frank, and Joseph McVeigh, ed. 1985. *American and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Troxell, William S., ed. 1938. *Aus Pennsylfawnia: An Anthology of Translations into the Pennsylvania German Dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Trueblood, Elton. 1966. *A People Called Quakers*. New York: Harper and Row.

The Tulpehocken Bi-centennial Commemorated at a Four-Day Celebration at Womelsdorf, PA, June 28th, 29th, 30th and July 1st, 1923. 1923. Womelsdorf, PA: Executive Committee.

Turner, Robert, ed. 1966. *Lewis Miller: Sketches and Chronicles*. York, PA: Historical Society of York County.
Tyack David B. 1974. *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Tyack, David B., and Elisabeth Hansot. 1982. *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership, 1820–1980*. New York, Basic Books.
Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. 2002. *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth*. New York: Vintage Books.
Umble, Diane Zimmerman. 1996. *Holding the Line: The Telephone in Old Order Mennonite and Amish Life*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Umble, Diane Zimmerman, and David L. Weaver-Zercher, eds. 2008. *The Amish and the Media*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). 1987. *Census of Agriculture*.
———. 2007. *Census of Agriculture*.
———. 2012. *Census of Agriculture*.
Unparteiische Liedersammlung. (2003). Rushsylvania, OH: Belle Center Amish Church.
Upton, Dell. 1996. "Ethnicity, Authority, and Invented Traditions." *Historical Archaeology* 30 (2): 1–7.
Urbina, Ian. 2006. "For the Pennsylvania Dutch, a Long Tradition Fades." *New York Times*, July 22, A14.
Urry, James. 1984. "Englishmen, Celts, and Iberians: The Ethnographic Survey of the United Kingdom, 1892–1899." In *Functionalism Historicized: Essays on British Social Anthropology*, edited by George W. Stocking, 83–105. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Uther, Hans-Jörg. 2004. *The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography*. 3 vols. Helsinki: Suyomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
Valentine, Bonnie. 1988. Middletown, PA. Interview by Yvonne Milspaw.
Valletta, Clement L. 1983. "Ritual and Folklore in Pennsylvania's Wyoming Region: Old to New World Wonder." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 33 (1): 2–29.
Valuska, David L. 2004. "The Pennsylvania Dutch as First Defenders." In *Damn Dutch: Pennsylvania Germans at Gettysburg*, by David L. Valuska and Christian B. Keller, 44–55. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books.
Valuska, David L., and William W. Donner. 2004. "The Past and Future of the Pennsylvania German Language: Many Ways of Speaking German; Many Ways of Being American." In *Globalization and the Future of German*, edited by Andreas Gardt and Bernd Huppauf, 229–42. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Van Dolsen, Nancy. 1990. *Cumberland County: An Architectural Survey*. Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society.
Van Dolsen, Nancy, and Sally McMurry, eds. 2004. *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920: Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, May 12–16, 2004*. Harrisburg, PA: Vernacular Architecture Forum.
van Doren, Carl. 1938. *Benjamin Franklin*. New York: Viking Press, 1938.
van Gangelen, Hans, Peter Kersloot, and Sjek Venhus. 1997. *Hoorn des Overvloeds: De Bloeiperiode van het Noord-Hollands Slibaardwerk ca. 1580–ca. 1650*. Oosthuizen: Stichting Noord-Hollans Slibaardewerk Oosthuizen Stichting Uitgeverij Noord-Holland Wormerveer.
van Ravenswaay, Charles. 2006. *The Arts and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri: A Survey of a Vanishing Culture*. 1977. Rev. ed. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.
van Wagenen, Peter. 1960. *The Golden Age of Homespun*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux.

Vann, James Allen. 1984. *The Making of a State: Württemberg, 1593–1793*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Veith, Werner H. 1968. "Pennsylvaniadeutsch: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehung von Siedlungsmundarten." *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* 35: 254–83.

Vella Deitsh. 1997. *Vella Laysa: Bivvel Shtoahris Fa Kinnah* (Let's read: Bible stories for children). Sugar Creek, OH: Schlabach Printers.

Venable, Charles L. 1986. "Philadelphia Biedermeier: Germanic Craftsmen and Design in Philadelphia, 1820–1850." MA thesis, University of Delaware.

von Saldern, Axel. 1961. "Baron Stiegel and Eighteenth-Century Enameled Glass." *Magazine Antiques* 80 (3): 232–35.

Walbert, David. 2002. *Garden Spot: Lancaster County, the Old Order Amish, and the Selling of Rural America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wallace, Paul A. 1945. *Conrad Weiser, 1696–1760: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 1950. *The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Walters, Ronald E. 2006. "Decorated Hetchels," parts 1–2. *The Spinning Wheel Sleuth*, nos. 52–53 (April–July): 4–5, 11–13.

Ward, William R. 1992. *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Warfel, Stephen G. 2002. *Historical Archaeology at Ephrata Cloister*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Weaver, William Woys. 1983. *Sauerkraut Yankees: Pennsylvania German Foods and Foodways*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 1986. "The Pennsylvania German House: European Antecedents and New World Forms." *Winterthur Portfolio* 21: 243–64.

———. 1993. *Pennsylvania Dutch Country Cooking*. New York: Abbeville Press.

———. 2001. *Sauer's Herbal Cures: America's First Book of Botanic Healing*. New York: Routledge.

———. 2003. *Country Scrapple*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books.

———. 2009. "The Water Gate Inn: Pennsylvania Dutch Cuisine Goes Mainstream." *Gastronomica: Journal of Food and Culture* 9: 25–31.

———. 2010. "Cake Prints, Carved Molds, and the Tradition of Decorative Confections: The Adomeit Mold Collection." *Magazine Antiques* 177 (4): 158–67.

———. 2013. *As American as Shoofly Pie: The Foodlore and Fakelore of Pennsylvania Dutch Cuisine*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Weaver-Zercher, David. 2001. *The Amish in the American Imagination*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———, ed. 2005a. *Writing the Amish: The Worlds of John A. Hostetler*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

———. 2005b. "An Uneasy Calling: John A. Hostetler and the Work of Cultural Mediation." In *Writing the Amish: The Worlds of John A. Hostetler*, edited by David Weaver-Zercher, 98–149. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Weaver-Zercher, Valerie. 2013. *Thrill of the Chaste: The Allure of Amish Romance Novels*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Weber, Samuel E. 1956. *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1754–1763: A History of the Educational Struggle between the Colonial Authorities and German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: William J. Campbell.

———. 1969. *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania*. 1905; reprint, New York: Arno Press.

Webster, Donald Blake. 1982. "Canadian Redware Pottery." *Magazine Antiques* 122 (3): 530–37.
Weigelt, Horst. 1987. "The Emigration of the Schwenkfelders from Silesia to America." In *Schwenkfelders in America: Papers Presented at the Colloquium on Schwenkfeld and the Schwenkfelders. Pennsburg, Pa., September 17–22, 1984*, edited by Peter C. Erb, 5–24. Pennsburg, PA: Schwenkfelder Library.
———. 2007. *Von Schlesien nach Amerika. Die Geschichte des Schwenckfeldertums*. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag.
Weigley, Russell F., ed. 1982. *Philadelphia: A Three Hundred Year History*. New York: W. W. Norton.
Weinlich, John. 1956. *Count Zinzendorf*. Nashville: Abingdon Press.
Weirich, James. 1960–73. Middletown, PA. Interviews by Yvonne Milspaw.
Weirich, Louella Cleland. c. 1920. Recipes. Unpublished manuscript.
———. 1960–78. Middletown, PA. Interviews by Yvonne Milspaw.
Weiser, Frederick S. 1968. "Daniel Schumacher's Baptismal Register." *Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society* 1: 185–407. Allentown: Pennsylvania German Society.
———. 1973a. *Fraktur: Pennsylvania German Folk Art*. Ephrata, PA: Science Press.
———. 1973b. "Piety and Protocol in Folk Art: Pennsylvania German Fraktur Birth and Baptismal Certificates." *Winterthur Portfolio* 8: 19–43.
———. 1980. "I A E S D: The Story of Johann Adam Eyer, Schoolmaster and Fraktur Artist." In *Ebbes fer Alle-Ebber, Ebbes fer Dich / Something for Everyone, Something for You: Essays in Memoriam Albert Franklin Buffington*, edited by Frederick S. Weiser, 435–506. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.
———. 1981. Preface to *Ebbes fer Alle-Ebber Ebbes fer Dich / Something for Everyone, Something for You: Essays in Memoriam Albert Franklin Buffington*, edited by Frederick S. Weiser, xi–xii. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.
———. 1982. "His Deeds Followed Him: The Fraktur of John Conrad Gilbert." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 16 (2): 33–45.
———. 1983. "Fraktur." In *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, by Scott T. Swank et al., 230–64. New York: W. W. Norton for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.
———. 1986. "Samuel Bentz, the 'Mount Pleasant Artist.'" *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 20 (2): 33–44.
———. 1987a. "Christian Mertel, the 'CM artist.'" *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 21 (2): 75–85.
———. 1987b. "Handlumpe, Naameduch, and Kelleduch: Embroidered Textiles among Nebraska Amish, a First Report." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 21 (1): 23–31.
———. 1988. "Ach wie ist die Welt so Toll! The Mad, Lovable World of Friedrich Krebs." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 22 (2): 49–81.
———. 1994. *The Gift Is Small, the Love Is Great*. York, PA: York Graphic Services.
Weiser, Frederick S., and Howell J. Heaney, comps. 1976. *The Pennsylvania German Fraktur of the Free Library: An Illustrated Catalogue*. 2 vols. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.
Weiser, Frederick S., and Larry M. Neff, trans. 1987. *Records of Purchases at the King George Hotel, Schaefferstown Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, 1762–1773*. Sources and Documents of the Pennsylvania Germans, no. 10. Birdsboro: Pennsylvania German Society.
Weitzel, Louise A. 1908. *A Quiver of Arrows* [Poems]. Lititz, PA: Express Printing.
Weld, Isaac. 1800. *Travels through the States of North America*. London: William L. Clements.
Wellenreuther, Hermann. 2000. "Contexts for Migration in the Early Modern World:

Public Policy, European Migrating Experiences, Transatlantic Migration, and the Genesis of American Culture." In *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America*, edited by Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson, 3–35. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

———. 2001. *Ausbildung und Neubildung. Die Geschichte Nordamerikas vom Ausgang des 17. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ausbruch der Amerikanischen Revolution 1775*. Hamburg: LIT.

———. 2013. *Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broadsides and Their Meaning for Germans in North America, 1730–1830*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Weng, Armin. 1936. "The Language Problem in the Lutheran Church in America, 1743–1820." *Church History* 5: 359–75.

Wenger, Diane E. 2002. "Saffron Use among Pennsylvania Germans: A History and Ethnography." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 36 (1): 3–20.

———. 2008. *A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania: Creating Economic Networks in Early America, 1790–1807*. University Park: Pennsylvania State Press.

Wenger, Diane, and J. Ritchie Garrison. 2004. "Commercial Vernacular Architecture." In *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920: Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, May 12–16, 2004*, edited by Nancy Van Dolsen and Sally McMurry, 88–103. Harrisburg, PA: Vernacular Architecture Forum.

Wenger, John C. 1961. *Even unto Death: The Heroic Witness of the Sixteenth Century Anabaptists*. Richmond, VA: John Knox Press.

———. 1966. *The Mennonite Church in America: Sometimes Called Old Mennonites*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.

Wentz, Abdel Ross. 1955. *A Basic History of Lutheranism in America*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press.

Wentz, Richard E. 1997. *John Williamson Nevin: American Theologian*. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2007. "Harbaugh: Heemweh un' Himmel." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 41: 33–42.

———. 2013. *Mountain Mary and Other Tales of the Pennsylvania Dutch*. Ephrata: Pennsylvania German Society.

Werner, Michael. 2007. "One Possible Future of the Pennsylvania German in the 21st Century." *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 41: 3–26.

Werner, William. 1937. "The Revival of Interest in Pennsylvania German, 1927–1937." *Morning Call* (Allentown, PA), December 11, 18.

———. 1938. "Pennsylvania German, 1927–37." *American Speech* 13: 122–27.

Wertkin, Gerard C. 1993. "The Watercolors of Durs Rudy: New Discoveries in Fraktur." *Folk Art* 18 (2): 33–39.

Weslager, C. A. 1969. *The Log Cabin in America from Pioneer Days to the Present*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

West, Doris Hippensteel. 2010. Interview with Diane Wenger.

West, Terry Royal, and Polly Allison du Pont. 2010. *The Mannerbacks: Reading's Master Silversmiths, 1785 to 1870*. Reading, PA: Reading Eagle Press.

Weygandt, Cornelius. 1929. *The Red Hills, a Record of Good Days Outdoors and In, with Things Pennsylvania Dutch*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Whaley, Joachim. 2012. *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*. Vol. 2, *The Peace of Westphalia to the Dissolution of the Reich, 1648–1806*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wheeler, Candace. 1921. *The Development of Embroidery in America*. New York: Harper & Bros.
Whisker, James Biser. 1990. *Pennsylvania Clockmakers, Watchmakers, and Allied Crafts*. Cranbury, NJ: Adams Brown.
Whitenack, Pamela Cassidy. 2006. *Hersheypark*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia.
Wickersham, James P. 1886. *A History of Education in Pennsylvania*. Lancaster, PA: Inquirer.
Wieschaus-Voss, Kathleen, ed. 2014. *The Legacy of Ferdinand A. Brader*. Canton, OH: Center for the Study of Art in Rural America.
Williams, George H. 1962. *The Radical Reformation*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
Williams, Kim-Eric. 2003. *The Journey of Justus Falckner*. New York: Lutheran Archives Center at Philadelphia.
Williams, Maynard Owen. 1952. "Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival." *National Geographic* 102: 503–16.
Wilson, Renate. 2000. *Pious Traders in Medicine: A German Pharmaceutical Network in Eighteenth-Century North America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Winebrenner, John. 1824. *The Truth Made Known; or, A Fair and Correct Account of Facts Which Have Transpired in the German Reformed Church of Harrisburg since the Fall of 1822*. Harrisburg: Michael W. McKinley.
Wisconsin v. Yoder. 1972. Legal Information Institute. http://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/406/205.
Witmer, P. B. 1860. "How to Teach the Pennsylvania Germans." *Pennsylvania School Journal* 9: 94–96.
Wittlinger, Carlton O. 1978. *Quest for Piety and Obedience: The Story of the Brethren in Christ*. Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press.
Wokeck, Marianne S. 1981. "The Flow and Composition of German Immigration to Philadelphia, 1727–1775." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105 (3): 247–78.
———. 1986a. "Promoters and Passengers: The German Immigrant Trade, 1683–1775." In *The World of William Penn*, edited by Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, 259–78. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
———. 1986b. "The Experience of Indentured Servants from Germany and Ireland: Guaranteed Employment, Educational Opportunity, or Last Resort?" *Report: A Journal of German-American History* 40: 57–76.
———. 1991. "Harnessing the Lure of 'the Best Poor Man's Country': The Dynamics of German-Speaking Immigration to British North America, 1683–1783." In *"To Make America": European Emigration in the Early Modern Period*, edited by Ida Altman and James Horn, 104–43. Berkeley: University of California Press.
———. 1999. *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
———. 2007. "The Role of the Pastor's Wife in the Pioneering Generation of Protestant German-Speaking Clergy in the American Colonies." In *Pious Pursuits: German Moravians in the Atlantic World*, edited by Michelle Gillespie and Robert Beachy, 176–90. New York: Berghahn.
———. 2008a. "Immigrant Kin and Indentured Servants: Fuel from Economic Growth in Colonial Pennsylvania." In *Backcountry Crucibles: The Lehigh Valley from Settlement to Steel*, edited by Jean R. Soderlund and Catherine S. Parzynski, 25–51. Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2008.
———. 2008b. "The Pfarrhaus as Model in Defining German-American Identities."

In *Halle Pietism, Colonial North America, And the Young United States*, edited by Hans-Jürgen Grabbe, 207–24. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Wolensky, Kenneth C., with George M. Leader. 2011. *The Life of Pennsylvania Governor George M. Leader: Challenging Complacency*. Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press.

Wolf, Emily Lynn. 2008. "Architecture Tells the Story: G. Edwin Brumbaugh and His Contributions to the Field of Restoration Architecture." MA thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

Wolf, Stephanie, G. 1976. *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683–1800*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wollenweber, Ludwig A. 1869. *Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben. Schilderungen und Aufsätze in poetischer und prosaischer Form, in Mundart und Ausdruckweise der Deutsch-Pennsylvanier*. Philadelphia and Leipzig: Schäfer & Koradi.

Wood, Jerome H., Jr. 1979. *Conestoga Crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1730–1790*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Wood, Mary C. L. 2007. "Statuary at the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and a Community with a Mission." MA thesis, University of Delaware.

Wood, Ralph Charles, ed. 1942. *The Pennsylvania Germans*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. 1945. "Pennsylvania 'High German.'" *Germanic Review* 20: 299–314.

Wood, Stacy B. C., Jr., 1976. "Rudy Stoner, 1728–1769, Early Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Clockmaker." *Journal of the Lancaster Historical Society* 80 (2): 112–27.

———. 1977. "The Hoff Family: Master Clockmakers of Lancaster Borough." *Journal of the Lancaster Historical Society* 81 (4): 169–225.

———. 1995. *Clockmakers and Watchmakers of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*. Lancaster, PA: Lancaster County Historical Society.

Wood, Stacy B. C., Jr., and Stephen E. Kramer III. 1977. *Clockmakers of Lancaster County and Their Clocks, 1750–1850, with a Study of Lancaster County Clock Cases by John J. Snyder, Jr.* New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Wood, Stacy B. C., Jr., and James Biser Whisker. 1991. *Arms Makers of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*. Bedford, PA: Old Bedford Village Press.

Wood, T. Kenneth. 1925. "Mediaeval Art among Pennsylvania Germans." *Magazine Antiques* 7 (5): 263–66.

Wust, Klaus. 1969. *The Virginia Germans*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

———. 1975. *Virginia Fraktur: Penmanship as Folk Art*. Edinburgh, VA: Shenandoah History Publishers.

Yoder, Don. 1951. "Let's Take Our Blinders Off!" *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 3 (1): 1, 5–6.

———. 1952. "Letter Dated 15 April 1952 from Aunt Sophia Bailer of Tremont, PA." *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 4: 3, 5.

———. 1955. "Through the Traveler's Eye." In *The Pennsylvania Barn*, edited by Alfred L. Shoemaker, 12–21. Lancaster: Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center.

———. 1956–57. "Spirituals from the Pennsylvania Dutch Country." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 8 (2): 22–33.

———. 1958. "Harvest Home." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 9 (4): 2–11.

———. 1959. "The Bench versus the Catechism: Revivalism and Pennsylvania's Lutheran and Reformed Churches." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 10 (2): 4–23.

———. 1961a. "The Bush Meeting Dutch." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (2): 33–37.

———. 1961b. *Pennsylvania Spirituals*. Lancaster: Pennsylvania Folklife Society.

———. 1961c. "Sauerkraut in the Pennsylvania Folk-Culture." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (2): 56–69.

———. 1962–63. "Pennsylvanians Called It Mush" *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13 (2): 27–49.
———. 1971. "Pennsylvania German Folklore Research: A Historical Analysis." In *The German Language in America: A Symposium*, edited by Glenn G. Gilbert, 76–86. Austin: University of Texas Press.
———. 1972. "Folk Cookery." In *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction*, edited by Richard M. Dorson, 325–50. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
———. 1974a. "Fraktur in Mennonite Culture." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 48: 305–42.
———. 1974b. "Twenty-Five Years of the Folk Festival." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 23 (suppl.): 2–7.
———. 1976a. "Folklife Studies in American Scholarship." In *American Folklife*, edited by Don Yoder, 3–18. Austin: University of Texas Press.
———. 1976b. "Hohman and Romanus: Origins and Diffusion of the Pennsylvania Dutch Powwow Manual." *American Folk Medicine: A Symposium*, edited by Wayland D. Hand, 235–48. Berkeley: University of California Press.
———. 1978. "The Dialect Service in the Pennsylvania German Culture." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 27 (4): 2–13.
———. 1980a. "The Pennsylvania Germans." In *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, edited by Stephan Thernstrom, Ann Orlov, and Oscar Handlin. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
———. 1980b. "Palatine, Hessian, Dutchman: Three Images of the German in America." In *Ebbes fer Alle-Ebber—Ebbes fer Dich / Something for Everyone, Something for You: Essays in Memoriam Albert Franklin Buffington*, edited by Frederick S. Weiser, 105–30. Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society.
———, ed. 1980c. *Pennsylvania German Immigrants, 1709–1786: Lists Consolidated from Yearbooks of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company.
———. 1982. "Folklife in Pennsylvania: An Historical Survey." *Keystone Folklore* 24: 8–20.
———. 1983a. "The Pennsylvania German Connection." *F&M Today* 12 (November): 8–12.
———. 1983b. "The Reformed Church and Pennsylvania German Identity." *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 18: 63–82.
———. 1984. "The Palatine Connection: The Pennsylvania German Culture and Its European Roots." In *Germans in America: Retrospect and Prospect*, edited by Randall M. Miller, 92–109. Philadelphia: German Society of Philadelphia.
———. 1985. "The Pennsylvania Germans: Three Centuries of Identity Crisis." In *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three Hundred Year History*, vol. 1, *Immigration, Language, Ethnicity*, edited by Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, 40–65. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
———. 1988. "The 'Dutchman' and the 'Deitschlenner': The New World Confronts the Old." *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 23: 1–17.
———. 1990a. *Discovering American Folklife: Studies in Ethnic, Religious, and Regional Culture*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press.
———. 1990b. *The Picture-Bible of Ludwig Denig: A Pennsylvania German Emblem Book*. New York: Hudson Hills Press.
———. 1992. "The Reformed Church and Pennsylvania German Identity." *Der Reggebooge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 26: 1–16.
———. 2001a. *Discovering American Folklife: Essays on Folk Culture and the Pennsylvania Dutch*. 1990; reprint, Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole.
———. 2001b. "The European Background of Pennsylvania's Fraktur Art." In *Bucks County Fraktur*, edited by Cory M. Amsler, 15–41. Kutztown: Pennsylvania German Society and Bucks County Historical Society.

———. 2001c. Introduction to *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays*, by Phebe Earle Gibbons, iii–xx. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole.
———. 2002. Foreword to *Sauerkraut Yankees: Pennsylvania Dutch Foods & Foodways*. 2nd ed. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole.
———. 2003. *Groundhog Day*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole.
———. 2005. *The Pennsylvania German Broadside: A History and Guide*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Yoder, Don, and Thomas E. Graves. 1989. *Hex Signs: Pennsylvania Dutch Barn Symbols and Their Meaning*. New York: E. P. Dutton for the Museum of American Folk Art.
Yoder, Don, with Vernon S. Gunnion and Carroll J. Hopf. 1969. *Pennsylvania German Fraktur and Color Drawings*. Lancaster, PA: Landis Valley Associates.
Yoder, Joseph W. 1940. *Rosanna of the Amish*. Huntingdon, PA: Yoder Publishing.
Yolen, Jane. 1939. *Raising Yoder's Barn*. Boston: Little, Brown.
Yrigoyen, Charles, Jr., and George M. Bricker, eds. 1979. *Reformed and Catholic: Selected Historical Theological Writings of Philip Schaff*. Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press.
Zelinsky, Wilbur. 1973. *The Cultural Geography of the United States*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
———. 1989. "Human Patterns." In *The Atlas of Pennsylvania*, edited by David J. Cuff, William J. Young, and Edward K. Muller, 86–91. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
———. 1992. *The Cultural Geography of the United States*. Rev. ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Zercher, Wendell R. 1992–93. "Charles E. Starry, Adams County Chair Maker." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 42 (2): 50–63.
Zimmerman, Philip D. 2002. "Mahantongo Blanket Chests." *Magazine Antiques* 162 (4): 160–69.
———. 2010. *Harmony in Wood: Furniture of the Harmony Society*. Ambridge, PA: Friends of Old Economy Village.
Zimmerman, T. C. 1891. "Puritan and Cavalier, Why Not Pennsylvania Germans?" *Proceedings and Addresses of Pennsylvania German Society* 1: 36–47.
Zirkle, Paul. 1975–78. Middletown, PA. Interviews by Yvonne Milspaw.
Zook, Ellrose D., ed. 1960. *Mennonite Yearbook and Directory*. Scottdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House.
Zukin, Sharon. 2004. *Point of Purchase: How Shopping Changed American Culture*. New York: Routledge.

This page intentionally left blank

SIMON J. BRONNER is distinguished professor of American studies and folklore and chair of the American studies program at Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg. The author and editor of over thirty-five books, his titles include *Popularizing Pennsylvania*, the *Encyclopedia of American Folklife*, and *Explaining Traditions: Folk Behavior in Modern Culture*. He received the Pennsylvania German Society's Award of Merit for lifetime contributions to Pennsylvania German studies.

JOSHUA R. BROWN is associate professor of German at the University of Wisconsin–Eau Claire. He is the coeditor of *The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary* and the coauthor of *Schwetz mol Deitsch: Introductory Pennsylvania Dutch Course*. He has authored articles on Amish society and culture as well as on the Pennsylvania German language.

R. TROY BOYER teaches history and American studies at Lebanon Valley College and was formerly executive director of the Pennsylvania German Society. He has published in *Der Reggeboge, Pennsylvania Folklife,* and *Folklore Historian*.

EDSEL BURDGE JR. is a research associate at the Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies, Elizabethtown College. He is coauthor of *Building on the Gospel Foundation: The Mennonites of Franklin County, Pennsylvania and Washington County, Maryland, 1730–1970*.

WILLIAM W. DONNER is professor of anthropology at Kutztown University. He was editor of *Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* and *Pennsylvania German Review*. He is the author of *Serious Nonsense: Groundhog Lodges, Versammlinge, and Pennsylvania German Heritage*.

JOHN B. FRANTZ is associate professor emeritus at Penn State University Park. He is the coeditor of *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland* and the author of numerous book chapters and articles on Pennsylvania religious leaders.

MARK HÄBERLEIN is professor of early modern history at the Otto-Friedrich-University Bamberg, Germany. He is the author of *The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1820* and *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany*.

KAREN M. JOHNSON-WEINER is distinguished service professor emerita of anthropology at the State University of New York at Potsdam. She is the author of *Train Up a Child: Old Order Amish and Mennonite Schools* and *New York Amish: Life in the Plain Communities of the Empire State* and coauthor of *The Amish* with Donald Kraybill and Steven Nolt.

DONALD B. KRAYBILL is distinguished college professor and senior fellow emeritus at the Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies of Elizabethtown College. He is the author and editor of many books, including *The Riddle of Amish Culture* and *The Concise Encyclopedia of Amish, Brethren, Hutterites, and Mennonites*. He was the founding series editor for the Young Center Books in Anabaptist and Pietist Studies published by Johns Hopkins University Press.

DAVID W. KRIEBEL is assistant professor of anthropology at Millersville University. He is the author of *Powwowing among the Pennsylvania Dutch: A Traditional Medical Practice in the Modern World* and articles on healing, religion, and national security.

GABRIELLE LANIER is professor of history at James Madison University. She is the author of *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic: Architecture, Landscape, and Regional Identity* and coauthor of *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes*.

MARK L. LOUDEN is professor of German and director of the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. He is the author of *Pennsylvania Dutch: The Story of an American Language* and has developed the websites padutch.net and American Languages: Our Nation's Many Voices Online.

YVONNE J. MILSPAW is senior professor emeritus of English and humanities and former director of the honors scholars program at Harrisburg Area Community College. She has published her work in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, *Journal of American Folklore*, *Pioneer America*, and *International Folklore Review*.

LISA MINARDI is an assistant curator at the Winterhur Museum. She is the author of *Pastors and Patriots: The Muhlenberg Family of Pennsylvania, Drawn with Spirit: Pennsylvania German Fraktur from the Joan and Victor Johnson Collection,* and *A Colorful Folk: Pennsylvania Germans and the Art of Everyday Life,* and coauthor of *Paint, Pattern, and People: Furniture of Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1725–1850*. She received awards of merit from the Goschenhoppen Historians in 2016 and the Pennsylvania German Society in 2012.

STEVEN M. NOLT is professor of history and senior scholar at the Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies at Elizabethtown College and is the author of more than a dozen books, including *A History of the Amish* and *Foreigners in Their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic*.

CANDACE KINTZER PERRY is curator of collections at the Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center. She is the author of *Cotton in Pennsylvania German Life*.

SHEILA ROHRER teaches courses on literature at the Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg. She has served as public programs coordinator at the Heritage Center of Lancaster County and a teacher at Linville Hill Mennonite School.

DIANE WENGER is associate professor of history and cochair of global cultures: history, languages and philosophy at Wilkes University. She is the author of *The Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania: Creating Networks in the Early American Economy, 1790–1807*.

This page intentionally left blank

Aaron's Way (television series), 450–51
Abstract Design in American Quilts (exhibition), 285
Ache, Samuel, 261, 262
advertisements, 82, 148, 149, 248, 425, 445
African Americans, 41, 76, 168, 362, 375, 378, 408, 435, 446, 453–54
Agricultural Area Security Law (1981), 75
agriculture, xii, 9, 184–95; Amish, 148, 158, 188, 190, 192, 193–94; and architecture, 184–85, 187, 189–90, 193, 209, 217–18, 219; commercialization of, 189–93, 204, 219, 220, 224; and community, 158, 161, 179, 190; crops in, 190–91, 219; early practices in, 45–46, 188–89; English, 45, 46; and identity, 54, 55, 63, 179, 204; improvements in, 187–88, 189, 203, 226; livestock in, 186, 191–92, 219, 220; and local government, 62, 191; manure in, 186, 192–93; mechanization of, 191, 221, 223; mixed, 186–87; occupations outside of, 125, 179, 192–94; in romantic literature, 176, 177; and slavery, 65; and stereotypes, 206–9, 443; and tourism, 12, 72, 194, 414, 416, 417. *See also* barns; land
Alberti, Johann Philip, 253
Albertus Magnus, 345, 346
Albrecht, Andreas, 260
Albrecht, Charles, 260
Albrecht, Johann, 198
Albrecht Leute (Albright People), 145
Albright, Edwin, 68
Albright, Henry, 260
Albright, Jacob, 144–45
Albright, William, 144
Alderfer, E. Gordon, 139
almanacs, 43, 165, 172, 198, 259, 352
Alsace-Lorraine, ix, 26, 53
Amana Society, 137
Amelung, John Frederick, 247
Americana Germanica (monograph series), 9
American Folklife Center (Library of Congress), 366
American Revolution, 87, 198, 302; and diaspora to Canada, 50; and German immigrants, 44, 51; Hessians in, 373; influence of, 89–90, 144; in literature, 167, 172
Amish, 148–63; and agriculture, 148, 158, 188, 190, 192, 193–94; and Anabaptists, 14, 150–52, 409n1; Andy Weaver, 160; architecture of, 143, 152, 154, 221; and automobiles, 121–22, 157, 179; and baptism, 108, 150–54, 155, 162; Beachy, 111, 119, 120, 121–22, 126, 150, 157; and beards, 135, 151, 156; beliefs and rituals of, 152–54; benefits of being, 161–62; and Bible, 111, 150, 153, 154, 160; and change, 158–63; children of, 156–57, 158, 159, 161; church districts of, 111–12, 115; church services of, 154, 155; in Civil War, 66; clothing of, 111, 117, 135, 150, 151, 154, 156–58, 174, 176, 305; and comedy, 458; communities of, 150, 152–56, 158, 161, 162, 178; conflicts among, 160–61; conservative vs. progressive, 156–60; and consumerism, 162, 179, 441, 456; crafts of, 200, 230, 231, 235, 287, 300; and cultural revival, 75, 76; culture of, 149–50, 154–58, 174–81; defections from, 160, 162; and *Deitsch*, 81, 83, 86, 87, 98, 105, 106, 111–14, 122–23, 128n7, 129n16, 148, 154, 183; diaspora of, 59, 65, 98, 112–15, 122, 148, 159, 163, 204, 296; diversity of, xii, 150, 156, 158–59, 160, 179; and Dutchiness, 73; and education, 14, 153, 154, 158–61, 174–75, 393, 403–4, 456; and the "English," 111, 152, 153, 163, 174; and English language, 111, 122, 156, 158; films on, 417, 441, 447–48, 450, 452, 460; funerals of, 155; geographic distribution of, 126, 127; and German language, 111, 125, 155; and heritage events, 62, 417, 434; and identity, 76, 148; isolation of, 132, 147, 151, 152; and land, 75, 151, 159, 193, 194; in literature, 162, 172, 174–81; and media, 441, 447–48, 451–53, 456–59; and medicine, 341, 358; and Mennonites, 109, 151, 153, 162; migrations of, 112, 151–52, 163; and modernity, 149–50, 175, 180, 285; music of, 153, 160, 453–54, 463, 464; New Order (Amish Brotherhood), 150, 160; in non-farming occupations, 158–59; origins of, 14, 135, 150–52; in Pennsylvania, 112–15, 122, 151–52, 456; in popular culture, 160, 162, 441, 446, 449, 457; population of, 76, 111–14, 150, 160; quilts of, xii, 281–82, 284, 285, 295; in romance novels, 162, 164, 178, 180–81; and shunning, 135, 143, 151, 180; social organization of, 154–58; stereotypes of, 161–62, 174, 175, 447; studies of, 7, 14, 148–49, 162–63, 388; and study of

Amish (cont.)
folklore, 366, 380; survival of, 76, 163; Swartzentruber, 157; Swiss, 111, 112, 113; Tampico, 109, 119–20, 122, 126, 127, 129n16; and technology, 111, 150, 154–55, 158–59, 160, 174, 176, 179, 180, 193, 392; and telephones, 122, 123; and tourism, 12, 72, 148, 162, 180, 413–17, 454–56, 460; Troyer, 157
Amish, Old Order, 14, 150; cultural appropriation of, 432; and decorative arts, 230; and *Deitsch*, 81, 83, 86, 105, 111–14, 183; and education, 393, 403–4; and heritage events, 417, 434; in literature, 174; in media, 452–53; and medicine, 341, 358; and technology, 157, 392; and tourism, 413–17
Amish, The (television program), 460
Amish, The: A People of Preservation (film), 460
Amish Confidential (Stoltzfus), 449
Amish in the City (television program), 449
Amish Mafia (television program), 449
Amish-Mennonite Conference Line, 122–23, 129nn21–22, 130n23
Amish Mennonites. *See* Amish
Amish Outlaws (music group), 463, 464
"Amish Paradise" (music video), 453–54
Ammann, Jacob, 134–35, 151
Anabaptists, 7, 15, 108–30, 409n1; and Amish, 14, 150–52; and baptism, 134, 151; and civil government, 134, 150; culture of, 108, 109, 110; *Deitsch*-speaking, 83, 126–27; diversity of, 159, 391–92; and education, 391, 404; and English language, 110, 111, 125, 128; geographic distribution of, 108, 121, 126–27, 151; and heritage events, 417; in literature, 172, 175; music of, 153; non-*Deitsch* dialects of, 110–11; vs. other groups, 131, 134, 135; persecution of, 151, 153, 166; and Pietists, 137; population growth of, 108; in Switzerland, 134, 151
Anburey, Thomas, 207
Anna, Countess of Oldenburg, 134
Antiquarian Exposition (1884), 281
antiques trade, 70–71, 424, 426
Apprentice to Murder (film), 444
architecture, xi, xii, 71, 131, 205–27; and agriculture, 184–85, 187, 189–90, 193, 209, 217–18, 219; Amish, 143, 152, 154, 221; ancillary houses, 222–23; cellars, 209, 222; chimneys, 214; of churches and meetinghouses, 143; construction features of, 205, 210–12; domestic, 209–18; at Ephrata, 140; examples of, 10–11, 71, 212–13, 274, 275, 431; *Fachwerk* construction, 205, 210–12; *Flurk chenhaus* (three-room, *Ernhaus* plan), 214; and food, 326–28; Georgian, 216–17; German and English, 224; hybrid forms of, 217, 218, 220; and identity, 56, 417; log cabins, 6–7; ornamentation on, 212, 241, 274; outbuildings, 218–23; roof construction, 210; and social interaction, 216, 221, 225; southern, 63; studies of, 9, 13, 15, 228, 364. *See also* barns
Arkansas, 115, 119, 121, 126
Arnold, Gottfried, 139
Arthur (Illinois), 159–60
arts, decorative folk, xii, 228–63; bone and ivory, 254–55; and class, 190; clockmaking, 258–59; and diaspora, 231, 262–63; at Ephrata, 140; vs. fine arts, 264, 274; firearms, 198–99, 260–61; glassware, 246–48; and heritage, 411, 421, 424; horn, 199–200, 255–56, 433–34; and identity, 218, 230, 251; influences on, 147, 289; and interior decoration, 274, 275, 284; leather, 257–58; metalwork, 10, 11, 212, 248–54; mixed media, 258–61; motifs in, 228–29, 235, 244–46, 251, 253, 255, 256, 263; in museums, 10–11, 229, 230, 281, 424; musical instruments, 260–61; of New England, 10–11; and religion, 131, 229, 231, 263; in southern communities, 63; studies of, 6, 228–31, 261–63; and tourism, 414; urban high-style, 229, 230; in wood, 231–43. *See also* ceramics; crafts; furniture; textile arts
arts and crafts movement, 228
Asatru (neo-pagan group), 354
Asbury, Francis, 144
Asseba und Sabina (radio series), 427, 428, 436, 438, 446
assimilation: of Church groups, 392, 395, 439n3; and clothing, 306, 392; vs. controlled acculturation, 230; and cultural change, 206; vs. cultural maintenance, 75, 437, 441; and decorative arts, 228, 230, 300; and *Deitsch*, 147, 392; and education, 390–93, 394, 396, 402–4, 408, 409; and folklore, 362, 379, 388; and food, 340; of German immigrants, 45, 51, 52; and heritage, 412, 417; and identity, 53, 54, 67–68, 71; and popular culture, 442–43, 467; in rural vs. urban areas, 67; in World War I, 69
Augsburger, Walter, 193–94
Aurand, A. Monroe, Jr., 101–2, 444, 459, 460
Ausbund (Amish hymnal), 130n27, 153, 283
Austria, 27, 111, 136
automobiles, 121–22, 157, 179, 199, 221, 224

Babb, Mathias, 252
Bach, Jeff, 137, 139, 140, 407
Bachman family, 239
Baehr, Anna Ruth Ediger, 181
Baer, George F., 68, 202, 400, 403
Baer, Samuel, 400, 403
Bahn, Rachel, 92, 106, 169
Bailer, "Aunt" Sophia, 347
Bainton, Roland, 132
Bakhtin, Mikhail, 467
Baltimore, Lord, 48–49
Bamberger family, 297
baptism, 137, 145, 265, 270; adult, 150–51; and Amish, 108, 150–54, 155, 162; and Anabaptists, 134, 151; and children, 128nn1–2, 153; and Dunkers, 142; and Reformation, 132
baptismal certificates (*Taufschein*), 57, 265, 266, 267, 270
Baptist Brethren. *See* Dunkers (Baptist Brethren)
Baptists. *See* Anabaptists; Seventh Day Baptists
Barba, Preston A., 11, 100, 169, 173, 362, 406, 426–27, 436, 437
Barber, Edwin Atlee, 228, 243–44, 245, 420–21
Bare, Kendig, 452

barns, 185–87, 189, 218–22; bank, 205, 208–9, 219–21; and culture, 227; diffusion of, 219–20; vs. dwellings, 207–8; ornamentation on, 274, 364, 382, 383, 389; and stereotypes, 208–9; Sweitzer, 221–22. *See also* hex signs
Barrett, Bruce, 241
Bartgis, Matthias, 351
Bartlett, Virginia, 314
Baum, Walter Emerson, 230
Bauman, Richard, 432
Baumann, Matthias, 137
Bausher, Peter, 343
Beachy, Moses M., 120, 121
Beachy Amish Mennonites, 111, 119, 120, 121–22; Midwest, 109, 122, 126, 128n7
Beam, C. Richard, 16, 100, 198, 374, 406, 407, 410n13
beards, 117, 119, 120, 135, 151, 156
Beaver, James A., 9
Beck, John Philip, 260
Behrent, Johann Michael, 260
Beidelman, William, 364
Beiler, Joseph, 152
Beiler, Rosalind, 32, 165
Beissel, Conrad, 7, 43, 139–41, 166
Beissel, James D., 346
Beissel, William Wilson, 346
Beitler, Jacob, 267
Belestier, Wolcott, 167
Belize, 118, 120, 121, 122, 126, 128n5
Bell, John, 243
Bell, Peter, 243
Bell, Samuel, 243
Bell, Solomon, 243
Benshoff, Harry M., 462
Bergengren, Charles, 216, 225
Berger, Warren, 403–4
Bergholz hate crimes, 161
Bernhart & Company: Shenandoah Valley Folk Art Fraktur (exhibition; 2011), 269
Beyer, Nicholas, 260
Bible, 137, 138, 172; and Amish, 111, 150, 153, 154, 160; and clothing, 306; Ezekiel 16:6, 345, 347; and fraktur, 266, 271; and powwowing, 344–45; and printing, 166, 198; translations of, 105, 110, 111, 125, 132
Bicentennial of American Independence (1976), 14, 73, 268
Bilardi, Chris, 347, 356, 357
Billmeyer, Michael, 198
Bingham, George Caleb, 278
Bird, Michael S., 271–72
Birdseye, Clarence, 315
Birmelin, John, 362
Bishop, J. Leander, 301
Bittenger, Lucy, 138
Bixler, Absalom, 245
Black Rock (Korson), 202
Blake, Katharine Evans, 173
Blosser, Gary, 122
Blymire, John, 443
Boehm, John Philip, 141–42
Boehme, Jacob, 138, 139
Bohemian Brethren. *See* Moravians
Boonastiel (Harter), 168
Boonastiel, Gottlieb (Thomas Harter), 419
Borgnine, Ernest, 452
Borie, Beauveau, 190
Borneman, Henry S., 266, 268, 271
Bowman, Carl, 70
Boyer, Harry, 192–93
Boyer, John Palm, 241
Boyer, Melville J., 99
Boyer, R. Troy, xii, 433
Boyer, Walter, 377–78
Brader, Ferdinand A., 278, 279, 280
Bradford, Andrew, 198
Brand, Millen, 184
Breaking Amish (television program), 449
Bred in the Bone (Singmaster), 172
Breininger, Lester, 246, 433
Brendle, Thomas, 342, 351, 352, 370–77, 427, 428, 437
Brethren, 7, 108, 305, 404, 409n1, 413; Church of the, 61, 137. *See also* Dunkers (Baptist Brethren); Evangelical United Brethren; River Brethren, Old Order; United Brethren in Christ
broadsides, 270–71, 273
Brobst, Samuel, 400
Bronner, Simon J., xi, xiii, 1, 14, 15, 53, 64, 186, 251, 336, 361, 406, 407, 441
Brosius, Homer, 382–83
Brotherhood of the Union, 167
Brown, Charles Brockden, 166–67
Brown, Joshua R., x, xii, 1, 16, 148, 407
Brumbaugh, G. Edwin, 7, 224, 225
Brumbaugh, Martin, 61, 62, 394, 396, 402, 403
Bruner, Edward M., 432
Brunner, Hattie, 71, 285, 424, 426
Brunstetter, Wanda, 180
Buck, Roy, 406, 413, 414
Buffington, Albert F., 11, 81, 100, 374–75, 377–78, 406, 436
buggies, horse-drawn, 83, 109na, 110, 117, 119, 154, 157, 179
Burdge, Edsel, Jr., xii, 83
Burke, Susan M., 64
Bush Meeting Dutch, 146
"Busy Season, The" (painting; Schrock), 387
Büttner, Carl, 40

Calvin, John, 133–34
Calvinism, 133, 134
capitalism, 55, 178; and cultural hegemony, 454, 455; and education, 390–91, 403; and family farm, 184, 186, 188
Carnegie Steel Company, 202
Carpenter, Steven P., 462

Carson, Cary, 56
Cates, James, 163
Catholicism, 131, 143, 144, 369; and Counter-Reformation, 27; and immigrants, 4, 29, 43; and powwowing, 342, 345, 346–47; and Reformation, 132–33, 150; and Schwenkfelders, 135
Cazenove, Theophile, 207, 216
celibacy, 139–40, 166
Centennial of American Independence (1876), 68, 92, 202, 405, 420
ceramics, 243–46
Chandler, Thomas Bradbury, 50
Chappell, Edward, 218, 226
Chase, Erin, 451
Chicago World's Fair. *See* Columbian Exposition (1892)
Child Labor Act (1905), 61
children: Amish, 156–57, 158, 159, 161; and baptism, 128nn1–2, 153; books for, 164, 176–80; in literature, 172
Chopin, Kate, 170
Christ, Rudolph, 245
Christianity, 342–47, 349, 353–58, 360. *See also* Catholicism; Protestantism; Reformation, Protestant
Christiansbrunn (Christian's Spring), 260
churches and meetinghouses, 57–58, 143, 152, 154
Church groups: assimilation of, 392, 395, 439n3; and education, 391, 393–403, 405, 408–9; and heritage, 413, 432; and powwowing, 353; vs. sectarians, 131–32, 142, 144, 391, 393. *See also* Catholicism; Lutherans; Moravians; Reformed Church
Church of God, 146, 378
Cipha, L. U., 445
Cist, Carl, 198
Civilian Public Service (CPS) program, 70
Civil War, American, 65–67, 96, 172, 190, 199
Cleland, Alice Eichelberger, 332
Clemmer, Howard, 255
clothing, 305–10; of Amish, 111, 117, 135, 150, 151, 154, 156–58, 174, 176, 305; of Anabaptists, 110; and assimilation, 306, 392; braided-straw hats, 242; and education, 404; and fashion, 308–9; generational differences in, 309; at Goschenhoppen Folk Festival, 307, 432; of Old Order Mennonites, 117, 119, 120; and radical Pietists, 140; shoes, 257–58
Cobbett, William, 207
colleges and universities, 61–62, 175, 183, 241, 399, 404, 405, 406–7, 424, 436. *See also* Elizabethtown College; Franklin and Marshall College; Kutztown University; Muhlenberg College; Pennsylvania, University of; Pennsylvania State University
Collins, Marjory, 291
colonial revival movement, 71, 228, 266, 282
Colonial Williamsburg, 432
Colorful Folk, A: Pennsylvania Germans and the Art of Everyday Life (exhibition), 230
Columbian exhibition (1795), 275
Columbian Exposition (1892), 57
comedy, 168, 458–59, 465
commercialization, 75, 450; of agriculture, 189–93, 204, 219, 220, 224; and Amish diversity, 159; and cultural hegemony, 455; of heritage events, 432–33; and media, 448, 451, 460, 467; of popular culture, 446; and tourism, 414–17
Communion. *See* Lord's Supper (Holy Communion, Eucharist)
communities, church (congregations): Amish (*Gmay*), 150, 152–56, 158, 161, 162, 178; fellowshipping, 117, 152, 155, 156; redemptive, 14, 131, 149, 152, 160, 388, 453; social contract in, 160–61; and work, 158, 161
Conestoga wagon, 11, 189, 199, 258
Congregational-Christian Churches, 147
Conservative Conference Mennonite Church, 182
consumerism: and Amish, 162, 179, 441, 456; and folk art, 251, 386; and Groundhog Day, 465–66; and hypermodernity, 178; and identity, 55; and media, 454; in portraits, 277; and quilts, 282–84, 289; transatlantic, 270–71; and Wanamaker's, 202
Contented of the God-Loving Soul (Hermits on the Wissahickon), 138–39
conversion experience, 136, 139, 145
cookbooks, 312, 314, 330–32, 333, 350, 352
Coolio (hip-hop artist), 453–54
Cooper, Wendy, 232
Cope, Gilbert, 280
Core, Arthur, 144
"Courier of the Czar, The" (Singmaster), 172–73
Coxe, Tench, 196
crafts, xi, xii, 195–201; Amish, 200, 230, 231, 235, 287, 300; and authenticity, 284, 286–87; basket making, 201, 241–42, 243, 383–84; ceramics, 6, 10, 243–46, 421, 433; and cultural borrowing, 437; decline of, 203; eggshell, 256–57; and heritage events, 417, 432, 433–34; and identity, 54, 55, 74, 204; and immigrants, 26, 28, 45; proto-industrial, 26, 195–201; regionalism in, 64–65, 228, 231, 232, 235, 239, 243, 245, 294, 386; studies of, 11, 13, 14, 15, 256, 434; and trade, 56, 245, 287. *See also* arts, decorative folk; furniture; textile arts
Cremin, Lawrence, 395
Cresap's War, 49
Croll, Philip C., 420
Cronk, Sandra, 154
Crouse, Charles Michael, 256
Crouse, G. Atlee, 256
Crouse family, 199–200
cultural hegemony, 403, 450, 454–56
culture, popular: Amish in, 160, 162, 441, 446, 449, 457; and assimilation, 442–43, 467; and authenticity, 459–60; and crafts, 251, 382, 386, 443–44; and domestication, 453; as empowering, 456–57; vs. folk culture, 366–67, 446; and folk festivals, 441; and folklore, 376, 388–89; and Groundhog Day, 466; massification by, 462; and media,

xiii, 441–67; and modernization, 160; in music, 462–64; and Pennsylvania Germans, xi, 15, 54, 100, 101, 408, 445, 448, 450; stereotypes in, 446–47, 467
Cunz, Dieter, 64, 65
Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania (Curious news of Pennsylvania; Falckner), 29, 165
Curry, John, 443
Curtis, Frank, 451

D'Antonio, Michael, 202
"Das alt Schulhaus an der Krick" (The old schoolhouse at the creek; Harbaugh), 92–93, 169
Day, Sherman, 59
de Angeli, Marguerite, 176–77, 178, 179
Deetz, James, 216, 225, 324
Defoe, Daniel, 22
Deitsch ("Dutch," Pennsylvania German language), 79–130; and academia, 436; and Amish, 81, 83, 86, 87, 98, 105, 106, 111–14, 122–23, 128n7, 129n16, 148, 154, 183; and assimilation, 147, 392; in church services, 58–59, 109, 110, 122, 125, 128, 427; classes in, 183, 434, 462; and comedy, 102–3, 458; decline of, 120–25, 128, 438; as dialect, 68, 79–80; dialects of, 8, 13; dictionary of, 374; early history of, 84–88; and economic issues, 89, 92, 103; in education, 59–60, 95, 98–99, 392–93, 396, 397–98; and English language, 81–82, 84–87, 89, 90, 92, 95, 97, 101, 103–6; and folklife, 361–63, 365, 366, 370, 374, 376, 380, 381; and gatherings, 375, 424; geographic distribution of, 83–84, 121; and German language, 68, 79–82, 84–90, 101, 108–9, 168, 365; and Groundhog Lodges, 423–24, 465; and heritage, 412; and heritage events, 422, 434; and identity, xi, 2–5, 51–52, 56, 427; on Internet, 75, 438; on Kutztown monument, 420; literacy in, 95–96; literature in, xii, 9, 87, 88–97, 98, 105, 164, 168–70, 183, 418–19; and Lutherans, 83, 86, 87, 108; and marriage, 84, 98, 99, 103; and Mennonites, 83, 86, 87, 93, 98, 116, 117–20, 183; in newspapers, 85, 87–89, 99–100, 106–7, 166, 168, 169, 173, 393, 418, 419, 422, 423, 426–27, 436; in nineteenth century, 88–97; nonsectarian users of, 83–84, 86–87, 93, 99, 100, 103, 107, 148; as oral language, 87–88, 98, 105, 110, 164; orthography of, x; and Palatinate, 74, 79, 80, 365; in parallel translations, 130n27; patterns of change in, 103–4; and Pennsylvania German Society, 9; poetry in, 91–93, 99–100, 106, 168, 169, 170, 182, 393, 418; and powwowing, 349, 354, 357; on radio, 427, 428, 436–38, 446; and Reformed Church, 83, 86, 87, 92, 108; revival of, 71, 72–74; social status of, 85–86; and stereotypes, 88, 90, 95, 102–3, 442; structure of, 80–82; studies of, 15, 16, 100–101, 419; on telephones, 122–23, 125; on television, 438, 450; in twentieth century, 98–107; in World War I, 69; written, 3, 87–97, 399
Demuth, Charles, 230
Denmark, 34, 136
"Der Alt Professor" (column; Earl Haag), 183
Der Lange Verborgene Freund (Hohman), 312, 345, 346, 444
Derr, Peter, 249
de Turk, John, 7
Devil's Playground (film), 448
diaspora, Pennsylvania German, ix, x, xi; of Amish, 59, 65, 98, 112–15, 122, 148, 159, 163, 204, 296; of Anabaptists, 108, 121, 126–27; and black walnut trees, 45–46; to Canada, xi, 50–51, 52, 64, 65, 108, 109, 110–11, 114–15, 116, 118–19, 119–21, 126, 127, 128n5, 181, 431; to Caribbean, 108; to Central America, 108, 118, 120–22, 126, 128n5; and crafts, 204, 231, 262–63; cultural landscapes in, 143, 206, 225; and culture, 63–65, 76; and *Deitsch*, 83, 87, 121, 123, 126; and early German immigrants, 45; factors in, 48, 50, 112, 114, 116, 204; and folklore, 367, 371, 378–79, 389; food in, 322; and heritage events, 431; and literature, 183; and media, 450, 461, 467; of Mennonites, 50, 65, 109, 119, 204; to Mexico, xi, 108, 128n5; to Midwest, 13, 52, 53, 64, 98, 111, 113–22, 126, 128n9, 129n15, 137, 225, 414; nineteenth-century, 53; to Northeast, 65, 115, 121, 126, 127, 159; from Pennsylvania, 47–51, 54; to South, 52, 63–65, 112–15, 117–22, 126, 127, 143; studies on, xiii, 14, 15, 16, 17, 367; to West, 13, 53, 65, 112–16, 121, 126, 127, 159, 204, 210. *See also* New England; Ontario (Canada); Virginia
Dickert, Jacob, 260
Dickinson, John, 43
Die Schwador Schalle (The Swatara Sounds), 74
Dietrich, Daisy, 356
Die Wunnernaas (radio program; The curious one), 427, 428
Diffenderffer, Frank R., 68
Dissinger, Moses, 373
Dock, Christopher, 271, 395–96
Doerflinger, Thomas M., 55
Donges, Mary Ann, 298
Donmoyer, Patrick, 440n16
Donner, William, xii, xiii, 390, 411, 424, 465
Dordrecht Confession of Faith (1632), 153
Douglas, Mary, 311, 335, 338, 339, 340
Doutrich, Paul, 49
Downs, Joseph, 11, 424
Dr. Dre, 463
Drissel, John, 235
Dr. Phil (television program), 449
Dubbs, Joseph H., 405
Dulany, Daniel, 49
Dundes, Alan, 372, 376
Dunkers (Baptist Brethren), 64, 66, 132, 137, 139–45, 147
du Pont, Henry Francis, 71, 285, 424
Durnbaugh, Donald, 137, 143
Dutch (term), x–xi, 12, 79–80, 361, 367
Dutch East India Company, 34
Dutchiness, x–xi, 73–76; of crafts, 290, 300, 310; and folklore, 367, 376; and food, 340; and groundhogs, 465; and identity, 16–17, 74, 389; and powwowing, 343
Dutch language, x, 37. See also *Deitsch* ("Dutch," Pennsylvania German language)

Eakins, Thomas, 278
Earnest, Corinne and Russell, 269
Ebner, Heinrich, 198
Eckstein, Johann, 241
Edict of Nantes (1685), 137
education, xii, 390–410; and Amish, 14, 153, 154, 158–61, 174–75, 393, 403–4, 456; and assimilation, 390–93, 394, 396, 402–4, 408, 409; bilingual, 394–95, 398, 399, 400, 401–2; and Church groups, 391, 393–403, 405, 408–9; and culture, 59, 390–91, 394, 396, 398, 399, 403, 404, 409; and diversity, 390–94, 396, 408, 409; and elites, 390–91, 403, 405; and folklore, 362, 368; and Hershey Chocolate Company, 57; higher, 395, 404–9; home-schooling movement in, 410n11; and identity, 53, 63, 392; of immigrants, 28, 39, 43–44; and language, 59–61, 95, 98–99, 110, 169, 198, 390–405, 409; laws on, 396–97, 403; and Old Order groups, 16, 116, 120–21; in Pennsylvania German studies, 16; and politics, 59, 61, 62; and powwowing, 344; religion in, 391, 392, 395, 404; of religious leaders, 142; and school shooting, 123, 456–57; separate vs. state-run, 3, 59, 177, 294, 391, 393, 396–97, 403, 404, 444; sources on, 393–95; and stereotypes, 67, 444; of women, 292, 293–94, 295, 296, 299
Ege, George, 197
Egge, Marion, 64
Egle, William, 9, 68
Eichholtz, Jacob, 230, 252, 274–75
Eichoff, Jürgen, 48
Eighth and Ninth Books of Moses, 346
Eileschpiggel (trickster figure), 371–72
Einsig, Percy, 446
Eisenhower, Dwight David, 69
Electric Amish (music group), 463
Elizabethtown College, 83, 404, 407
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 169
Endy, Benjamin, 303
Engel, Jacob, 145
England: Calvinism in, 133; and crafts, 232, 260; cultural landscapes in, 205; culture of, 53, 54, 56, 206, 230, 332, 339, 365; and early immigrants, 2, 37, 42, 44; imports from, 250; and land disputes, 49; loyalty to, 2, 42; and textiles, 281, 287, 291, 293
"English," the (non-Pennsylvania Germans): agricultural practices of, 45, 46; and Amish, 111, 150, 152, 153, 163, 174; architecture of, 7, 206; and automobiles, 179; avoidance of, 2, 65, 123, 463; cooperation with, 125, 306; culture of, 54, 206; and dialect literature, 169; and education, 44, 397; and folklore, 372, 376, 385, 386; food of, 338; vs. German immigrants, 1, 36, 43; and heritage events, 417; Mexican immigrants as, 128n9; and Pennsylvania German identity, 52; and textiles, 288
English language: American, 81–82; and Amish, 111, 122, 156, 158; and Anabaptists, 110, 111, 125, 128; in church services, 109; and *Deitsch*, 81–82, 84–87, 89, 90, 92, 95, 97, 101, 103–6; and dialect literature, 168, 169; and early immigrants, 2, 6, 41, 43, 45; in education, 3, 59–60, 177, 390–403, 404, 405; Ferhoodled, 101; and food, 320, 324; global use of, 79; and groundhog events, 423; and heritage, 438; and identity, 63; and language change, 123–24; literacy in, 105; literature in, 124, 164, 170, 392–93, 419; and Old Order groups, 116, 118, 139; publishing in, 124, 198; and religion, 58–59, 67
En Quart Millch un en Halb Beint Raahm (play; Iobst), 422
environmental issues, 147, 162, 342, 352, 357–60, 380, 456
Ephrata Cloister, 43, 72, 132, 139–41, 198, 431; architecture of, 7, 225; bound book from, 257; and fraktur, 166, 263, 265, 271; furniture of, 238, 239
Ephrata Society, 266
Ermentrout, John, 398–99
ethnicity: and architecture, 218, 220, 224; in Civil War, 66–67; and crafts, 238, 274, 305; and education, 44, 392; and folklore, 361, 365, 367, 376, 377, 382, 388; and food, 315, 340; German, xi, 8, 10, 11, 36, 43, 59, 60, 69–70, 76, 319, 421–22; and heritage, 412–13, 417–18; and identity, 55, 56, 63, 205–6, 439n2; in painting, 277, 279; and stereotypes, 1–2, 36, 43, 44, 54, 67–68, 396, 402, 442; studies of, 13, 149, 408, 434, 436
Europe: connections with, 141–42, 144, 165; cultural influence of, 273, 311; internal migration in, 34; magic in, 345, 346; migration from, x, 22, 38; sectarians in, xi, 21–35, 136, 144, 151, 152. *See also* England; France; Germany; Netherlands
Evangelical and Reformed Church, 147, 353
Evangelical Association, 145
Evangelical churches, 146
Evangelical Congregational Church, 378
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA), 147
Evangelical Synod, 147
Evangelical United Brethren, 145, 378
Eve's Striptease (Kasdorf), 182
excommunication (*Bann*), 154, 155. *See also* shunning (*Meidung*, avoidance)
Eyer, Johann Adam, 267, 269

Fabian, Monroe, 232, 235, 262
Falckner, Daniel, 29, 165
Falk, Cynthia, 56, 227, 230
family registers, 267, 272, 297–98
"Fancy" (term), 177, 239, 245, 251; for people, 86, 149, 353, 391
Farm at Coventry, 353, 357, 359
Faust, Albert, 171
Federalists, 60
Fegley, H. Winslow, 223–24, 279, 307, 328, 336
Fell, O. S., 401
Fennimore, Donald L., 250
Fenske, Hans, 34
Fersommlinge/Versammlinge, 149, 173, 425, 465; decline of, 438; and *Deitsch*, 71, 99, 375, 424; and folklore, 380, 388; and heritage, 411, 412, 422, 424, 427; participation in, 436, 437. *See also* Groundhog (Grundsow) Lodges

Fertig, Georg, 25, 34, 35
Fessler, John, 259
Fiddler on the Roof (musical), 447
films, 442, 444, 450–52, 456, 462, 464; on Amish, 417, 441, 447–48, 450, 452, 460; and authenticity, 459–60
"Fire and Smoke" (song; Walküre), 445
Fisher, Elizabeth, 138, 139
Fisher, Gideon, 193, 194
Fisher, John, 259
Fletcher, 188, 189, 192, 193, 196
Fogel, Edwin Miller, 9, 11, 362, 368–69, 406, 423
Fogleman, Aaron, 25, 27, 86, 136
folk festivals. *See* heritage events
folklife, 367, 386–89; definition of, 366; festivals of, 428; study of, 379–82, 404–9, 427, 428, 430
folklore, xi, xiii; in academia, 363, 404–9, 430; African-American, 362, 375; and American popular culture, 363, 376, 387, 388–89; and assimilation, 362, 379, 388; behavioral-ethnographic studies of, 367, 382–87, 388; comparative, 362–63; definitions of, 363–64; and diaspora, 367, 371, 378–79, 389; diffusion of, 11, 380; and education, 362, 368; and the "English," 372, 376, 379, 385, 386; and ethnicity, 361, 365, 367, 376, 377, 382, 388; vs. folklorism, 389, 467; historico-literary studies of, 364, 367–79; and identity, 361, 363, 367, 370, 371, 373, 376, 377, 379, 380, 382, 388; and individual artists, 382–87; and miners, 202, 422; and music, 369–70, 374–75, 377–78, 379; narrative, 370–75, 380; New, 466, 467; and oral tradition, 362, 365, 368; in Pennsylvania German studies, 13, 16, 407–8; and powwowing, 368, 375–76; psychology of, 366, 370, 375, 382–83, 384, 386, 388; scatological, 369, 375, 376–77; sociological folklife studies of, 367, 379–82; and stereotypes, 367–68, 369, 371, 372, 373, 377; studies of, 101, 361–89, 419, 437; as superstition, 368, 369, 387. See also *Eileschpiggel* (trickster figure); holidays; Pennsylvania German Folklore Society (PGFS); proverbs
folklore societies, 12, 362, 366, 387–88, 431. *See also* Pennsylvania German Folklore Society (PGFS); Pennsylvania German Society (PGS); superstition and belief
folk movement, 173–74
Foltz, Ned, 246, 433
food, xi, xii, xiii, 311–40; Amish, 150, 161; and architecture, 326–28; baked vs. boiled, 321, 329; and beverages, 333–34; borrowing of, 445; cheese, 250, 313, 325; and community, 337–38; desserts, 203, 324, 331, 332–33, 334, 336, 338, 339; and dough culture, 330; and farm shows, 62, 314; folklore of, 389; and herbal medicine, 352; hog maws, 314, 315, 319, 322, 323, 334; for holidays, 311, 313–14, 318, 332, 333, 335–36, 340; and identity, 56, 74, 311, 312, 315, 322, 340; Lebanon bologna, 318, 321, 322, 325, 465; in literature, 174, 177; names of, 319–20; one-pot meals, 324–25, 326, 330, 332, 339; oven baking of, 326–28; in Pennsylvania German studies, 13, 14, 15; pies, 313, 325, 332–33, 339; preparation of, 312–26; preservation of, 312, 315–18, 319, 327; regional variations in, 64–65; sauerkraut, 312–13, 315–16, 319, 330, 336; sausages, 322, 323, 329; scrapple, 318, 319, 322, 324, 334; seven sweets and sours in, 313, 389, 446–47; on ships, 39–40; and social status, 311–15, 320, 326, 328–29, 335; sour, 315, 325–26, 338; and stereotypes, 446–47; and structure of meals, 334–35, 338–40; symbolism of, 311, 337–38, 340; technology of, 312, 315, 326–32; and tradition, 312, 314–15, 332–40; and World War I, 69
Foolscap Rose, The (Hergesheimer), 174
Ford, Harrison, 447
Forman, Benno M., 232
For Richer or Poorer (film), 448
Fox, Francis, 50
fraktur (*Frakturschriften*; calligraphy), xii, xiii, 10, 264–74, 280; as antique, 71; on baptismal certificates, 265, 266, 267; and Bible, 266, 271; conferences on, 272–73; and Ephrata Cloister, 166, 263, 265, 271; European, 273; exhibitions of, 268, 269, 272, 273; and folklorism, 389; forgeries of, 274; on furniture, 232–33, 273; and German immigrants, 264, 269, 273; in hymnals, 140, 265, 271; and identity, 218, 385; and illuminated manuscripts, 6, 140, 147, 265, 421; in museums, 268, 273; origins of, 140, 264–67, 270; practitioners of, 266, 268–69; and printing, 265, 270; on quilts, 284, 289; regional variations in, 64, 264, 268, 269–70; in rugs, 303; schools of, 273; studies of, 228, 229, 231, 261, 272; symbolism of, 140, 266, 267–68, 271–72; tools and materials for, 266, 273–74; types of, 264, 265, 267, 270–74
France, 43, 44, 133, 144
Francis, Arlene, 430
Francke, Gotthilf August, 141
Franklin, Benjamin, 1–2, 36, 43, 44, 54, 165, 198, 396, 402
Franklin and Marshall College, 9, 44, 363, 398, 404, 406; Folklore Center at, 8, 12, 101–3; and Kutztown Folk Festival, 428; language in, 405
Frantz, John B., xi, xii, 36, 406
Fraser, Esther Stevens (Brazer), 228, 229, 232
Frederick, George, 313, 320
Free, Shane, 444
French and Indian War, 44, 51, 148
Frey, J. William, 12, 100, 101, 103, 363, 366, 406, 428
Frick, Henry Clay, 202
Friedrich, Tammy J., 296
Friend in Need, The, 345
Frost, Robert, 174
Fry, Martin, 260
Frymire, Jacob, 276–77
Fuchs, Bernie, 179
Fuchs, Leonhart, 351
Funk, H. H., 281
Furly, Benjamin, 29, 32, 37
furniture, xii, 231, 232–40; Amish, 150; chairs, 234–36; chests, 232, 233, 237; cupboards, 233–34, 239; desks, 237, 240; English, 232, 234, 289; and entrepreneurs, 450; Ephrata, 238, 239; Fancy, 239; fraktur on, 232–33, 273;

furniture (cont.)
high style urban, 238; and identity, 385; inlaid, 235, 237, 253, 255; and leather, 257; Mennonite, 235, 238; in museums, 232, 238, 424; painted, 232, 233, 235, 239; Philadelphia Chippendale, 228; and quilts, 284; regional, 11, 232, 235, 239, 263; studies of, 10, 228, 262

Gäbler, Ulrich, 133
Gallagher, Thomas, 406
"Gangsta's Paradise" (song), 453–54
Garden Spot (Walbert), 176
Garvan, Beatrice B., 55, 229
Geesey, Titus, 285
Gehret, Ellen, 296, 297, 302, 307
Gelassenheit (yieldedness, powerlessness), 154
genealogy, 9, 10, 11, 21, 68, 74, 75, 119
Gerlach, James, 62
German American Alliance, 8
German Americans, xi, 4–5, 53, 54, 62, 73; in World Wars, 10, 11, 59, 60, 69–70, 76, 319, 421–22
German American studies, 14
German language: and Amish, 111, 125, 155; and Bible, 105, 111; in church services, 58–59, 67, 125, 404; and *Deitsch*, 68, 79–82, 84–90, 101, 108–9, 168, 365; dialects of, ix–x, 3, 109na, 110–11, 128n6; in diaspora, 64; in education, 392–93, 394, 396–403, 404, 405; and folklore, 369; and German studies, 13; and heritage, 427, 438; High, ix–x, 58, 59, 68, 75, 80, 85–89, 93, 95, 101, 105, 164, 378, 392, 393, 404, 405, 409n2, 418, 420; and identity, 218, 427; and Jews, 147; Low, 110–11, 128n5; Luther on, 133; and Old Order Mennonites, 114, 116, 120; Palatine, 80–82, 84–85, 87, 88, 90, 392; in parallel translations, 124, 130n27; in Pennsylvania German studies, 6, 9; promotional tracts in, 37, 165; publishing in, 197–98; and radical Pietists, 139; and World War I, 69
German Methodists, 145
German-Pennsylvanian Association (Deutsch-Pennsylvanischer Arbeitskreis), 106, 183, 407
German Society of Pennsylvania, 45, 273
German studies, 13, 14
Germantown (Pennsylvania), 48, 56, 143, 174, 351; craft industries in, 195; founding of, 9, 25, 37, 40, 45, 47, 84, 165; Moravian girls' school in, 295; printing in, 30, 198; radical Pietists in, 138, 139; textiles in, 289, 301
Germany: Anabaptists in, 134, 136, 137; architecture in, 210; and crafts, 243, 258, 291, 293; and *Deitsch* speakers, 90; education in, 395; firearms in, 260; and folklore, 368, 369, 371, 374; and food, 313, 322, 330, 335; and herbal medicine, 350; and identity, 62, 427; Jews from, 146–47; Nazi, 173, 335; Pennsylvania German studies in, 407; Pietism in, 136, 137, 141–44; population levels in, 27; prejudice against, 10, 11, 59, 60, 69–70, 76, 319, 363, 421–22; as term, ix–x. *See also* Halle (Germany); Holy Roman Empire; Palatinate, Electoral
Getz, Peter, 253
Gibble, Patricia E., 245
Gibbons, Phebe Earle, 7–8, 312, 313, 419, 442
Gichtel, George, 139
Gicker, Jacob H., 279
Gicker, Kesiah, 279
Gilbert, Russell Wieder, 424
Gillespie, Angus, 428
Gingerich, Melvin, 309
glass, 197, 246–48
Glass, Joseph W., 185
Glassie, Henry, 186, 216, 218, 224–26, 407, 430–31, 437
Glatfelter, Charles H., 67, 143
Gleditschen, Johann Friedrich, 351
Glickman, Will, 447
Gmay (church district). *See* communities, church (congregations)
God in the Spirit sect, 141
Gollin, Gillian, 136
Good, Phyllis Pellman, 314
Gordon, Irving, 101
Gordon, Patrick, 22
Goschenhoppen Folk Festival, 307, 431, 432–33, 438
Goschenhoppen Historians, 73, 431, 432
Goslin, Diane, 75
government, civil: and education, 3, 59, 177, 294, 391, 393, 396–97, 403, 404, 444; local, 62, 112, 114, 191; in Pennsylvania, 440n17; regulations of, 153, 161, 163, 191, 193; and sectarians, 134, 135, 141, 150, 153, 161
Graeff, Arthur, 42, 69, 428
Graff, Jacob, 258, 259
Granick, Eve Wheatcroft, 286
Grant, Kathleen L., 302
Graves, Thomas E., 382
Great Depression, 10, 71, 173, 176, 192
Griebel, Helen Bradley, 304, 305
Griffin, Sean, 462
Grimm brothers, 365, 371
Groff, Betty, 314
Groffdale Mennonite Conference (Wenger Old Order Mennonites), 116, 126, 127
Groundhog Day, 76, 99, 173, 367, 380, 445, 464–65
Groundhog Day (film), 464
Groundhog (Grundsow) Lodges, 71, 74, 173, 311, 388, 411, 427, 437, 464–65; advertisements for, 425; decline of, 438; and *Deitsch*, 99, 100, 103, 106, 183, 423
Grubb, Farley, 41
Gruber, Johann, 198
Gruber Wagon Works, 199, 200
Grumbine, Ezra, 368
Grumbine, L. L., 9
Grumplethorpe (Wister family; Germantown), 7
Gundacker, Margaret, 288
Gunnion, Vernon, 268

Haag, Earl C., 16, 81, 92, 183

Häberlein, Mark, xi, 146
Haidt, John Valentine, 275, 308
Hains, Adam, 238
Haldeman, Samuel Stehman, 2–3, 9, 80, 81
Hall, David, 273
Halle (Germany), 24, 136, 141–44, 165
Hamilton, Andrew, 47
Handler, Richard, 432
Hanger, George, 198
Harbaugh, Henry, 65, 92–93, 106, 128n4, 169, 418, 437, 438
Harbaugh's Harfe (Harbaugh), 169
Hark, Ann, 174
Harmony Society, 238
Harrison, William Henry, 60
Harte, Bret, 170
Harter, Thomas Hess, 168, 419, 422, 437
Hausihl, Bernard, 51
Haverstick, Christian, 253
Hays, Willet Martin, 62
Heaney, Howell J., 268
Hearts Contending (Loose), 173
Hearts' Haven (Blake), 173
Hebel, Johann Peter, 418, 437
Hegetschwiler, Johann, 31
Heidelberg Catechism (1563), 134
Heisely, Frederick, 258–59
Heiss, William, 252
Helbig, Louis F., 13
Helfenstein, G. F., 346
Heller, Edna Eby, 313, 320
Hendel family, 254
Henner's Lydia (de Angeli), 176–77, 178
Henretta, James A., 55
Henry, William, 260, 275
herbalism, 341–43, 350–54, 357–60
Hergesheimer, Joseph, 174
heritage: continuation of, 438–39; and ethnicity, 412–13; and identity, 411, 412–13, 435; and language, 438; and literature, 411, 418–20, 422; public, 411–13; studies of, 434–39; and tourism, 411–40
heritage events, 74, 100, 366, 420, 426, 445; and academia, 428, 430; and authenticity, 307, 413, 431–34; authenticity of, 431–34, 437; clothing at, 307, 432; earliest, 428; and folklife, 366, 408, 430–31; and heritage, 411, 412, 422, 427–28; Hinklefests, 376; and identity, 204, 388, 417, 418, 427–28, 439; and language, 417, 438–39; participation in, 435–36; and popular culture, 441; studies of, 12, 149, 408, 434–39; and tourism, 434. See also *Fersommlinge/Versammlinge*; Goschenhoppen Folk Festival; Kutztown Folk Festival
Herman, Bernard L., 230
Herr, Patricia T., 231, 288
Hersh, Charles, 296, 297, 308
Hersh, Tandy, 296, 297, 308
Hershey, Milton S., 57, 202–3, 414, 428, 445
Hersheypark (Pennsylvania), 414, 428, 445
Hess, Clarke, 231, 238, 297
Hess, Milton J., 443
Hess, Wilbert, 443
HexCraft: Dutch Country Magick (RavenWolf), 353
Hexerei (hexing, spellwork): media on, 344, 444, 459; and powwowing, 342, 344, 349, 350, 353–54, 360n2; and stereotypes, 443–44, 447
"Hex Hollow" (song; Cipha), 445
Hex Hollow: Witchcraft and Murder in Pennsylvania (film), 444
Hex Murder Trial (1929), 344, 443–44
hex signs, 264, 274, 459; and folklife, 366, 383, 389; in literature, 174; and stereotypes, 443–44, 447; writing on, 426
Heyne, Johann Christoph, 253, 254
Hiester, Joseph, 275, 276
Hill, Susan Colestock, 172, 173, 335
Hiltzheimer, Jacob, 45
Hinke, William J., 141, 142
Hinkeldreck theme, 375–76, 377
Hippensteel, Doris, 70
historical societies, 8, 183, 229, 299, 420, 431
Hiwwe wie Driwwe (Over here as over there; periodical), 74, 183, 438, 462
Hmong, 287
Hochstetler family massacre, 148, 153, 161
Hoff, George, 258
Hoffman, Henry, 257
Hoffman, Walter Jacob, 343, 362, 367, 368
Hofmann, Charles, 278, 279, 280
Hohman, John George (Johann Georg), 312, 345, 350, 352, 444
Holden, Tim, 62
holidays, 7, 14, 76, 337; Christmas, 11, 271, 281, 311, 313, 318, 332, 335–36, 358, 380; Easter, 256–57, 314, 331, 332, 335–36, 338, 380, 445; and folklore, 367, 380; food for, 311, 313–14, 318, 332–36, 340; New Year's Day, 336, 367
Holland. *See* Netherlands
Hollinshead, Benjamin, 347
Holstein, Jonathan, 285
Holy Roman Empire, ix, 22–24, 26
Hoover, Amos, 129n14
Hoover, Noah, 126, 127
Hoover, W. Paul, 128n4
Hoover Mennonites, 126
Hopf, Carroll, 268
Hopkins, Leroy T., Jr., 16
Horne, Abraham Reeser, xii, 9, 94–95, 96, 393, 399, 400, 401, 403, 418
Horsch, Heinrich, 139
horses, Conestoga, 188, 189
Horst, Melvin J., 458–59, 460
Hostetler, Ann, 182
Hostetler, John, 14, 160, 161, 406, 417, 455–56; and authenticity, 459–60; and cultural hegemony, 455; on media, 448, 452, 453, 458, 461; on medicine, 342

Hottenstein, David, 234
House of Bondage (Kauffman), 173
House of the Black Ring (Pattee), 173
"House of the Miller at Millbach" (exhibit; 1929), 10–11, 71
Houston, Alan, 2
Hubener, George, 243, 244
Huber, Jacob, 197
Hubley, Frederick, 252
Hughes, Robert, 285
Huguenots, 27
Hummel, Charles F., 55, 229
Hungary, 34
Hunter, Frederick William, 248
Huntington, Gertrude Enders, 161
Hutterisch (Hutterite dialect), 111
Hutterites, 108, 111, 306, 417
hymnals, 139, 160, 198; Amish, 130n27, 153, 283; and fraktur, 140, 265, 271. *See also* music
Hymn of the Moravian Nuns, at the Consecration of Pulaski's Banner (Longfellow), 295–96

identity: and assimilation, 53, 54, 67–68, 71; and community, 55, 74, 384–85; and cultural landscapes, 223, 225, 227, 417; and culture change, 226; and education, 53, 63, 392; and ethnicity, 55, 56, 63, 205–6, 439n2; and heritage, 411, 412–13, 435; and hypermodernity, 178; influences on, 427; and language, xi, 204; in Pennsylvania German studies, 16–17; performance of, 76, 311, 340, 380, 384, 385, 387, 388
identity, American, ix, 67, 73, 173, 194–95
identity, German, 1–2, 43, 62, 218, 224, 427
identity, Pennsylvania German: and agriculture, 54, 55, 63, 179, 195, 204; vs. Amish, 76, 148; and architecture, 56, 218, 417; and clothing, 305; communal, 352, 384–85; and crafts, 54, 55, 74, 204, 310, 385; and decorative arts, 218, 230, 251, 274; and *Deitsch*, xi, 2–5, 51–52, 56, 84, 88, 90, 168, 427; development of, 36, 53–76; and Dutchiness, 16–17, 74, 389; and folk festivals, 204, 388, 427–28; and folklore, 361, 363, 367, 370, 371, 373, 376, 377, 379, 380, 382, 388; and folklorism, 389; and food, 56, 74, 311, 312, 315, 322, 340; and heritage events, 417, 418, 439; and individual choice, 386–87; legal requirements for, 63; and local-color literature, 170–71; and manure, 186; and media, 462, 467; Old Order, 84, 105, 117; as old-stock Americans, 4, 6, 54, 68, 69, 72, 88; and paintings, 277, 386; and politics, 60–63; and religion, 1, 56, 110, 147, 204, 305, 342; revitalization of, 70–73; studies of, ix, 408; and technology, 159, 204, 391–92, 467; and tourism, 75, 413; and trade, 54, 55–56, 62; and transportation, 55, 57, 70, 117; and wars, 65, 75–76
immigrants: abuse of, 38–39; Amish, 112, 151–52, 163; countries of origin of, 22–24; and credit, 32–33; dangers for, 38–41; death rates of, 40–41; and disease, 39–40, 41, 44–45; within Europe, 34; of family groups, 27; hostility to, 41, 42–43, 67; indentured, 41–42; indigent, 38; information available to, 29–30, 35, 38, 50; and internal conflicts, 112, 114; Italian, 246; journey of, 37–41; letters of, 29, 30, 35; literacy of, 28; and manumission, 25, 29, 33, 35; Mexican, 128n9; Moravian, 26, 29, 136–37, 295; motivations of, 2, 25–30, 35; to New England, 30, 169–70; patterns of migration of, 25–33; permits for, 38; recruitment of, 26, 29, 30–33, 37–39, 41; and redemptioner system, 32–33, 39, 54; and Reformation, 132–35; restrictions on, 23, 29, 42–43; returning (newlanders), 30–31, 32, 33, 35, 38–39; Scots-Irish, 2, 208; to South, 25, 30, 48, 49, 52, 53; studies of, 13; Swiss, 22, 26, 27, 31, 32, 36, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 53, 111–14, 170; and transportation, 32, 47–48; urban, 41–42; and wars, 2, 25, 26–27, 28; Welsh, 9, 47
immigrants, English, 47, 208, 312, 350; embroidery of, 294, 299; vs. German, 1, 22, 36; Quaker, 2, 4, 45
immigrants, German: abuse of, 45; Anglicization of, 43–44; architecture of, 205, 208, 210; assimilation of, 45, 51, 52; in Canada, 46, 50–51, 52, 110–11; and crafts, 241, 244–45, 246, 293; and *Deitsch*, 86, 108–9; early, 2, 419; vs. English, 1, 22, 36; and folklore, 365, 367; and fraktur, 264, 269, 273; Franklin on, 1–2, 36, 43, 44, 54, 396, 402; hostility to, 43–45; and medicine, 342, 350; new (*Deitschlenner; Neukommer*), 2, 4, 17, 53, 68, 69, 88, 94; nineteenth-century, 4–5, 8, 51–52, 367, 390; origins of, 21–35, 51; Palatine, ix, xi, 1, 22–26, 29, 36, 39, 44, 53, 79, 80, 84–85, 94, 306; and Pennsylvania German Society, 170; population growth of, 42, 48; recruitment of, 37, 164–65; religions of, 1, 132–35; in South, 48–49, 52, 53; and spirituals, 378
Index of American Design, 10, 303
individualism: and agriculture, 184, 188, 195; and Amish, 162, 179; vs. community, 182, 190; and folklore, 388; and food, 324; and hypermodernity, 178; and media, 449; and Mennonites, 55; and tradition, 182, 366–67, 368, 370, 380, 382, 384, 386–87, 388
industrialization, 3–4, 55, 279, 388, 412; and agriculture, 63, 192, 220; and Amish, 174; and craft industries, 195–201; and *Deitsch*, 92, 98, 168; and education, 390; and folklore, 365, 367, 379; and fraktur, 266; vs. handicrafts, 228–29; and Pennsylvania German workers, 201–3; and politics, 61, 62; and steel mills, 201; and stereotypes, 442, 443; and tourism, 414
industries, heritage, xi, xii, 6, 9, 385, 450. *See also* crafts
Inspired (group), 132
Internet, 123, 411, 442, 464; and Amish, 149; on clothing, 309–10; and cultural brokers, 462; and cultural revival, 74–75; *Deitsch* on, 438; Mennonite poetry on, 182–83; neo-powwowing on, 355–56, 357; Pennsylvania German Society on, 440n10; social media on, 74–75
Iobst, Clarence, 422
Ireland, 34
iron manufacturing, 196–97, 199, 248–52
isolation, 3, 4, 5, 76, 114, 118, 132, 342; of Amish, 147, 151, 152; and cultural hegemony, 455; and *Deitsch*, 87; and

diversity, 159–60; economic, 55; and folklore, 365, 370; vs. independence, 90; stereotypes of, 442–43, 467; and World War II, 70
Issel, William Henry, 394

Jacob Stauffer Church, 118
Janzen, Jean, 181
Jay Z, 463
Jesuits, 43
Jewett, Sarah Orne, 170
Jews: bias against, 146–47; Hasidic, 162, 414; Kabbalah of, 138, 346, 356; languages of, 105, 106; and radical Pietists, 138; and religious freedom, 165
Johnson-Weiner, Karen M., xii, 16, 148, 154, 179
John the Baptist, 145
Jones, Michael Owen, 382
Journey to Pennsylvania (Mittelberger), 30
Jung, Maria (Barricke Mariche), 347
Just Plain Fancy (Polacco), 178, 179

Kasdorf, Julia, 175, 181–82
Katy Gaumer (Singmaster), 172
Kauffman, Henry J., 198–99, 203, 226, 229
Kauffman, John D., 119–20
Kauffman, Reginald Wright, 173
Kazal, Russell A., 4, 69, 73
Keith, William, 22, 42
Keller, Christian B., 66, 67
Keller, Patricia J., 288, 289–90
Kelpius, John (Johannes), 138, 139, 166, 167
Kemp, Alvin F., 424
Keppele family, 276
Kepple, Henry, 45
Kersten, Holger, 169
Ketterer, John, 250
Keyser, Mildred Weekes Davis, 229, 302
Kidder, Robert, 453, 455–56
Kingpin (film), 448
Kirschner, Ann, 225
Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 412, 432
Kitch, Carolyn, 414
Klees, Frederick, 47, 131
Klemm, Johann Gottlob, 260
Klepp, Susan E., 39
Kliewer, Warren, 181
Klinger, Absalom, 281
Klinger, Irwin, 425
Kloss, Heinz, 394
Knappenberger, Alton, 69
Knauss, James Owen, 87
Koch, James A., 99
Kodish, Debora, 287
Kohl, Johann G., 68
Kolb, Andreas, 272
Kollmorgen, Walter, 189, 190, 192, 193
Kopp, Achim, 16
Korson, George, 202, 379, 380, 422
Koster, Bernhard, 139
Krause, Sydney, 167
Krauss, Mrs. Andrew (Susanna Schultz), 309
Kraybill, Donald, xii, 83, 154, 160, 179, 180, 194; as cultural broker, 460; on domestication, 455; on education, 404, 406, 407; on media, 449; on tourism, 413
Kriebel, David W., xii, 16, 341, 444
Krimmel, John Lewis, 277–78
Kuhns, Oscar, 47, 171
Kuntz, Jacob, 260
Kurin, Richard, 459, 460
Kutztown Bottling Works, 203
Kutztown Folk Festival, 72, 100, 407; and academia, 430, 436; and clothing, 307; criticism of, 431, 432, 433; and *Deitsch*, 183; demonstrators at, 438; and folklore, 363, 364; and heritage, 422, 428–30, 431, 440n9; and stereotypes, 446–47
Kutztown Pennsylvania German Heritage Center, 431
Kutztown University, 9, 15, 95, 398, 400, 407, 420; Cultural Heritage Center at, 15, 106, 183; monument at, 405–6

Lady Gaga, 463
Lancaster Caramel Company, 57
Lancaster Turnpike, 48
land: and Amish, 75, 151, 159, 193, 194; and architecture, 218; in Canada, 50; and commercial agriculture, 193; and cultural revival, 75; disputes over, 49; and identity, 54, 74; and Mennonites, 116; Native American, 46, 49, 50; in Pennsylvania, 46–47; price of, 112, 204; and radical Pietists, 140–41; and recruitment, 165; and religion, 147; settlement patterns on, 41–47, 54, 189; speculation in, 46, 47, 50; and stereotypes, 207, 208; use of, 207, 208
Landis, George and Henry, 416, 421
Landis Valley Farm Museum (Lancaster County), 72, 353, 416, 421, 431
landscapes, cultural, 205–27; British vs. Pennsylvania German, 205; in diaspora, 143, 206, 225; and folklore, 364; and identity, 223, 225, 227, 417; and modernity, 223, 225, 226; and stereotypes, 207; themes in study of, 223–27
Landseer, Edwin, 299
Lane, Emily, 175
Lanier, Gabrielle, xii, 205
Lapp, Henry, 262
Lasansky, Jeanette, 250
Lawton, Arthur, 224
Leader, George, 62
Learned, Marion Dexter, 8, 9, 38, 406, 407, 421, 437
Lehn, Joseph, 241
Leisey, Peter, 281
Leman Rifle Works, 199
Lemon, James T., 46, 55, 188, 189
Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 321
Lewars, Harold S., 172

Lewis, Arthur H., 444
Lewis, Beverly, 180
Lewitt, Sol, 285
Library of Congress, 268, 291, 366
Lichten, Frances, 229
life-story taking, 382, 384, 388
Lincoln, Abraham, 335
Lininger, Ruth, 175
Link, Christian, 246
Lippard, George, 167
literacy, 28, 39, 95–96, 105, 197
literature, 164–83; about Amish, 174–81; about Pennsylvania Germans, 166–67; Amish romance novels, 162, 164, 178, 180–81; and Anabaptists, 151, 172, 175; anti-German feelings in, 167; antislavery, 165; auto-ethnographies in, 175; children's, 176–77, 177–78; in colonial-New Republic eras, 164–68; in *Deitsch*, xii, 9, 87, 88–97, 98, 105, 164, 168–70, 183, 418–19; in English, 124, 164, 170, 392–93, 419; in German, 125, 164, 165–66; and heritage, 411, 418–20, 422; local-color, 169, 170–73, 174, 424, 426, 437, 442, 443; mystery novels, 180; nostalgic pastoralism in, 168, 170, 175–77, 178; in parallel translation, 124, 130n27; participation in, 435–36; and Pennsylvania German Society, 10; in Pennsylvania German studies, 15, 16; politics in, 96, 167, 168–69; promotional, 29, 37, 164, 165; publication of, 124, 140, 142, 166, 195, 197–98; regional, 170; religious, 110, 124, 125, 130n27, 131, 166, 175; stereotypes in, 169, 170, 171, 442, 443; tourist, 12, 101
Little Amish Schoolhouse (Seyfert), 178
liturgies, 133, 142–43, 155
Locke, David, 418
Logan, James, 43
Löher, Franz, 90
Lohnes, Walter F. W., 13
Long, John, 253
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 169, 295–96
Long Lost Friend, The. See *Der Lange Verborgene Freund* (Hohman)
Longmire (television series), 450
Loose, John Ward Willson, 47
Loose, Katherine Riegel (Georg Schock), 173
Lord's Supper (Holy Communion, Eucharist), 132–35, 142, 144, 151, 152, 154
Louden, Mark, xi–xii, 108, 407
Lovina (Milhouse), 178
Lowell, James Russell, 418
Luther, Martin, 110, 111, 125, 132–33
Lutheran Church in America (ALC), 147
Lutherans, x, 7, 131; and agriculture, 193; assimilation of, 147; and baptism, 270; in Canada, 51; and Civil War, 66; and Dutchiness, 73; and education, 44, 59, 294, 391, 404; in Europe, 133, 144; and fraktur, 265, 266; and heritage, 413, 417; immigration of, 29, 40; and language, 57–59, 83, 86, 87, 108, 400; organization of, 141; vs. other groups, 114, 135–37, 141–42, 143, 146, 148; and pacifism, 44; and powwowing, 353; and revivalism, 144, 145
Luthy, David, 114, 414

MacDowell, Andie, 464
Machmer, Richard S., 241
Machmer, Rosemarie B., 241
MacMaster, Richard K., 29, 32, 45, 86, 144
Mader, Louis, 278
Maentel, Jacob, 276–77
Mahantongo Valley, 232, 235, 237; basket making in, 383–84; folklore of, 377, 379, 382, 384; fraktur in, 263, 273
Mahr, August C., 443
Mannerback family, 253
Marden, Brice, 285
Markham-Waterloo Mennonite Conference, 120, 121
marriage, 93–94, 136, 143, 151; Amish, 152, 155; and architecture, 227; and blue gates, 389, 447, 453; and *Deitsch*, 84, 98, 99, 103; by lot, 167
Marrying by Lot (Mortimer), 167
Martin, Frederick C., 171
Martin, Helen Reimensnyder, 170, 171, 172, 425
Martin, John, 117
Martin Guitar Company, 261, 414
Martyrs Mirror, 125, 140, 142, 153, 161, 166, 172, 257
Maser, Jacob, 237
Mason, John Landis, 315
Massanutten colony (Virginia), 48, 226
Mathis, Samantha, 451
Mature, Victor, 451
Maxwell, Louise Swartz, 331
McCarthy, John A., 6
McCauley, Daniel, 231
McCauley, Kathryn, 231
McGillis, Kelly, 447
McMurry, Sally, 217, 226, 227, 406
Mead, Margaret, 8, 161
media, xiii, 441–67; and Amish, 417, 441, 447–48, 451–53, 456–59; broadcast, 446–51; and commercialization, 448, 451, 460, 467; and cultural revival, 74–75; and heritage, 427, 434; languages in, 75, 85, 87–89, 91, 106–7, 110, 123, 124, 165–66, 393, 419, 438; participation in, 436, 467; Pennsylvania German producers of, 458–59, 466–67; representation in, 451–57; and school shooting, 123, 456–57; sensationalism in, x, 452; and technology, 449, 453, 467; and tourism, 448, 452, 458; on witchcraft, 344, 444, 459. *See also* films; Internet; newspapers; plays; radio; television
medicine, xi, xiii, 341–60; complementary and alternative (CAM), 341, 358, 359; and culturally defined ailments, 348–49; folk, xii, 9, 16, 63, 353, 368; and folklore, 369, 379; food as, 333, 350, 352; herbal, 341–43, 350–54, 357–60; and law, 163; practitioners of, 341–42; studies of, 16, 163. *See also* powwowing (*Braucherei*, *Brauche*)
Medinger, Jacob, 246
Melanchthon, Philip, 134
MennoMedia, 461

Mennonites: administrative organization of, 142; and agriculture, 75, 190; and Amish, 109, 147, 151, 153, 162; architecture of, 143, 221; Brubaker, 109nc, 118; in Canada, 50, 109, 116, 118–19, 120, 126, 127, 181; in Civil War, 66; clothing of, 305, 306, 309; and comedy, 458; crafts of, 235, 238, 259, 297; decorative arts of, 231, 269, 271; diaspora of, 50, 65, 108, 109, 116, 120, 122, 127; divisions within, 134–35, 409n1; Dutch-Russian, 181; and education, 294, 395; and gender, 182; Groffdale-Oberholtzer, 127; and heritage, 413; Hoover, 109; Horning, 120, 121, 122; as immigrants, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32, 37, 45; individualism of, 55; isolation of, 132; languages of, x, 64, 87, 93, 98, 125; in literature, 172, 181; and media, 450, 461, 462; mergers of, 129n15; Oberholtzer, 109nb; origins of, 134, 151; Orthodox, 109, 119, 126, 127; persecution of, 32, 165; and powwowing, 343, 349; progressive, 116; and radical Pietists, 139, 140; Reidenbach, 126, 127; and revivalism, 145; and shunning, 143; Stauffer, 109nc, 118, 125, 126, 127; studies of, 7, 388; Swiss, 27, 32; Tampico Amish, 119–20
Mennonites, Old Order: and beards, 117, 119, 120; in Canada, 116, 118–19, 126, 127; crafts of, 200; David Martin, 109, 119–20, 127; decorative arts of, 382, 386; diaspora of, 204; divisions within, 114; and education, 393, 403–4; and farmland, 193, 194; Hoover, 118; Jacob Oberholtzer, 117; John Martin, 117; languages of, 81, 83, 86, 125, 183; Progressive, 120; Reidenbach, 109, 117–18; Stauffer, 118; and technology, 193, 392; Weaver, 109nc, 117; Wenger, 109, 114–17, 119, 122, 123, 125, 129n15; Wisler, 120, 121; and World War II, 70. *See also* Beachy Amish Mennonites
Mercer, Henry Chapman, 6–7, 12, 197, 228, 265–66, 280, 421
metalwork, 10, 11, 248–54, 255, 258
Methodists, 405, 409n1, 439n3
Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), 11, 229, 280, 281, 424
Metz, Elizabeth (Godshalk), 297
Mexico, xi, 65, 108, 128n5, 128n9
middle class, 10, 28, 189, 190, 328, 365, 455–56; and New Class, 460–61, 467
midwives, 63, 75
Milhouse, Katherine, 178, 305
Miller, David, 183
Miller, Heinrich, 198
Miller, Lewis, 212, 277–78, 329
Miller, Louis, 91
Miller, Mary M., 124
Miller, Randall M., 72–73
Miller, Reanna, 183
milling, flour, 196–97
Milnes, Gerald, 379–80
Milspaw, Yvonne, xii, 311
Minardi, Lisa, xii, 228, 230, 232
miners, 202, 379, 380, 422, 443
Miracle in Lane 2 (film), 462
missionaries, 121, 122, 136
Mittelberger, Gottlieb, 30, 38–41
modernization, 8, 10, 14, 54, 266, 412; acceptance or rejection of, 391–92, 442, 447; and agrarian myth, 177; vs. community, 13, 441, 453; and dialect literature, 170; and education, 177, 394; and folklore, 362, 368; and food rituals, 338; and literature, 170; and neo-paganism, 359–60; and popular culture, 160
Montgomery, Belinda, 451
Montgomery, Florence M., 299
Montgomery, Morton, 419
Montgomery County exposition (1884), 301
Moravian Female Seminary (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania), 167, 295, 296
Moravian Pottery and Tile Works, 6
Moravians, 7, 17, 135, 409n1, 413; administrative organization of, 142; and assimilation, 439n3; and Church vs. sect, 131; clothing of, 306, 307–8; crafts of, 234, 235, 238, 245, 257, 258, 260, 271, 291, 294–95; and Europe, 136, 144, 295; as immigrants, 26, 29, 136–37, 295; and literature, 167, 169; vs. Lutherans, 141–42; and music, 261; and portrait painting, 275; schools of, 167, 292, 294, 295, 296
Moravian Single Sisters, 295–96
Morgan, J. P., 202
Mortimer, Charlotte B., 167
Mountz, Aaron, 241
Moyer, Catharenah, 251
Muhlenberg, Frederick August, 85, 86, 87, 141, 142–43, 144
Mühlenberg, Heinrich Melchior (Henry Muhlenberg), 30, 40, 105, 141–44, 255
Muhlenberg College, 100, 405, 406, 426, 436
Murray, Bill, 464
museums, 6, 64, 71, 288, 435, 459; crafts in, 285, 459; and cultural revival, 72; decorative arts in, 10–11, 229, 230, 281, 424; democratization of, 435–36; fraktur in, 268, 273; furniture in, 232, 238, 424; and heritage, 411, 416, 420–21, 424, 431; open-air, 428, 431, 437; and Pennsylvania German studies, 408; quilts in, 283, 285, 287; and textile arts, 281. *See also* Landis Valley Farm Museum (Lancaster County); Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York); Winterthur Museum
music, xiii, 16, 74, 131; African American, 378, 446, 453–54; Amish, 153, 160, 453–54, 463–64; and Ephrata community, 166; and folklorism, 389; folk songs, 369–70, 374–75, 377–78, 379; hymns, 146, 153, 166, 378; massification of, 462–63; and Moravians, 261; performers of, 458; and Pietists, 136, 139, 140; and popular culture, 462–64; and Reformation, 133; singing schools, 175; spirituals, 378, 446
musical instruments, 260–61, 262
musicals, 441, 447
Myers, Anna Balmer, 173
mystics, 138–39

Nagata, Judith, 159–60
National Educator (journal), 95, 394, 399, 401, 409n4
nationalism, 365, 401, 403

Native Americans, 87, 406, 408, 409n6, 412, 435; and folklore, 362; land of, 46, 49, 50; in media, 448; and neo-powwowing, 354, 357
nativism, 67–68
Neesz, Johannes, 243
neo-paganism, 342, 343, 353–54, 356–60, 444
neo-powwowing, 342–44, 350, 353–60
Netherlands, x, 37, 133–34, 137, 291, 293
Newborn (Neu-geboren), 132, 137
New Bremen Glass Manufactory (Maryland), 247
New England, 21, 133, 147, 170, 419; crafts in, 10–11, 251, 294, 295, 302; family registers in, 267, 272; immigrants to, 30, 169–70
New Order Amish (Amish Brotherhood), 150, 160
newspapers, 8, 69, 93, 165, 183, 442–45, 443; on Amish, 174; columns in, 99–100, 106, 169, 173, 393, 418, 422, 423, 426–27, 436, 437; and cultural revival, 74–75; *Deitsch* in, 85, 87–89, 99–100, 106–7, 166, 168, 169, 173, 393, 418, 419, 422, 423, 426–27, 436; dialect columns in, 99, 169, 173, 423, 426–27, 436; and education, 396, 397; English-language, 110, 124; German-language, 91, 165–66; on "Hex Murder Trial," 443–44; and literature, 183; and printing industry, 198; quilt patterns in, 290; stereotypes in, 447. *See also* periodicals
New York, 21, 263; Amish in, 112–15; immigrants in, 25, 46, 53, 116, 117, 121, 127
New York World's Fair (1939), 423
Nollendorfs, Valters, 13
Nolt, Jacob H., 238
Nolt, Jonas H., 238
Nolt, Steven M., xii, 68, 83, 89, 135, 154, 179, 226–27, 407, 418, 455
nonconformity, 151, 156, 159, 178, 305–6. *See also* isolation
Norris, Isaac, 42
Nutting, Wallace, 274, 426

Oberholtzer, Jacob, 117
Oberholtzer, John H., 93–94, 95
occupations, non-agricultural, 125, 179, 192–94; and Amish, 158–59; and language change, 123–24; mining, 202, 379, 380, 422, 443; Pennsylvania German entrepreneurs in, 202–3, 344, 355, 424, 450, 459
Oerter, Christian, 260
Ohio, 13; Amish in, 112–15, 122; *Deitsch* in, 87, 121, 127; German immigrants in, 52, 53; Holmes County in, 87, 98, 160; Mennonites in, 116, 120; tourism in, 414
Old Order groups: and assimilation, 439n3; bilingualism of, 103–6; and Deitsch, 83–84, 87, 98, 107; and education, 394, 395, 403–4, 408; and gatherings, 424; and heritage, 413; and heritage events, 417, 440n13; studies on, 434–35; and tourism, 103. *See also* Amish, Old Order; Mennonites, Old Order
Old Reading Beer company, 82
Oley Freindschaft Guild of Braucherei Practitioners, 355
Olsen, Merlin, 451
Ontario (Canada), 13, 50, 64, 76; Amish in, 113, 114, 115, 150; barns in, 220; *Deitsch* in, 83, 121, 127; folklore in, 361, 378, 431; and fraktur, 269; German immigrants in, 46, 51; Mennonites in, 109, 116, 118–19
op de Graf, Abraham Isaacs, 300–301
op de Graf, Dirck Isaacs, 300–301
Opequan colony, 48
oral tradition, 145, 147, 209; and folklore, 362, 365, 366, 368, 386; and powwowing, 344
orchards, 187–88, 192
Ordnung (moral guidelines), 117, 129n15, 152–56, 158
Ordnungsgmay (reaffirmation of *Ordnung*), 152, 154
O'Reilly, William, 39
Orléans, Louis-Phillipe, duc d', 214
Ott, Johnny, 382, 383
Otterbein, Philip William, 144
Otterness, Philip, 46
Otto, Henrich, 273
Our Heritage, Hope, and Faith (Mary M. Miller), 124
Overholt, Abraham, 202, 262
Oyster, Daniel, 260

pacifism, 61, 150, 151; of Amish, 155, 161; in Civil War, 66; and clothing, 305; and diaspora, 50; of German immigrants, 37, 43, 44; in World War II, 69–70
Page, Patti, 101
painting: on furniture, 232, 233, 235, 239; landscape, 264, 382, 386, 387; portrait, 274–76, 277, 280, 308; and social status, 278
Palatinate, Electoral, 37, 134; cultural influences of, 140, 143, 199, 322, 374; and *Deitsch*, 74, 79, 80, 365; German dialect of, 80–82, 84–85, 87, 88, 90, 392; immigrants from, ix, xi, 1, 22–26, 29, 36, 39, 44, 53, 79, 80, 84–85, 94, 306; migrants to, 27; and Pennsylvania, 141; war in, 28
Palatinate Liturgy (1563), 142
Parasite, The (Martin), 171
Parsons, William T., 45, 59, 65, 73, 76, 406
Pastorius, Francis Daniel, 9, 25, 29, 37–38, 40, 165, 169
Pattee, Fred Lewis, 173
Patton, Charles E., 62
Paul Ardenheim: The Monk of the Wissakikon (Lippard), 167
Peace of Paris (1763), 25
Peace of Westphalia (1648), 22, 29
Peale, Charles Willson, 276
Pencak, William, 146
Pendleton, Philip, 47, 222, 223, 226
Pendleton, William, 146
Penn, Thomas, 43, 44
Penn, William, 40, 46, 49, 152, 165; and freedom of religion, 131, 147; as recruiter, 29, 32, 36, 37; and weaving, 300–301
Pennsylvania: advantages of, 437, 440n17; Amish in, 112–15, 122, 151–52, 456; crafts in, 196; *Deitsch* in, 88, 121, 127; early colonies in, 21; education in, 393–94; foods in, 313; hostility to immigrants in, 22, 42–43; information

about, 29–30, 35; land system in, 46–47; Mennonites in, 116, 119, 120, 129n15; migration to, 36; Pietists in, 136, 137, 138–41; politics in, 60–63; population growth in, 51; religions in, 137, 141–44, 146; roads in, 47–48; settlement patterns in, 41–47, 189; as term, ix, x. *See also particular counties and towns*
Pennsylvania, University of, 273, 363, 396, 405, 406, 436
Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center (Franklin and Marshall College), 8, 12, 101–3
Pennsylvania Dutchman (periodical), 8, 418, 428, 436, 437, 447
Pennsylvania Farm Show (Harrisburg), 62, 314
Pennsylvania Folklife (journal), 15, 224, 363, 428, 436, 437, 447
Pennsylvania Free School Act (1834), 294
Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center (Kutztown University), 15, 106, 183
Pennsylvania German Folklore Society (PGFS), xiii, 9, 11, 100, 173, 361–65, 387, 389, 420, 426
Pennsylvania German Fraktur and Color Drawings (exhibition; Pennsylvania Farm Museum; 1969), 268
Pennsylvania German History and Culture Series, 15
Pennsylvania German language. See *Deitsch* ("Dutch," Pennsylvania German language)
Pennsylvania German Manual (Horne), 94–97
Pennsylvania German Society (PGS), 202, 224, 426; and cultural borrowing, 437; and *Deitsch*, 106, 183, 438; and education, 400, 402; and folklore, 362; founding of, x, 68, 223, 419–20; and genealogy, 9–11; and literature, 10, 170–71; and politics, 61; studies by, x, 420; website of, 440n10; in World War I, 422
Pennsylvania German studies, 1–17; in academia, 13, 404–9; and Amish studies, 148–49; on changing practices, 162–63; collaboration with subjects in, 412, 435–36; and cultural hegemony, 454–55; ethnography in, 7–9, 407, 430, 435; folklore in, 13, 16, 407–8; and heritage events, 434–39; interdisciplinary approach of, 13–14, 15, 16; leaders in, 9–13; memoirs in, 162–63; methodologies in, 12–13; new, ix–xiii, 14–17, 149, 163, 251, 263, 270, 450, 454–55, 467; scholars of, 15–16, 407–8
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 72, 239, 416, 421, 431
Pennsylvania School Journal (PSJ), 393, 398, 409n3
Pennsylvania State University, 13, 15, 62, 81, 182, 406–7, 436, 461; Harrisburg, xv, 407; Schuylkill, 16
Pennypacker, Samuel W., 9–10, 61, 63, 68, 285, 419
periodicals, 2, 8, 15, 169, 171, 173, 174, 181, 183, 263, 300, 312, 335, 362, 419, 420, 442. *See also* newspapers
Perry, Candace Kintzer, xii, 281
Perry, William, 146
Peters, Shawn F., 159
Peucker, Paul, 307
Philadelphia (Pennsylvania): crafts in, 228, 230, 287, 288, 302; and fraktur, 272, 273, 275; Free Library of, 268, 272, 273; Hmong in, 287; immigrants in, 25, 39, 45, 47; languages in, 58; settlement around, 84; trade with, 48, 56, 57
Philadelphia movement, 139
photography, 279–80, 307, 309, 328, 458; and cultural hegemony, 455; of quilts, 283, 286, 291
Pietist Halle Missionary Society, 141
Pietists, 7, 14, 135–47; discipline of, 144; in Germany, 136, 137, 141–44; Halle, 136, 141; as immigrants, 25, 29, 38; influence of, 147; and land, 140–41; and literature, 165, 166, 167; in Pennsylvania, 136, 137, 138–41; persecution of, 165; radical, 138–41; and Sabbath, 139, 140; Spenerian, 38; studies of, 15
Pinchot, Gifford, 70
Plain and Fancy (musical), 441, 447
Plain sects, 15, 62, 63, 66, 76, 172, 366; vs. Church groups, 7, 73, 132; and *Deitsch*, 72, 74, 83, 86; media participation by, 467; and powwowing, 353. *See also particular groups*
Plank, Samuel, 241
Plautdietsch (Low German dialect), 110–11, 128n5
plays, 16, 393, 422; on radio, 427, 428, 436–38, 446
Poe, Edgar Allan, 167
poetry, 139, 422; in *Deitsch*, 91–93, 99–100, 106, 168, 169, 170, 182, 393, 418; Mennonite, 164, 175, 181–83
Polacco, Patricia, 178, 179, 180
Poland, 34, 110
politics: and Civil War, 65–66; and culture, 11, 60–63, 89; and *Deitsch*, 89–90, 129n13; and economic issues, 62, 455–56; and education, 59, 61, 62; and immigrants, 30, 37, 43, 45, 68; in literature, 96, 167, 168–69; and Old Order groups, 116; in Pennsylvania, 60–63; and political parties, 60, 65, 66, 67, 96
population: of Amish, 111–14, 150, 160; of Anabaptists, 108, 121; in Canada, 50; children in, 128n1; of Church groups vs. sectarians, 98, 142; of *Deitsch* speakers, 83, 88, 97, 109, 111; of German immigrants, 42, 48; and migration, 28; of Old Order Wenger Mennonites, 116, 117; in Pennsylvania, 51
powwowing (*Braucherei*, *Brauche*), xii, 16, 174, 255, 341–50; and Christianity, 342–47, 349, 353–58, 360; and *Deitsch*, 349, 354, 357; efficacy of, 348–49; entrepreneurial, 344, 348, 349, 355, 356; and folklore, 368, 375–76, 389; and food, 312, 332; and herbalism, 342, 353, 354, 358–59, 360; and neo-powwowing, 342–44, 350, 353–60; neo-traditionalist, 342, 343, 344, 356, 360; opposition to, 343, 349–50; pre-Christian influences on, 356–57; and stereotypes, 443–44; traditional vs. neo-, 356–57; and witchcraft, 342, 344, 349, 350, 353–54, 360n2
Powwows: The Long Lost Friend. See *Der Lange Verborgene Freund* (Hohman)
predestination, 133, 134
printing, 30, 165, 166, 198, 265, 270
Property of Jacob H. and Kesiah Gicker (drawing; Brader), 280
Protestantism: divisions within, 132–35; German, 1, 26, 27, 147; and persecution, 165; and powwowing, 353; work ethic of, 147. *See also* Reformation, Protestant; *particular denominations*
proverbs, 340, 362, 365, 367, 369, 374, 386

Prussia, 34, 210, 211, 351
psychology, 16, 441, 460; of folklore, 366, 370, 375, 382–83, 384, 386, 388
publishing, 183, 400; English-language, 124, 198; German-language, 197–98; of literature, 124, 140, 142, 166, 195, 197–98; of *Martyrs Mirror*, 142, 166
Pulaski, Count Casimir, 295–96
Pumpernickle Bill. *See* Troxell, William S. (Pumpernickle Bill)

Quakers: crafts of, 245, 289, 294, 295, 299; English, 2, 4, 176; in Europe, 37; and food, 312; as immigrants, 2, 4, 25, 45; love letters of, 272; pacifism of, 44; persecution of, 165; and transatlantic trade, 32
Quilting Frolic, The (painting; Krimmel), 278
quilts, 282–91; Amish, xii, 281–82, 284, 285, 295; collections of, 285, 287; designs of, 281, 290–91, 300; and fashion, 289, 294; influences on, 288–89; and mass-produced fabric, 287, 290, 330; in museums, 283, 285, 287; origins of, 281, 287; and rugs, 305; and social status, 288–89; studies on, 285–86
Quint, Dolores, 382
Quiver of Arrows, A (Weitzel), 169

radio, 427, 428, 436–38, 442, 446, 456
Raising Yoder's Barn (Yolen), 178, 179
Ranck, Peter, 262
Rapp, George, 238
Rappist community, 173
Rasmussen, John, 278
Rauch, Edward Henry, 9, 95–97, 106, 168–69, 418, 437
Rauhauser, Barry, 226
RavenWolf, Silver (Jenine E. Trayer), 353, 354, 356
Reading Railroad, 403
Reaman, G. Elmore, 46, 431
Rebuck, Beulah, 298, 304
Rebuck, Charles, 381, 383–84
Red Hills, The (Weygandt), 174
Reed, Carroll E., 100
Reformation, Protestant, xii, 27, 108, 132–35, 150, 172
Reformed Church, 7, 29, 73, 143–48, 193, 413, 417; administrative organization of, 141–42; assimilation of, 147; and baptism, 270; as Church group, 131; and *Deitsch*, 57–59, 83, 86, 87, 92, 108; Dutch, 142; and education, 44, 59, 391, 404; and fraktur, 265, 266; German, 58, 147; vs. other groups, 114, 135, 137, 143, 146, 148; and pacifism, 44; and powwowing, 353; and revivalism, 144, 145, 146; spread of, 133–34
regionalism, 379, 408, 412; in crafts, 64–65, 228, 231, 232, 235, 239, 243, 245, 294, 386; cultural, 3–4, 11, 63–65, 76, 225; and food, 312, 315; and fraktur, 264, 268, 269–70; vs. national culture, 437
Rehmeyer, Nelson, 443, 444
Reichard, Harry Hess, 91, 168, 406, 436, 446
religion, 131–47; administrative organization of, 141–44; and church services, 58–59, 109, 110, 122, 125, 128, 154, 155, 404, 427; Church vs. Sect in, 131–32, 142, 144, 391, 393; and crafts, 235–36; and decorative arts, 131, 229, 231, 263; diversity in, xii, 131–32, 146–47, 159; in education, 391, 392, 395, 404; and food, 334, 335, 337; and fraktur, 268, 273; freedom of, 30, 37, 49, 50, 131, 132, 176; and identity, 1, 56, 110, 147, 204, 305, 342; and immigration, 29, 30, 37, 165; and language, 57–59, 63, 64, 67, 109, 125, 128; and medicine, 341, 357; New Age, 359; in Pennsylvania German studies, 14, 407; and powwowing, 343, 344, 347–48, 353; pre-Christian Germanic, 344, 353, 354, 356, 357, 359; rituals of, 117, 159, 335, 341, 344, 347–48; studies of, 9, 15. *See also particular denominations*
Renegade Amish (Kraybill), 160
Return to Amish (television program), 449
revivalism, 144–46
Rex family, 56, 57
Reynolds, Margaret, 337–38
Richardson, Bill, 382
Richman, Irwin, 74, 230, 274
Rickenbach, Theodore L., 458
Riley, Jobie, 143
Ring, Betty, 296
Rittenhouse, David, 259
Rittenhouse, William, 195
Ritter, Johann, 198
River Brethren, Old Order, 145, 337–38
Roan, Nancy, 313, 320
Robacker, Earl F., 88–89, 164, 168, 170, 229, 244
Robbins, James H., 252
Roberts, Charles Carl, IV, 456
Roeber, A. G., 21, 31, 46, 135
Rohrer, David, 253
Rohrer, Jane, 181
Rohrer, Sheila, xii
romanticization: agrarian myth, 177–78, 179, 443, 453; in Amish romance novels, 162, 164, 178, 180–81; and cultural hegemony, 455; and fraktur, 266; in literature, 168, 170, 175–81; in media, 448, 449, 461; and tourism, 12, 414, 416, 417
Romanusbuchlein (the "Romanus" book), 345
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 422, 440n7
Rosanna of the Amish (Yoder), 174, 175
Rosanna's Boys (Yoder), 175
Rose, Daniel, 260
Rosenberger, Homer T., 187, 422
Rosicrucianism, 138
Rumford, Count, 214
rumspringa (running around), 448–49, 450, 463
Runion, Mildred, 321
Rupp, I. Daniel, 4, 419
Rush, Benjamin, 3–4, 54, 186, 187, 223, 417
Rusinow, Irving, 283, 286
Russia, 34, 110, 342
Ruth, John, 460

Sabbath, 139, 140, 144
Sachse, Julius, 9
Sack, Saul, 405
Salem German Lutheran Church, 58
Salinger, Sharon, 41, 42
Sauer, Christopher (Johann Christoph Saur): and education, 44, 395; on herbalism, 350–51, 352; and immigrants, 2, 30, 39, 137; and pacifism, 43; and publishing, 165, 195, 198; voyage of, 25, 40
Saving Sarah Cain (film), 448
Schaeffer, Alexander, 57
Schaeffer, Charles C., 5
Schaeffer, Nathan, 394, 400–401, 402, 403
Schaefferstown (Pennsylvania), 56, 58, 59, 73, 76, 225, 427, 431
Schaff, Philip, 418
Schimmel, Wilhelm, 241, 242
Schlatter, Michael, 43–44, 142
Schlegel, Jennifer, 434
Schmidt, D., 352
Schmidt, Georg, 23
Schneider, Carl E., 147
Schneider, David, 194
Schock, Georg (Katherine Riegel Loose), 173
Schoedler, D. E., 399
Scholl, John, 241
Schooner, Greg, 246
Schöpf, Johann David, 2, 3, 81, 85–87, 94, 212, 214
Schreit, John, 260
Schrock, Emma, 385–86, 387
Schutz, Peter, 258
Schwartz, Sally, 43
Schwenkfeld, Casper, 135, 306
Schwenkfelders, 7, 29, 132, 143, 295, 409n1, 413; administrative organization of, 142; assimilation of, 147, 439n3; clothing of, 306, 307, 309; crafts of, 289, 293–94, 296, 299; and fraktur, 266, 269, 271; origins of, 135; and technology, 392
Schweyer, Peter, 62–63
Schwind, Arlene Palmer, 246
Scotland, 134
Scots-Irish, 2, 7, 9, 54, 60, 87, 190, 208, 446
Seaton, Beverly, 171
Seidensticker, Oswald, 5, 6, 9, 12, 45
Seifert, Lester W. J., 100
Sellers, Charles, 55
Seltzer, Christian, 233
Separatists, 132
sermons, 143, 144, 145, 160
Seventh Day Baptists, 43, 132, 141, 142
Seven Years' War (1754–63), 2, 25
Seyfert, Ella Maie, 178
Shade, Willoughby, 250, 251
Shaker spirit drawings, 267
Shelley, Donald A., 140, 267, 268, 270, 406
Shenandoah Valley (Virginia), 63, 64, 190, 351; architecture in, 210, 216, 218, 219–20; cultural landscape in, 143, 226; immigrants in, 48, 53, 54; Shenandoah colony in, 48
Shenfelder, Daniel, 246
Shi, David E., 177
Shoemaker, Alfred L.: and academic programs, 406; criticism of, 440n13; and folk festivals, 422, 428, 431, 438; and folklore, 337, 363, 366, 380, 408, 437; on fraktur, 270; and Pennsylvania German studies, 12, 91, 100–101, 407, 436; on stereotypes, 446–47
Shpectakel (Weitzel), 169
Shryock, Richard, 45
Shun (music group), 463–64
Shunk, Francis, 60
shunning (*Meidung*, avoidance), 143, 154; and Amish, 135, 151; in Amish literature, 180; in literature, 175, 178; and Old Order Mennonites, 118
Sikoun, Pang Xiong Sirirathasuk, 287
Silber, Julie, 285, 287
Simmons, Schtockschnitzler, 241
Simons, Menno, 125, 134, 151
Singmaster, Elsie, 170, 171–73, 335, 425–26
Singmaster, John Alden, 171
Sittler, Anson, 371
Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses, 346
slavery, 65–66, 165
Sleeping Preacher (Kasdorf), 182
Smith, William, 43–44, 396, 402
Smith-Hughes Act (1917), 62
Smucker, Janneken, 281–84, 285, 287
Snob, The (Martin), 171
Snyder, Gilbert, 427, 428
Snyder, Simon, 60
social mobility, 84, 98, 116, 372
social status: and crafts, 230, 274, 293, 294, 299; and cultural landscapes, 223, 227; and *Deitsch*, 84, 85–86, 98; and education, 390–91, 403; elite, 28, 362, 390–91, 403, 405, 454–55, 456, 460, 461; and ethnicity, 206; and food, 311–15, 320, 326, 328–29, 335; in paintings, 278; and quilts, 288–89. *See also* middle class
Society of the Woman in the Wilderness, 138
"Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America" (Penn), 37
Spain, 34
Spangler, Susanna, 212
Spangler, Yargle, 212
"'S Pennsylfawnisch Deitsch Eck" (newspaper column; Barba), 100, 169, 173, 426–27, 436, 437
Spinner, David, 243
Sprenger, Johann Abraham, 277
springhouses, 190, 191, 222, 315, 316, 318, 326
Stahl family, 246, 433
Stahr, John S., 9
Starry, Charles, 200
Stauffer, Christian, 274

Stein, Joseph, 447
Steiner, Melchior, 198
Steinfeldt, Berenice, 453
Steinman, Frederick, 252
Steinmetz, Andrew, 139
Steltz, Susanna, 244
stereotypes: and agriculture, 206–9, 443; of Amish, 161–62, 174, 175, 447; and cultural landscapes, 223; and *Deitsch*, 88, 90, 95, 102–3, 169, 442; "Dumb Dutch," 67–68, 71, 95, 169, 171, 371, 373, 377, 444; ethnic, 1–2, 36, 43, 44, 54, 67–68, 396, 402, 442; and folklore, 367–68, 369, 371, 372, 373, 377; of German immigrants, 43–45, 54, 75; humorous, 102–3; and literature, 169, 170, 171, 181, 442, 443; and media, 444, 446–47; and Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 361–62; vs. revival, 71–72; and tourism, 101, 207, 417, 446–47, 453
Stiegel, Henry William, 197, 247
Stiehly, Isaac, 373, 384–85
Stine, Clyde S., 59–60, 394, 402
Stoeffler, F. Ernest, 138
Stoltzfus, Levi, 449
Stoner, Rudolph, 258
Stopp, Klaus, 270
Stoudt, John Baer, 362, 365, 366–67, 369–70, 377
Stoudt, John Joseph, 11, 140, 229, 263, 266, 267
stoves, 197, 212, 214, 216, 243, 248–49, 263, 329–30
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 170
Stoy, William, 47
Strasser, Brendan, 405
Strauss, Ray, 201
Straw in the Wind (Lininger), 175
Stroehmann Brothers Company, 445
Stuart, Gilbert, 276
Studebaker family, 199
Suderman, Elmer, 181
Sunbonnets and Shoofly Pies (Stoudt), 229
Sunday schools, 118, 121
superstition and belief, xii, 167, 344, 362, 368, 459; and science, 443; and spell books, 443. See also *Hexerei* (hexing, spellwork); powwowing (*Braucherei*, *Brauche*)
Sutherland, Donald, 444
Swank, Scott T., 67, 218, 225–26, 229, 246
Swartz, Mrs. O. H., 331
Swift, Jonathan, 22
Swiss Pioneer Preservation Associates, 431, 440n10
Switzerland, ix, 140, 330; and architecture, 185, 219; German dialects of, 81, 111; immigrants from, 22, 26, 27, 31, 32, 36, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 53, 111–14, 170; newlanders in, 39; religions in, 133, 134, 151
symbolism: American, 177–78; of clothing, 307; and crafts, 229, 233, 283, 310, 383–84; in folklore, 372, 385; of food, 311, 337–38, 340; of fraktur, 140, 266, 267–68, 271–72; in literature, 174; religious, 271–72

Tannenberg, David, 260
Taufschein. *See* baptismal certificates (*Taufschein*)
taxation, 28–30, 42, 46, 131, 161, 194, 208, 397
technology: acceptance vs. rejection of, 117–18, 192–93, 391–92, 439n3, 441; agricultural, 117, 191, 192–93, 221, 223; and Amish, 111, 150, 154–55, 158–59, 160, 174, 176, 179, 180, 193, 392; and cultural hegemony, 455; and folk movement, 173; of food, 312, 315, 326–32; and heritage, 421, 437–38; for home baking, 330–31; and hypermodernity, 178; and identity, 159, 204, 391–92, 467; and language change, 124; and literature, 170, 176, 179, 180; and media, 449, 453, 467; medical, 163; mill, 196; and Old Order Mennonites, 117, 118, 120; wine-making, 333
telephones: and Amish, 149; conference line for, 122–23, 129nn21–22, 130n23; *Deitsch* on, 122–23, 125; and Old Order Mennonites, 117, 118, 120
television, 442, 447–51, 456, 460, 462; *Deitsch* on, 438, 450; reality shows on, 417, 448–49
Telner, Jacob, 32
Tennent, John, 350
textile arts, xii, 10, 281–310; embroidery, 281, 291–300; industrial, 201–2; and mass-produced fabrics, 287, 290, 301, 302, 330; rugs, 303–5; samplers, 291, 292, 293–94, 296, 298; tools for, 288, 289–90, 301, 302; weaving, 195, 196, 199, 281, 287, 289–90, 300–303. *See also* quilts
"Thanksgiving Isn't Christmas" (Singmaster), 335
Third Way Café (thirdway.com), 461
Thirty Years' War, 26–27
Thomas, George, 42, 44, 48, 146
Thompson, Bard, 134
Thompson, Marjie, 302
Thoms, W. J., 364
Three Sisters Center for the Healing Arts, 353, 355, 356, 359
Tillie: A Mennonite Maid (Martin), 171
tobacco, 199, 221
Tompkins, Douglas, 285
tourism, xi, xiii; agricultural, 12, 72, 194, 414, 416, 417; and Amish, 12, 72, 148, 162, 180, 413–17, 454–56, 460; and assimilation, 392; and clothing, 305; and commercialization, 101, 414–17; commercial zones for, 414, 415; and cultural hegemony, 455; and diaspora, 112; and folklore, 388–89; and heritage, 411–40; and identity, 75, 413; and media, 448, 452, 456, 458; and Old Order sectarians, 103; and popular culture, 441; and quilts, 286; and romanticization, 12, 414, 416, 417; sites for, 7, 72, 215, 293, 327, 415, 416, 421, 431, 439n6, 440n10, 454, 455; and stereotypes, 101, 207, 417, 446–47, 453
trade: in antiques, 70–71, 424, 426; and crafts, 56, 245, 287; and cultural revival, 72; and German Americans, 62; import, 243, 245, 246–47, 250, 253; and Pennsylvania German identity, 54, 55–56, 62; with Philadelphia, 48, 56, 57; transatlantic, 21, 31–32, 35, 37
tradition: and cultural conservation, 353; and cultural hegemony, 456; and folklore, 361, 362, 366, 380, 382, 386, 437; and food, 312, 314–15, 332–40; and heritage, 412; and individuals, 182, 366–68, 370, 380, 382, 384, 386–88; in

media, 447; in medicine, 351–52; vs. modernity, 448–49; musical parodies of, 463; vs. popular culture, 467; vs. science, 444
Trail of the Black Walnut, The (Reaman), 46
transportation: and agriculture, 189; of Amish, 111, 113, 155, 157, 158; and Amish-Mennonite Conference Line, 122; and cultural revival, 72; and diaspora inland, 47; horse-and-buggy, 83, 109na, 110, 117–19, 154–55, 157, 161, 176, 178, 179, 200, 305, 455, 458; and identity, 55, 57, 70, 117; and immigrants, 32, 47–48; long-distance, 122; and Old Order Mennonites, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120; and wagon manufacturing, 199
Trayer, Jenine E. (Silver RavenWolf), 353, 354, 356
Treaty of Ghent (1815), 91
Treaty of Tübingen (1514), 33
Trevits, Conrad, 265
Trollinger, Susan, 162, 455, 456
Troxel, Samuel, 243
Troxell, William S. (Pumpernickle Bill), 99–100, 106, 370–73, 376–77, 422–23, 427–28, 437
True Inspirationists, 137
Trumbull, John, 276
Tubb, Ernest, 446
Turkey Hill ice cream, 203
Twain, Mark, 170

Uebele, Martin, 250
Umble, Diane Zimmerman, 457
Unger, Claude, 342, 351, 352
Unitas Fratrum. *See* Moravians
United Brethren in Christ, 70, 144, 145, 146, 404–5
United Church of Christ, 147, 391, 413
United Methodist Church, 145
Uppendahl, Michael, 450
Upton, Dell, 206
urban areas, 58, 227, 414; assimilation in, 67; decorative arts in, 229, 230, 238; immigrants to, 41–42, 68; ovens in, 326
urbanization, 5, 15, 52, 388; and agriculture, 192, 194; and Amish, 174; and *Deitsch*, 60, 98, 168, 170; and media, 449, 460; and stereotypes, 442, 443; and tourism, 12, 414
Urglaawe (Original Faith) movement, 354, 357
Urglaawe Kindred of the Distelfink, 354, 359
Urletig, Valentine, 260
Utz potato chips, 414

Valuska, David L., 66, 67, 465
van Buren, Martin, 60
van der Hoof, Gail, 285
van Ravenswaay, Charles, 225
Veith, Werner H., 81
Verein der deutschen Presse, 400
Verne, Jules, 172
Victoria, Queen, 299
Victorious Defeat, A (Belestier), 167
Vielfaltig erprobter Hausschatz der Sympathie (Helfenstein), 346
Violent Saturday (film), 451–52
Virginia: Amish in, 115, 122; Civil War in, 66; *Deitsch* in, 64, 121, 127, 129n11; fraktur in, 269; immigrants in, 30, 48, 49, 52, 53, 63, 116, 226
Volkommenes Kräuter-Buch (Zwinger), 351
von Hippel, Wolfgang, 27
Vorschrift (writing sample), 271
Vought, Christoffel, 274

Wagner, Anna, 293
Walbert, David, 176, 452
Walküre, 445
Wanamaker, John, 202
Ward, William R., 136
War of 1812, 65, 91
War of the Palatine Succession (1688–97), 28
wars: and *Deitsch*, 84; and diaspora, 50; and identity, 65, 75–76, 148; and immigrants, 2, 25–28, 44, 49, 51; pacifism in, 66, 69–70, 150, 151. *See also* American Revolution; Civil War, American; World War I; World War II
Washington, George, 167
Weaver, William Woys, 117–18, 214, 312–13, 324–25, 332, 351
Weaverland Mennonite Conference (Horning Mennonites), 120, 121, 122
Weaver-Zercher, David, 176, 178, 407, 432, 440n13; on media, 452–53, 457, 459, 462–63
Weaver-Zercher, Valerie, 162, 178, 181
Weber, L. W., 352
Weber, Samuel E., 43
Weir, Peter, 447, 452
Weirich, Louella Cleland, 332
Weiser, Conrad, 421
Weiser, Frederick, 140, 268, 270, 271, 296
Weitzel, Louise Adeline, 169
Weld, Isaac, 207, 216
Wellenreuther, Hermann, 270
Wenger, Diane, xi, 53
Wenger, John C., 134
Wenger, Joseph O., 129n14
Wentz, Abdel, 144
Wentz, Abraham, 274
Wentz, Peter, 274
Wentz, Richard, 406
Werner, Michael, 74, 75, 183, 438
West, Benjamin, 275
West Nickel Mines School (Lancaster County), 123, 456–57
We Try to Be Strong (exhibition; 2006), 287
Weygandt, Cornelius, 174, 406, 426
Whaley, Joachim, 23
Wheeler, Candace, 294
When Sarah Saved the Day (Singmaster), 172
Whisker, James Biser, 258
Whitenack, Pamela Cassidy, 445

Whitman, Walt, 169
Whittier, John Greenleaf, 169
Wicca, 354, 356
Wickersham, James P., 394, 398, 399–400
Wieand, Paul, 428, 446
Wieland (Brown), 166–67
Will, William, 253
Williams, George H., 135
Wilson, Woodrow, 61
Wiltberger, Christian, 253, 255
Winebrenner, John, 145–46
Winter, Henrich, Jr., 265
Winterthur Museum, 71, 229, 230, 232, 238, 243, 268, 273, 274, 299
Wisconsin v. Yoder (1972), 14, 159, 403–4, 456
Wissahickon hermits, 138–39, 166, 167
Wissahickon Hills, The (Weygandt), 174
Wistar, Caspar, 25, 31–32, 247
Wistar, Owen, 170
witchcraft. See *Hexerei* (hexing, spellwork)
Withers, Michael, 240
Witman, Jacob, 275, 276
Witness (film), 417, 447–48, 450, 452
Witt, Christopher, 351
Wittgenstein, Duchy of, 137
Wokeck, Marianne S., 25, 31, 38, 39, 41, 84
Wolf, George, 59, 60, 420
Wolf, Stephanie Grauman, 138, 195
Wollenweber, Ludwig, 94, 95, 347
women, 54–55, 143, 144, 223; and agriculture, 187; Amish, 157, 159, 162; and Amish-Mennonite Conference Line, 122; clothing of, 157, 305–9; and decorative arts, 232, 281, 291–300, 305, 386; education of, 292, 293–94, 295, 296, 299; at Ephrata, 141; and folklore, 370–71; and food, 327, 330–31, 334, 337–38; and Groundhog Lodges, 424; and literature, 92, 170–72, 174, 181; Mennonite, 182; Moravian, 136; and neo-powwowing, 357, 359, 360; periodicals for, 290, 300; and poetry, 181, 182; rights of, 403; on ships, 40; and tourism, 414
Wood, Jerome, 42
Wood, Lloyd, 62
Wood, Ralph, 11
woodcarving, 241, 242
Woodsmall, Cindy, 180
World War I, 61, 71, 173; anti-German feeling in, 10, 59, 69, 76, 319, 421–22
World War II, 117, 173, 176–77, 427, 451; anti-German feeling in, 11, 60, 69–70, 76
Wright, Joseph, 276
Württemberg, Duchy of, 23, 26, 27, 33
Wust, Klaus, 64, 269

Yankovic, "Weird Al," 453–54
Yeakle family, 289
Yiddish, 106, 107
Yoder, Don: in academia, 406; on broadsides, 270; on *Deitsch*, 59, 71, 99, 100, 101; and folk festivals, 422, 430–31; on folklife, 408; on folklore, 363, 364, 366, 367, 377–78, 380, 382, 437; on food, 311, 315, 318, 330; on fraktur, 268, 270, 272; on Groundhog days, 465, 466; and heritage events, 424, 436; on identity, 68, 73, 76, 427; and Kutztown Folk Festival, 428; on medicine, 341, 342; and museums, 431; and Pennsylvania German studies, 7, 8, 12, 13, 407; on popular culture, 467; on powwowing, 345, 346, 347; on spirituals, 146, 446
Yoder, Jonas, 159
Yoder, Joseph, 174, 175, 181
Yoder, Joseph W., 461
Yoder, Justin, 462
Yoder, Levi E., 268
Yolen, Jane, 178, 179, 180
Yonie Wondernose (de Angeli), 176–77, 178
York "Witch Trial" (1929). *See* Hex Murder Trial (1929)
Young Moravian Girl (painting; Haidt), 308
Yuengling beer, 414

Zelinsky, Wilbur, 48
Zender, Conrad, 198
Zerbe, Preston, 353
Zieber, Mary, 281
Zimmerman, John Jacob, 138
Zimmerman, Menno S., 116
Zinzendorf, Count Nicolaus Ludwig von, 136, 141, 275, 295
Zion Lutheran Church, 58
Zorger, Frederick, 260, 261
Zwinger, Theodor, 351
Zwingli, Ulrich, 133, 134, 150–51

Simon J. Bronner and Joshua R. Brown, eds., *Pennsylvania Germans: An Interpretive Encyclopedia*

James A. Cates, *Serving the Amish: A Cultural Guide for Professional Providers*

D. Rose Elder, *Why the Amish Sing: Songs of Solidarity and Identity*

Brian Froese, *From Digging Gold to Saving Souls: Mennonites in California*

Charles E. Hurst and David L. McConnell, *An Amish Paradox: Diversity and Change in the World's Largest Amish Community*

Rod Janzen and Max Stanton, *The Hutterites in North America*

Karen M. Johnson-Weiner, *Train Up a Child: Old Order Amish and Mennonite Schools*

Peter J. Klassen, *Mennonites in Early Modern Poland and Prussia*

James O. Lehman and Steven M. Nolt, *Mennonites, Amish, and the American Civil War*

Mark L. Louden, *Pennsylvania Dutch: The Story of an American Language*

Steven M. Nolt, *The Amish: A Concise Introduction*

Steven M. Nolt and Thomas J. Meyers, *Plain Diversity: Amish Cultures and Identities*

Douglas H. Shantz, *A New Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*

Tobin Miller Shearer, *Daily Demonstrators: The Civil Rights Movement in Mennonite Homes and Sanctuaries*

Janneken Smucker, *Amish Quilts: Crafting an American Icon*

Richard A. Stevick, *Growing Up Amish: The Rumspringa Years* (second edition)

Duane C. S. Stoltzfus, *Pacifists in Chains: The Persecution of Hutterites during the Great War*

Susan L. Trollinger, *Selling the Amish: The Tourism of Nostalgia*

Diane Zimmerman Umble and David L. Weaver-Zercher, eds., *The Amish and the Media*

David L. Weaver-Zercher, *Martyrs Mirror: A Social History*

Valerie Weaver-Zercher, *Thrill of the Chaste: The Allure of Amish Romance Novels*

The farm of Susanna Spangler. And her Brother
Yargle Spangler. one mile from town. In 1802.
Joseph Miller. and his little Brother Lewis Miller.
was Send to the place, for Some Vinegar. A—
Gallon— our money was not plain on the face without
the full Impression worn of. it was A Spanish
quarter dollar. She Saying I wont take it So much
Rub't and Smooth. Joseph had to run home for A
plain quarter. and I relmaind at the house— Till he
came back. the place is now. At this time were the
Baltimore pike road run by. at that time the road run at
Jacob Fisels. medow over the hill. and A lane only run
by Susanne house, and Rouses mill. it was all covert
with wood only a few Acre's Clear land. it running
in to the Borough line all wood land. Susanne and
her brother never was married. the were old, Strange looking
were the to me. and there dogs— playful.
I was fond of being present were old and Strange people are.
and So many living in the County, of Such Kind, and manners.
Curious in There dress and ringlet cheeks. What ideas in Such people.

Fig. 10.3. Drawing by Lewis Miller of *Fachwerk* construction on the farm of Susanna Spangler and her brother Yargle, York, Pennsylvania, 1802. *York County History Center*

Fig. 11.1. Chest, made by Christian Seltzer (1749–1831), Jonestown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, 1796. White pine, tulip poplar, paint, iron; H. 23 ½, W. 52 ¼, D. 22 ⅝ in. *Winterthur Museum, gift of Henry Francis du Pont 1959.2803*

Fig. 11.6. Desk, made for and probably by Jacob Maser (1812–95), Mahantongo Valley, Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1834. Tulip poplar, white pine, maple, paint, brass; H. 49 ⅛, W. 39, D. 19 ¾ in. *Winterthur Museum, gift of Henry Francis du Pont 1964.1518*

Fig. 11.7. Box, owned by Jacob H. and Jonas H. Nolt, attributed to the Compass Artist, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1800–1840. Tulip poplar, paint, tinned sheet iron; H. 7 ⅞, W. 10 ⅝, D. 10 ¾ in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1965.1981; photograph by Gavin Ashworth*

Fig. 11.11. Dish, made for Susanna Steltz, attributed to George Hubener (1757–1828), Upper Hanover Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, 1789. Lead-glazed earthenware (redware); Diam. 13, D. 2 ¼ in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1965.2301; photograph by Gavin Ashworth*

Fig. 11.12. Flask, attributed to Henry William Stiegel's glassworks, Manheim, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1769–74. Glass (non-lead); H. 5 ⅜, W. 3 ½, D. 2 ¾ in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1959.3081*

Fig. 11.15. Coffee pot, made by James H. Robbins, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1890–1910. Tinned sheet iron, brass, asphaltum, paint; H. 10 ½, W. 9 ¼, Diam. 6 ¼ in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1965.1599*

Henrich winter
ist von Christlichen Eltern geboren
worden den 22ten Tag Merz im Jahr
Christi 1791 mit Christlicher Taufschein in
Dauphin County: getauft worden von H.
Lupp – die Taufzeugen waren Stophel
winter · und seine fr Anna Maria die Eltern
sind die Ehrsame Henrich winter
und seine Ehrsame Hausfrau
Namens Susanna eine gebora
ferberin

Fig. 12.1. Birth and baptismal certificate for Henrich Winter Jr., attributed to Conrad Trevits (1751–1830), East Hanover Township, Dauphin (now Lebanon) County, Pennsylvania, c. 1795. Watercolor and ink on laid paper; 8 x 13 ⅛ in. *Winterthur Museum, purchase with funds provided by the Henry Francis du Pont Collectors Circle 2010.28*

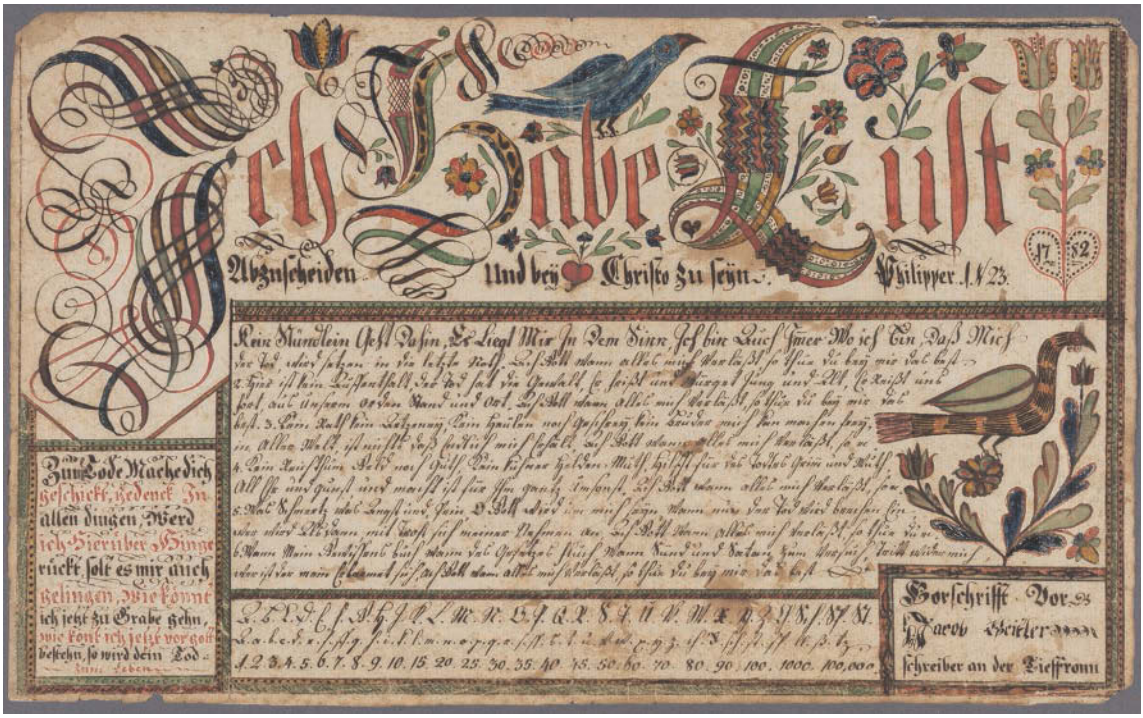


Fig. 12.2. Writing sample for Jacob Beitler, attributed to Johann Adam Eyer (1755–1837), Deep Run School, Bedminster Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1782. Watercolor and ink on laid paper; 8 ¼ x 13 ⅜ in. *Winterthur Museum, purchase with funds provided by the Henry Francis du Pont Collectors Circle 2013.31.78*

Fig. 12.3. Religious text, made by Andreas Kolb (1749–1811), Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, c. 1785. Water-color and ink on laid paper; 13 ⅞ x 16 ½ in. *Winterthur Museum, purchase with funds provided by the Henry Francis du Pont Collectors Circle 2013.31.71*

Fig. 12.4. Painted interior of a second-floor room from the David Hottenstein house, Kutztown area, Berks County, Pennsylvania, built 1783. *Winterthur Museum*

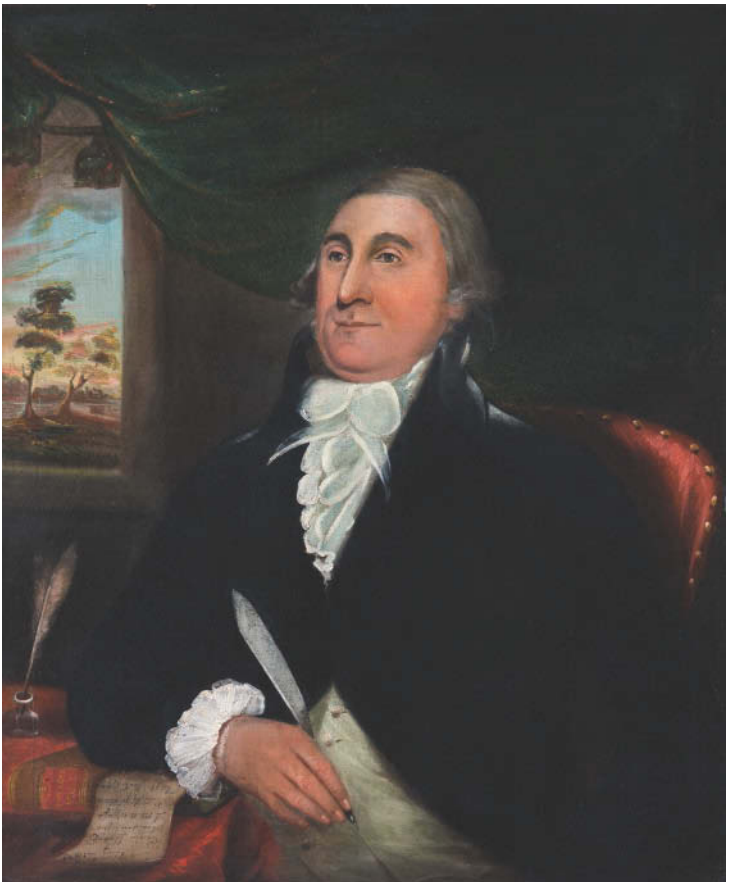


Fig. 12.5. Portrait of Joseph Hiester, made by Jacob Witman (1769–98), Reading, Berks County, Pennsylvania, 1795. Oil on canvas; 36 x 30 ½ in. *Berks History Center, Reading, Pennsylvania; photograph by Gavin Ashworth*

Fig. 12.6. Portrait of Johann Abraham Sprenger and family, attributed to Jacob Maentel (1778–1863), Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, c. 1825. Watercolor on wove paper; 23 ½ x 27 ½ in. *Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont 1957.1123*

Fig. 12.7. *The Quilting Frolic*, made by John Lewis Krimmel (1786–1821), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1813. Oil on canvas; 16 ⅞ x 22 ⅜ in. *Winterthur Museum, 1953.178.2*

Fig. 12.8. Stone house at the Berks County almshouse, attributed to Charles Hofmann (1821–82), Berks County, Pennsylvania, 1870–80. Oil on metal; 39 x 46 in. *Berks History Center, Reading, Pennsylvania; photograph, Winterthur Museum*

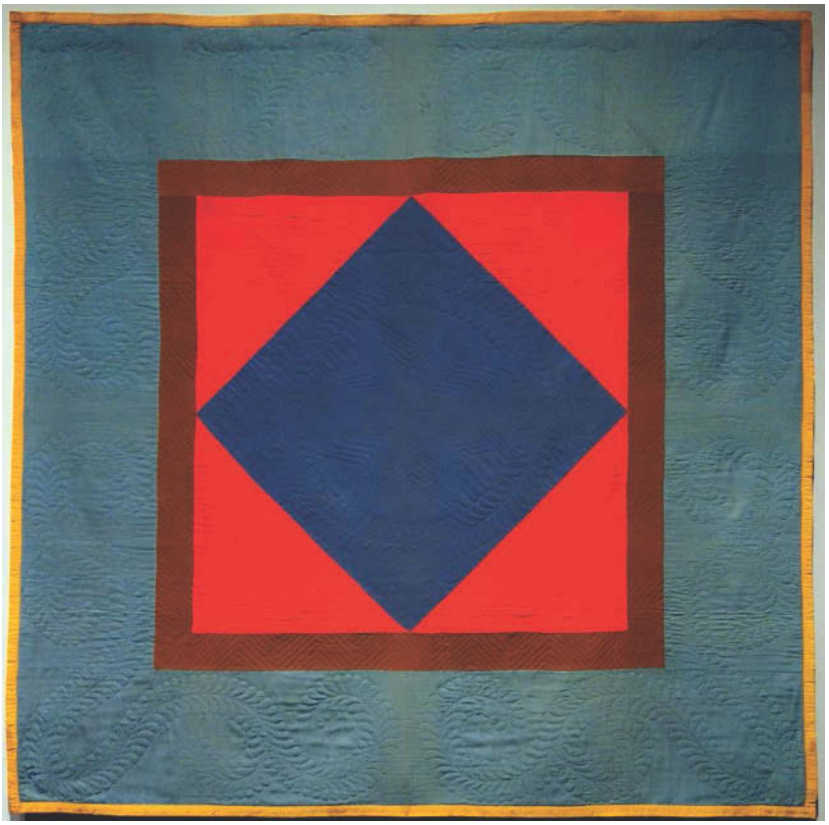


Fig. 13.2. Diamond in square, or "Philadelphia Pavement" design on Amish-made quilt, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, c. 1890. Eight-pointed star within feather ring quilted into blue diamond; Rose of Sharon motifs quilted into spandrels; chevron pattern quilted into brown border; scrolled feather pattern quilted into wide blue outer border. Pieced wool twill top, cotton plain weave back, wool twill binding; 76 x 76 in. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (2011.90)*

Fig. 13.5. Sampler, made by Regina (Heebner) Schultz (1777–1862), 1794, Worcester Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. Silk on linen; 20 x 23.75 in. unframed. *Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center*

Fig. 13.7. Sampler, made by Mary Ann Donges (1832–72), 1841, Stouchsburg, Marion Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania. Silk on linen; 17.625 x 15.2 in. *Kathryn G. Lesieur*

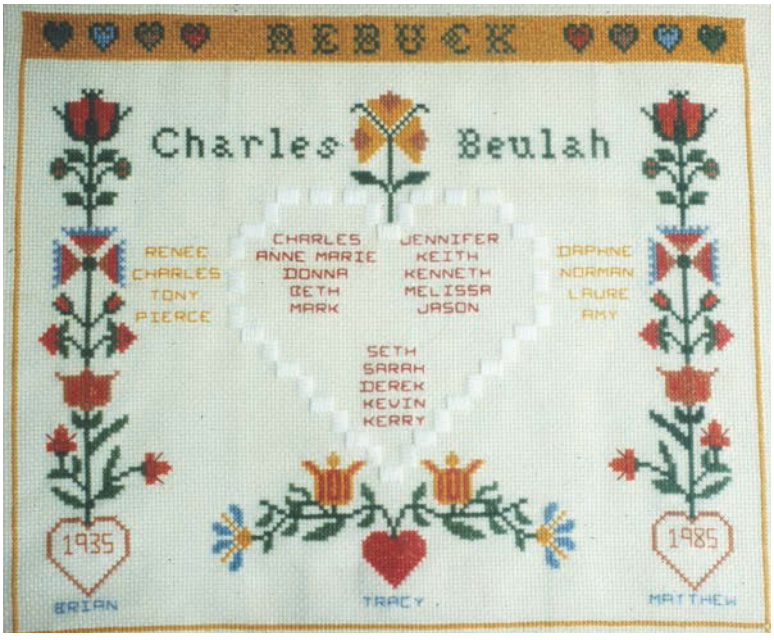


Fig. 13.8. Embroidered family register made by Beulah Rebuck, Klingerstown, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, 1989. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

Fig. 13.9. Coverlet, woven by Benjamin Endy (1811–79), 1834, Oley Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania. Cotton and wool; 82 x 88 in. *Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center*

Fig. 13.10. Braided rug made by Beulah Rebuck, Klingerstown, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, 1989. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

Fig. 13.11. Hooked rug made by Helen Bradley Griebel, Carroll County, Maryland, 1991. *Photograph by Simon J. Bronner*

Fig. 13.12. Amish men and women in sectarian clothing provide a contrast to the "English" in front of them who are watching Old Faithful in Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, 2006. *Photograph by CGP Grey licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license*

Fig. 13.13. *Young Moravian Girl*, by John Valentine Haidt (1700–1780). The girl and artist were Moravians in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, c. 1755–60. The red ribbon on the girl's bodice indicates that she was a member of the older girls' choir, a sub-group within a Moravian church congregation. Oil on canvas; 30 ⅜ x 25 ¼ in. *Smithsonian American Art Museum (1987.3)*

The York Hotels, Kept In 1800.
No Better And good Cooks Can be found no where
To prepare Victuals for the table, As these Tavrens.
See the names—Mrs. Abraham Miller, mrs. Polly waltemyer.
mrs Gosler, mrs Lamb, mrs. Upp. mrs. Rummel, mrs Baltzers Spangler.
mrs George Hay, mrs. Beard. and mrs Eichelberger. not far
from Town, the Two last names.
Old Style Cooking.
the Bake oven, baking
Bread.
Smoking Sausage
and Puttones
She had plenty of raw Materials to Cook them. Beef. veal. Lam. Mutton.
Pork. and fish. oysters. Poultry. Eggs. Butter. Cheese. milk and honey.
And all Kind of vegetables—and fruit. See mrs. Ostertag in 1804. She
Could Take every—Body out of A Chicken, for the table it was good to Carve.
for the Customers at her Tavern.
After frying the Sausage—
the potatos put in the pan.
Little Sally.
Mrs. Lottman Frying Sweet potatos and give to Lewis Miller.
Some of them the best I ever tasted the where good Eating.
It was in her tavern South George Street. 1799.

Fig. 14.11. Drawing by Lewis Miller of bread baking, smoking sausages, and frying of sweet potatoes in York, Pennsylvania, around 1800. Note the use of Dutch ovens and kettles in the fireplace and use of baskets, probably made of rye straw, near the bake oven. *York County History Center*

Fig. 16.7. "The Busy Season" painted by Emma Schrock (1924–91), Goshen, Indiana, 1979. The artist's house and out-buildings are depicted in the painting.

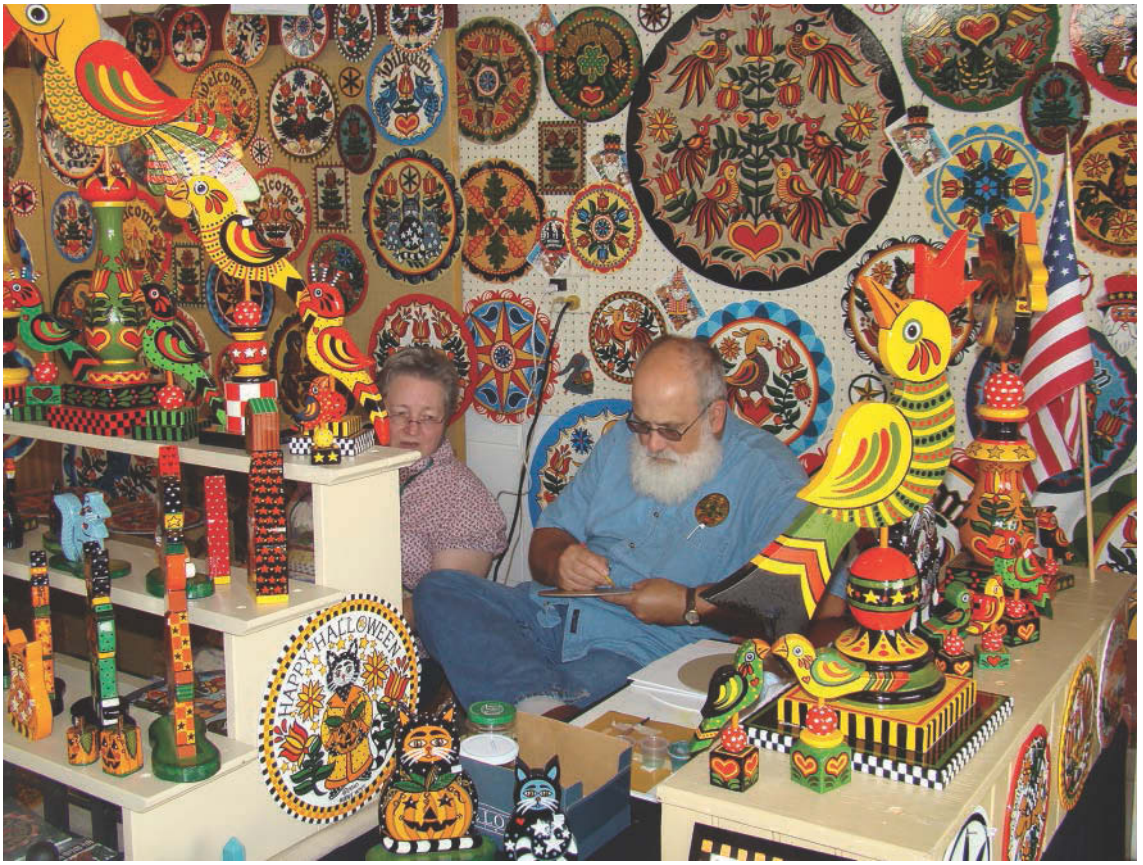


Fig. 18.8. Ivan Hoyt's "Hex Sign" stand, Kutztown Folk Festival, 2011